



## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

### **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

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

### 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
      - Demilitarized 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

# **NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

## **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

# **NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

## **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”

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**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
  - 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

# **NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

## **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

# NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## 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.

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 14m 48s ]

Ziegler left at 10:17 am.

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

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Ziegler entered at 10:19 am.

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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**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

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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]

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

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

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 11m 36s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

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

[End of telephone conversation]

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 3m 29s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

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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.

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 7m 6s]

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**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]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

# **NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

## **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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

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

- 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 Severeid
    - 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

Kissinger left at 12:26 pm.

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 13m 29 ]

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**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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**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 7m 11s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

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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.

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 26s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**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]

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**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]

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**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

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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*

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**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

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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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF****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

\*\*\*\*\*

Polls

- 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]

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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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]