Date:  July 20, 1972  
Time:  12:04 pm - 12:20 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger. This recording began at an unknown time while the conversation was in progress.

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 12:04 pm.

Refreshments

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

Kissinger’s schedule
   -Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG]

George S. McGovern
   -Briefing by Henry Kissinger
      -Location
         -McGovern’s office
         -Compared to White House
         -Press corps
         -Picture

Kissinger talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 12:04 pm and 12:20 pm.

[Conversation No. 349-1A]

Briefing
   -Fred Dutton
   -Location
      -McGovern’s office
      -White House
      -Press corps

[End of telephone conversation]

Briefing
   -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

Kissinger's trip
The President's previous meeting with Armand Hammer
- Hammer's recent trip to the Soviet Union
- Hammer’s previous trip to the Soviet Union

Peter M. Flanigan
- Relations with Kissinger
- Desire to put negotiations in writing
- Memorandum
  - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
    - View of Hammer deal
- Hammer deal
- Value
- Peter G. Peterson
- Bureaucracy
  - Haldeman
  -Leaks
- Kissinger's handling of negotiations
  - Berlin
  - [David] Kenneth Rush
- Memorandum to President about Hammer
  - The President's desire for secrecy
  - Staff
- Kissinger's handling of National Security Council [NSC] files
  - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  - Helmut ("Hal") Sonnenfeldt
  - Middle East affairs

President's meeting with Hammer
- Sonnenfeldt
  - Kissinger

Joseph C. Kraft's call to Kissinger

Vietnam
- Negotiations
  - Deadline
    - September 1972
    - The President’s recent talk with Kissinger
- Military situation
  - Military Region [MR] 1
    - Training division
- Negotiations
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Mar-02)

-North Vietnamese possible strategy
  -McGovern
-Nguyen Van Thieu
  -Continuance in office
    -Japan, Indonesia, Thailand, People's Republic of China [PRC], Soviet Union
-Government of Vietnam [GVN]
-Negotiations
  -Possible deal
    -Thieu
-Thieu
  -1972 election
    -GVN
-Negotiations
  -Possible deal
    -1972 election
      -House and Senate
        -Defense budget
-Leonid I. Brezhnev proposal
-July 1971 proposals
-Thieu
  -Possible candidacy
  -Pace

Middle East
  -Anwar el-Sadat
    -State Department

McGovern
  -Briefings by Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
    -Compared with Barry M. Goldwater in 1964

Vietnam
  -Negotiations
    -North Vietnamese strategy

McGovern
  -Briefing
    -Timing

Kissinger left at 12:20 pm.
Date: July 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:20 pm and 2:02 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

**The President met with Manolo Sanchez.**

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 5s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:02 pm.

Date: July 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:20 pm and 2:02 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

**The President met with an unknown person.**

The President's schedule

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 2:02 pm.
Date: July 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:20 pm and 2:02 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President talked with Rose Mary Woods at an unknown time.

[Conversation No. 349-4A]

The President's location

[End of telephone conversation]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:02 pm.
Date: July 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:20 pm and 2:02 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 27-21]

Date: July 20, 1972
Time: 2:02 pm - 2:06 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Julie Nixon Eisenhower.

[See Conversation No. 27-22]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 2m 31s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Date: July 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:06 pm and 3:02 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 4m 39s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Robert F. Kennedy
-Children
-War record
-Sons' military record
-Liberals
-Compared to [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II and Edward R.F. Cox

George S. McGovern's sons' military record
-Request for Woods to contact H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
-Public mail
-Kennedy
-Hubert H. Humphrey

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 22s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
Curtis W. Tarr
- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Selective Service System
- State Department
- Possible appointment
- Frederic V. Malek, Daniel T. Kingsley
- Melvin R. Laird
- Loyalty
- Tarr's conversation with Woods
  - Roy L. Ash Committee
  - Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]
    - State Department
    - Elliot L. Richardson
    - Reorganization
    - Cabinet meetings

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: __1m 30s__]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: __1m 25s__]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
Report on naval forces in Mediterranean
   - Franklin B. Lincoln, Jr.
   - John W. Warner
   - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
   - Haig
     - The President's note

National Security Council [NSC]

Congress

McGovern

Tarr
   - Haldeman

Cabinet members compared to Dwight D. Eisenhower's Cabinet
   - William P. Rogers and Christian A. Herter
   - Laird and Thomas S. Gates, Jr.
   - George P. Shultz and Robert B. Anderson
   - Richard G. Kleindienst and Rogers
   - Fred Seaton
   - Arthur S. Flemming
   - Arthur Summerfield
   - Frederick H. Mueller
   - Dwight Eisenhower's selection process
     - Herter

Gates
   - Missile gap charges during 1960 election
     - US military superiority
     - Soviet Union
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

White House gifts
   -Possible music boxes for foreign dignitaries
      -Cost
      -Design
      -US manufacture
      -Tricia Nixon Cox
      -[Giulio Andreotti] and wife

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

Haldeman talked with the President at 2:44 pm.
[Conversation No. 349-7A]
[See Conversation No. 27-23; one item has been withdrawn]
[End of telephone conversation]
HALDEMAN ENTERED AT 2:46 PM.

ROSE MARY WOODS LEFT AT 2:47 PM.

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

*****************************************************************
Haldeman talked with an unknown person between 2:47 pm and 3:02 pm.

[Conversation No. 349-7B]

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's schedule
- David N. Parker

[End of telephone conversation]

*****************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: __3m 30s__]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

*****************************************************************

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 2:47 pm and 3:02 pm.

[Conversation No. 349-7C]

Agnew's schedule

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule
- John B. Connally
- Camp David
Haldeman left at an unknown time before 3:02 pm.

Conversation No. 349-8

Date: July 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:47 pm and 3:02 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Book on great speeches

Conversation No. 349-9

Date: July 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:47 pm and 3:02 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

Conversation No. 349-10

Date: July 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:47 pm and 3:02 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

An unknown person talked with the President.

Unknown matter [wrong number?]
Conversation No. 349-11

Date: July 20, 1972
Time: 3:02 pm - 3:16 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 27-24; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation]

Conversation No. 349-12

Date: July 20, 1972
Time: 3:16 pm - 5:30 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman. Discontinuities in the conversation appear in the original recording.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 5m 52s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 3:16 pm and 4:02 pm. The President can be heard in the background.
[Conversation No. 349-12A]

Sequoia
-Schedule
-Menu
-Schedule
-Charles W. Colson
-Scammon
-Haldeman's schedule
-Request for a call to an unknown person

[End of telephone conversation]

*****************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 3m 47s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

*****************************************************************

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 3:16 pm and 4:02 pm.

[Conversation No. 349-12B]

The President's schedule
-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
-Executive Office Building [EOB]
-John N. Mitchell
-EOB

[End of telephone conversation]
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 22m 56s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Watergate
-Jeb Stuart Magruder
  -Possible indictment
  -Possible testimony
    -G[eorge] Gordon Liddy
    -Knowledge
    -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] interrogation July 20, 1972
  -Herbert L. Porter
    -FBI interrogation
  -L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
    -Conversation with John W. Dean, III, July 20, 1972
    -FBI inquiry
      -Duration
    -Grand jury
      -Duration
    -Interpretation by Mitchell and Dean
      -Timing of indictments
      -Magruder
  -Haldeman's conversation with Mitchell
    -Henry E. Petersen and Gray
      -Conversation with Dean
      -Handling of investigation
    -Investigation
      -White House activities
  -[TAPE MALFUNCTION]
  -Grand jury
  -Magruder
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Mar-02)

-Haldeman's conversation with Mitchell
-Paul O'Brien and [Kenneth W. Parkinson]
-Mitchell's strategy compared to John D. Ehrlichman's strategy
-Richard G. Kleindienst

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 3:16 pm and 4:02 pm.

[Conversation No. 349-12C]

[See Conversation No. 27-25]

[End of telephone conversation]

Watergate

The President talked with Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon between 4:02 pm and 4:04 pm.

[Conversation No. 349-12D]

[See Conversation No. 27-26; one item has been withdrawn]

*************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 20m 27s]

[END OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
*************************************************************

The President talked with the White House operator at 4:28 pm.

[Conversation No. 349-12E]

[See Conversation No. 27-27]
Haldeman talked with an unknown person.

[Conversation No. 349-12F]

Schedule
-EOB

[End of telephone conversation]

Colson entered at an unknown time after 4:28 pm.
James and John A. Roosevelt
   - Conversation with Rogers C.B. Morton
   - Possible ambassadorial role in administration
   - Bicentennial

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: __9m 12s__]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

McGovern
   - 1962
   - Jay Lovestone
   - The President’s view
   - Handling of Food for Peace program
     - George Meany's meeting with John F. Kennedy and Lovestone in 1962
   - Meeting with Meany in 1962
   - Cartoon in Daily World
     - Meany and Lovestone
   - Lovestone
     - Trotskyism
     - View of McGovern's supporters
       - Elitism
         - Destruction of existing social structures

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger at an unknown time between 4:28 pm and 4:55 pm.

[Conversation No. 349-12G]

Kissinger's schedule

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's conversation with Kissinger
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: ___9m 54s___]

KISSINGER ENTERED AT 4:55 PM.

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: ___11m 21s___]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

The President's schedule
- Meeting, July 21, 1972
  - Agenda
    - Cabinet and congressional leaders
    - Congress
    - Domestic affairs, defense
    - Melvin R. Laird
-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Kissinger's schedule
  - McGovernites
  - Senate "Doves"
  - Press
    - Vietnam negotiations
  - Briefing McGovern
    - *Face the Nation* appearance

Newspaper headlines

Vietnam
  - Radio Hanoi
    - Statement
  - Military situation
    - Training division
    - Joseph C. Kraft's views
  - Kissinger's meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    - Message
    - Expulsion of Soviet advisors from Egypt
  - Dobrynin's lunch with W[illiam] Averell Harriman
    - US diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    - Effect on US-Soviet relations
  - Briefing
  - Kraft
    - Story
    - Report to Embassy officer
      - Democratic consultants
      - Possible leak
    - John A. Scali

Meeting, July 21, 1972
  - Kissinger's possible role
  - End the war resolutions
    - Effect on negotiations

Kissinger left at 5:25 pm.
Kissinger
  - Kraft
  - Conversation with the President, July 19, 1972
  - Press relations
    - Compared to the President’s

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: __1m 39s__]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12

The President's schedule
  - Sequoia
    - Agenda for meeting
      - Republican National Convention
    - Scammon
    - Arrangements

Ehrlichman

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: __15s__]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13

Haldeman and Colson left at 5:30 pm.
Date: July 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 5:30 pm and 5:35 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:35 pm.

Date: July 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 5:30 pm and 5:35 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 18s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Conversation No. 349-15

Date: July 20, 1972
Time: 5:35 pm - 5:36 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

John D. Ehrlichman talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 27-29]

Conversation No. 349-16

Date: July 20, 1972
Time: 5:40 pm - 6:15 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman.

Ehrlichman's schedule
- New York meeting
- Nelson A. Rockefeller
- John W. Dean III
- The President's schedule

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 5:40 pm.
The President's instructions
Ehrlichman’s schedule
- New York meeting
- Agenda
  - Republican National Convention, 1972 campaign, legislative session

Executive Office Building [EOB]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:15 pm.

*****************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: __4m 40s__]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
*****************************************************************

The President's schedule
- Forthcoming meeting July 21, 1972
  - Agenda
    - Legislative leaders
    - Cabinet meeting
    - Clark MacGregor
    - William E. Timmons's paper
    - John B. Connally
      - Democrats for Nixon
    - Use of term “Democrats”
      - Compared to “McGovernites”

Forthcoming congressional session
- Democratic leadership
- Compared to 1948
  - Harry S. Truman, Thomas E. Dewey
- Congress, George S. McGovern, Thomas F. Eagleton
- Phrase "McGovernites"
- Name recognition
  - Media
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Mar-02)

- The President's possible vetoes
  - McGovern's possible tactics
- Revenue sharing
- Government spending and taxes
  - Statement
    - Donald F. Rodgers
  - Irving Kristol article
- The President's conversation with William T. Cahill, July 20, 1972

Taxes
  - Property
  - Value-added
  - Michigan referendum
    - William G. Milliken
    - Schools

Congress
  - Issues
    - Busing
      - McGovern, Eagleton
    - Government spending
    - MacGregor
    - McGovern's electability
      - Polls
  - McGovern
    - Possible landslide for the President
  - Possible presidency
    - Consequences
  - Forthcoming meeting July 21, 1972
    - Henry A. Kissinger
    - End the war resolutions

***************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: __12m 22s__]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
***************************************************************
Forthcoming meeting July 21, 1972 with Cabinet and congressional leaders
   -Press briefing on issues
   -Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger's views on budget
   -Hugh Scott, Gerald R. Ford
   -Memorandum

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 55s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Presidency
   -McGovern
      -Possible impact on country
      -Tax program

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 24s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

Ehrlichman left at 6:15 pm.
Date: July 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:15 pm and 6:18 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person.

Request for the sending of an unknown item

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 6:18 pm.