

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

Conversation No. 378-1

Date: October 31, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:34 am and 9:28 am

Location: Executive Office Building

#### The President talked with an unknown person.

Return telephone call from an unknown person

Conversation No. 378-2

Date: October 31, 1972 Time: 9:28 am - 9:50 am

Location: Executive Office Building

#### The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

#### Greetings

#### Vietnam negotiations

- -The President's letter to Nguyen Van Thieu
  - -Ellsworth F. Bunker
- -Terms of agreement
  - -South Vietnam's seven points
    - -News summary
  - -Criticism
    - -Left compared to right
      - -Concessions
      - -William F. Buckley, Jr., Robert B. Semple, Jr., Colm [sp?] [First name unknown]
      - -Settlement text
        - -Publication
      - -US foreign policy
      - -Press coverage
      - -Clayton Fritchey, Joseph W. Alsop, Rowland Evans,

Thomas W. Braden

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Time
  - -Jerrold L. Schecter
  - -Hugh S. Sidey
- -US posture
- -North Vietnamese position
  - -October 30, 1972 message
    - -Possible meaning
      - -Break-off of talks
      - -Resumption of talks
        - -Future message
- -Forthcoming North Vietnamese US meeting
  - -Expectations
    - -US position
  - -Kissinger's schedule
    - -Timing of meeting
      - -1972 election
        - -Terms of agreement
    - -North Vietnamese troop removal from South Vietnam
    - -Analogy to Soviet Union troops in Poland
- -US strategy
  - -Post-1972 election
    - -Bombing
    - -Hardline approach
  - -Bombing
    - -Demilatarized zone [DMZ]
    - -B-52's
      - -19<sup>th</sup> parallel -20<sup>th</sup> parallel
    - -Hanoi reaction
    - -Post-1972 election
      - -Radio
- -Thieu position
  - -Effect of actions on 1972 election
  - -Victory claim
- -US public relations stance
  - -Kissinger's possible briefing
  - -Tone
    - -Timing
      - -Usefulness
  - -The President compared with Kissinger's briefing
    - -Difficulties
  - -Kissinger briefing, October 26, 1972

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Points
  - -Coalition government
  - -Reason for the US not signing
    - -Quality of agreement
      - -Compared to Laos, 1962
    - -Reaction in US
      - -Moral issue
      - -Right
- -Tone
- -Stress on negatives rather than positives
  - -News summary
  - -Charles W. Colson's conversation with Louis P. Harris
- -Harris
  - -Political preference
- -Liberals
- -Support
  - -Conservatives, hard hats
  - -George S. McGovern
  - -The President's agreement with Harris' analysis
- -Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with Jay Lovestone
- -Thieu
- -Terms of agreement
  - -Thieu
  - -Coalition government
  - -Aid to South Vietnam
  - -Thailand
  - -North Vietnam
    - -Laos
    - -Cambodia
- -Joseph C. Kraft's, October 31, 1972 column
- -Liberals
  - -Kissinger's view
  - -The President's view
    - -Lovestone
- -Alsop
- -Buckley
- -Reassurance to conservatives
- -Media
- -North Vietnamese options
  - -Breakoff of talks
    - -Timing
      - -Bombing

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Results
- -1972 election
  - -Administration's stance
    - -Settlement
- -Settlement
  - -Press statement
    - -Nelson A. Rockefeller's forthcoming appearance at National Press Club
    - -"Peace with honor"
    - -Details of agreement
- -Thieu position
  - -Bunker
    - -Kissinger's view
- -Strategy
  - -Schedule
    - -October 26, 1972 television [TV] speech
  - -1972 election
  - -The President's letter to Thieu
    - -Negotiation strategy
- -US posture
  - -Tone
- -Congress
- -US public relations stance
  - -William P. Rogers statement
  - -Melvin R. Laird statement
  - -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew statement
  - -Kissinger's and the President's role
  - -Rogers
  - -Strategy
    - -1972 election
      - -New York
      - -Far left and far right
      - -Kissinger's recent statement
      - -Agnew's recent statement
  - -Kissinger's possible statement
    - -The President's address to the nation, "Look to the

future", November 2, 1972

- -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
- -Length
- -Progress
- -Settlement
- -Coalition government
- -"semi-backgrounder"

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Timing of statements
- -Wires services
- -Network people
- -Major commentators

#### Pierre E. Trudeau

- -Recent Parliamentary election
  - -Seat margins
    - -Liberals
    - -Conservatives
    - -[New Democrats]
  - -Reason for results
  - -Robert L. Stanfield
  - -Possible election
  - 1 OSSIDIC CICCU
  - -Stanfield
- -The President's view

The President's schedule

-Rockefeller

Kissinger left at 9:50 am.

Conversation No. 378-3

Date: October 31, 1972

Time: Unknown between 9:50 am and 9:55 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

The President's schedule -Stephen B. Bull

Conversation No. 378-4

Date: October 31, 1972

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

Time: 9:55 am - 11:00 am

Location: Executive Office Building

#### The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

#### Vietnam settlement

- -Ziegler's forthcoming press conference
  - -Viet Cong [VC] statement
  - -Henry A. Kissinger
  - -Quality of settlement
  - -Progress
  - -Details of agreement
    - -Importance
    - -1962 Laotian agreement
      - -Kissinger
  - -Quality of agreement
    - -Importance
    - -Condition set by the administration
  - -Coalition government
    - -Sine Qua Non condition
  - -Deadlines
    - -October 31, 1972
    - -November 7, 1972
  - -Details of agreement
    - -Laotian agreement in 1962
    - -1968 bombing halt
  - -Coalition government election commission
    - -De facto, de jure status
    - -Kissinger
      - -Laotian agreement
    - -Self determination
      - -Election
        - -Electoral commission
        - -Communists
  - -North Vietnamese
    - -Negotiation progress
      - -US statements
  - -Consultation with Saigon
    - -Kissinger
    - -Partnership
      - -Veto
  - -Settlement timing

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

-1972 election
-Quality of agreement
-Sine Qua Non condition
-Kissinger

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 10:03 am.
************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
Personal returnable]
Duration: 14m 48s ]
Ziegler left at 10:17 am.
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
****************************
Ziegler entered at 10:19 am.
Signing of final hill of 92nd Congress

Signing of final bill of 92nd Congress

- -Scheduling
  - -Oval Office
  - -The President's meeting with Nelson A. Rockefeller

The President's schedule

- -Rockefeller
  - -Photograph session

## Ziegler left at 10:20 am.

#### Campaign practices

- -Press coverage of the President's assistance to Congressional candidates
  - -Endorsement letters
  - -Photographs
  - -Television [TV] spots
  - -Candidate endorsements

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

-Campaign contributions -Clark MacGregor -Transfer of funds -MacGregor -John N. Mitchell -Kevin P. Phillips -Films -Buildup -Radio -U.S. News and World Report -Telephone calls -Robert J. Dole -Phillips -News summary -News summary \* BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 3m 33s ] END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3 \* Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:20 am and 10:50 am. [Conversation No. 378-4A] John B. Connally's schedule [End of telephone conversation]

\*

# Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

[Personal returnable] [Duration: 11m 36s]

#### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

\*

```
The President's schedule
    -Chicago
        -Security considerations
            -Demonstrators
            -Comparisons to 1968 Democratic National Convention
Record of administration
    -Public relations
    -Amnesty
    -US News and World Report
        -1972 election
    -White paper
        -Distribution
            -Hugh Sidey
                -John D. Ehrlichman
                 -Editors
        -Buying broadcast time
            -Radio
                 -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
                     -George S. McGovern
Watergate
    -Possible libel suit
        -Charles W. Colson
        -Problems
            -Chapin
```

-Chapin

#### Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]

-Political use

-Time article

-News summary

-Ehrlichman's statement, October 30, 1972

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Crime information in localities
- -Justice Department
  - -Inquiry from Domestic Council staff
- -Property of inquiry
  - -Handling by Justice Department
- -The President's view
  - -Analogy to bugging of Democratic National Committee
  - -Domestic Council
    - -Edwin L. Harper
- -Domestic Council
  - -Geoffrey C. Shepard
- -Ehrlichman's statement
  - -Analogy to inquiries made of Agriculture and Transportation [sic] Departments

#### Watergate

- -Haldeman, Chapin, Colson
- -Chapin
- -Donald H. Segretti

#### Issues

- -Vietnam, corruption
  - -Administration polls
  - -Democratic advertisements
    - -Effect
      - -Colson
- -The President's forthcoming trip to Chicago
- -Vietnam
  - -Press relations
    - -Hanoi
    - -Thieu
    - -Kissinger
      - -Left and right
- -Administration poll

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:20 am and 10:50 am.

[Conversation No. 378-4B]

Request

# **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Nov-03)

[End of telephone conversation]
***********************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 3m 29s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
************************
Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 10:50 am.
White House staff -Size -Ehrlichman's staff [Domestic Council] -Speeches -Work -Meetings  The president's schedule -Rockefeller meetings -Connally -Bill signing -Chicago -Possible delay -Media reaction
Butterfield left at 10:52 am.
***********************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 7m 6s]

# **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Nov-03)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

\*

#### Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:52 am.

The President's schedule
-Rockefeller
-Connally
-Chicago
-Delay

Bull and Haldeman left at 11:00 am.

Conversation No. 378-5

Date: October 31, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:00 am and 11:04 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:04 am.

Conversation No. 378-6

Date: October 31, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:54 am and 11:56 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Instructions -Request

# **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Nov-03)

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:56 am.

Conversation No. 378-7

Date: October 31, 1972 Time: 11:56 am - 1:05 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman at 11:56 am.

The President's conversation with Nelson A. Rockefeller, October 31, 1972

-Rockefeller's demands

-Vietnam negotiations

-Hanoi's recent statement

-Reaction

-Henry A. Kissinger

-Ronald L. Ziegler

#### Vietnam negotiations

-Henry A. Kissinger's October 26, 1972 press briefing

-John A. Scali

-Coverage of points

-Use of phrase "peace is at hand"

-The President's view

-Scali

-Progress

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#### BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 13m 31s ]

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

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#### Kissinger entered at 12:15 pm.

```
Vietnam negotiations
    -Hanoi's recent statement
        -Analysis
        -Reaction
             -Tone
             -Progress
                 -Right
                 -Left
    -Left
        -North Vietnamese request of US to sign settlement
    -Hanoi's recent statement
        -Analysis
             -State Department
        -Hanoi's view
            -Anguish
             -Betrayal
                 -Nguyen Van Thieu
    -US position
        -Politics
             -Build-up and let-down
                 -1972 election
             -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam, coalition government
        -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
             -Kissinger's proposal
                 -Tran Van Lam
                 -Public relations
                     -Los Angeles, Orange County
                 -Lam
                     -Military Region [MR]
             -Analogy to Soviet Union troops in Poland
             -Enforcing settlement
                 -Infiltration
                 -Soviet Union
                 -People's Republic of China [PRC]
    -Terms of agreement
        -Details
```

-Intelligence reports

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

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-Rockefeller
    -Coalition government
    -Intelligence reports
        -Saigon
        -North Vietnamese
        -Seizure of territory
            -Timing
    -[Unintelligible]
    -Pull-out of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
-US military action
    -Pull-out of North Vietnamese troops
-Kissinger's media and press relations
    -Possible backgrounder
        -Max Frankel
        -Unknown person's recent commentary
        -Frankel, [Arnold] Eric Sevareid
        -John Chancellor, Howard K. Smith
        -Howard K. Smith
        -Tone
        -1972 election
    -Kissinger's recent meeting with Hugh S. Sidey
    -Television networks
    -New York Times
    -Richard ("Dick") Wilson
        -Recent column
            -Possibility of earlier settlement
    -Possible backgrounder
        -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
        -Settlement
            -Timing
                 -1972 election
                     -Politics
    -Casualties
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Kissinger left at 12:26 pm.

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 13m 29]

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

#### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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#### Vietnam issue

- -Poll results
  - -The President's positions compared with to George S.
  - McGovern's positions
    - -Bombing halt
    - -1972 election
      - -Announcement
      - -McGovern's recent TV appearance
    - -New York Daily News
    - -Bombing, mining
    - -Political settlement
    - -Post-war reconstruction
    - -Withdrawal of military personal
    - -South Vietnam
    - -Bombing halt
    - -Settlement
      - -Timing
    - -Corruption
      - -Sabotage charge
  - -George H. Gallup
    - -Corruption issue
    - -Protestants, Catholics
    - -McGovern strategy
    - -Florida
      - -Tallahassee
    - -Irish-Americans, Polish-Americans
    - -Colorado
    - -McGovern support
      - -Democrats
    - -Vietnam issue
      - -Post-1972 election effect
        - -Negotiation status

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# **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Nov-03)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 7m 11s ]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
************************
Haldeman left at 1:05 pm.
Conversation No. 378-8
Date: October 31, 1972 Time: Unknown between 1:05 pm and 1:13 pm. Location: Executive Office Building
The President met with Manolo Sanchez.
***********************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 26s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
***********************
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:13 pm.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

Conversation No. 378-9

Date: October 31, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:05 pm and 1:13 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-94]

Conversation No. 378-10

Date: October 31, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:05 pm and 1:13 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule
-Return to Oval Office

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:13 pm.

Conversation No. 378-16

Date: October 31, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:05 pm and 1:13 pm.

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-95]

# **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Nov-03)

Conversation No. 378-11

Date: October 31, 1972 Time: 1:13 pm - 1:14 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon.

[See Conversation No. 32-96; one item has been withdrawn]

Conversation No. 378-12

Date: October 31, 1972 Time: 1:15 pm - 1:16 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 32-97]

Conversation No. 378-13

Date: October 31, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:16 pm and 2:38 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 5m 36s ]

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

#### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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Conversation No. 378-14

Date: October 31, 1972

Time: 4:10 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

#### The President talked with an unknown person.

The President's schedule
-Halloween party
-Promotion

-Richard A. Moore, Ronald L. Ziegler

-Tricia Nixon Cox

Conversation No. 378-15/376-1

Date: October 31, 1972 Time: 4:10 pm - 5:34 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

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

Effect of Vietnam on negotiations

-Polls

-Stock market

-George H. Gallup

-Louis P. Harris

-Hanoi's recent statement

-The President's conversation with Henry A. Kissinger

-Public relations

-Ronald L. Ziegler's recent press conference

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Tone
- -Nelson A. Rockefeller's recent statement
  - -Tone
- -Proper kind of peace
- -Deadline
  - -Compared to 1968
- -South Vietnamese self-determination
- -Public perception
  - -Possible disappointment, cynicism
- -The president's forthcoming statements
  - -Address to the nation, "Look to the Future",

November 2, 1972

- -Campaign visits
- -Nature of peace settlement
- -Timing of agreement
  - -1972 election
- -Ronald Ziegler's briefing
- -Rockefeller's press conference
  - -Watergate
  - -Question and answer [Q&A] session
    - -George S. McGovern
      - -Democratic National Committee [DNC]
      - -Statement on renegotiation of settlement

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#### BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal returnable] [Duration: 4m 16s ]

#### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*

Post-1972 election strategy for dealing with the press

- -Treatment of Washington Post
- -Washington Post attacks on the President
  - -Nature of attacks
    - -Comparison with the New York Times

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

-Retractions

-Anthony Lewis column -John B. Connally

-Washington Post activities

-Anti-bugging sweep

- -Investigating firm
- -Reasons
  - -Katharine L. Graham
- -Investigating firm
- -Benjamin C. Bradlee
  - -Colson's view
  - -Speech on freedom of the press

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#### BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal returnable] [Duration: 3m 5s]

#### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

\*

**Polls** 

-Issues

-Albert E. Sindlinger's view

- -Corruption
- -Vietnam
  - -Effect
  - -Democrats
    - -McGovern position
- -Voter's preference
  - -Sindlinger's view
    - -Colson's recent conversation with Sindlinger
    - -Landslide
    - -National referendum
    - -The President's schedule
    - -Consensus of opinion
  - -Corruption, Vietnam

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

-Publication -Reason for results -Corruption

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#### BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 7m 39s]

#### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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Polls
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-Issues

-Corruption

-Richard M. Scammon's analysis

-Strategy

-McGovern

-Food prices

-Big business

-Washington, DC interest

-Voter's preference

-Sindlinger's view

-Connally

-Forthcoming appearance on Today Show

-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

-Clark MacGregor

-Robert J. Dole

-Voter's meaning

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#### BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 2m 55s]

# **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Nov-03)

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[This recording was cut off at an unknown time after 4:10 pm.]
[An unknown portion of this conversation was not recorded while the tape was being changed]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4