Conversation No. 371-1

Date: October 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:16 am and 8:25 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:25 am.

Conversation No. 371-2

Date: October 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:15 am and 8:25 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Request for a meeting in the Executive Office Building [EOB]

Conversation No. 371-3
Date: October 20, 1972
Time: 8:25 am - 8:40 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Vietnam
- Settlement negotiations
  - Message from North Vietnamese
  - Prisoners of War [POWs]
  - Replacement of military equipment for South Vietnam by US
  - US confirmation of acceptance of agreement
    - North Vietnamese threat to break off negotiations
  - Possible leak of agreement
  - Henry A. Kissinger's response
    - POWs in Laos, Cambodia
    - Le Duc Tho
- Text of an agreement
  - Delivery to North Vietnamese in Paris
- Nguyen Van Thieu
  - Transfer of US military aircraft
    - C-130s, A-34s [?]
  - Conversation with Kissinger
- Kissinger's schedule
  - Negotiation schedule
    - Ceasefire
  - Trip to Hanoi, October 24, 1972
  - Joint announcement
    - Haig's call to H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
    - October 27, 1972
- Signing ceremony in Paris
  - October 31, 1972
- Cease-Fire
  - Timing
    - October 28, 1972
- Kissinger's previous conversation with Thieu
- Public relations effort
- US peace settlement offer
- Possible coalition government in South Vietnam
  - Political liability in US
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Oct-06)

-George S. McGovern
-Possible briefing on the President's position
  -Kissinger
  -Ronald L. Ziegler, Haig
  -The President’s view
-Thieu’s strategy
  -President's possible statement on television
-Newsweek's call to Haig October 19, 1972
  -Arnaud De Borchgrave
    -Abram Chayes
    -Message from North Vietnamese in Paris
  -De Borchgrave's conversation with Pham Van Dong
  -Political settlement
  -Cease-fire
-North Vietnam's intentions
-1972 election
-Kissinger's possible statement
  -POWs in Laos, Cambodia
  -Troops around [Saigon]
-Status
-McGovern
-Negotiations
  -Issue of a coalition government
    -William H. Sullivan
    -William P. Rogers
-Background
  -Kissinger’s efforts
    -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision on bombing
      Hanoi and mining Haiphong Harbor
    -Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China [PRC]
    -Message from the Soviet Union
-Kissinger’s schedule
-North Vietnamese message
  -Kissinger's possible conversation with Thieu
-Thieu
  -US Policy
    -Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.’s possible conversation with
      Thieu
    -1972 election
-North Vietnamese intentions
  -Troops in Cambodia
The President's Schedule
- The President’s forthcoming meeting with Gen. William C. Westmoreland
- Previous meeting with Haig
- Presentation of report
- Assessment of Thieu
- Possible message to Thieu

Haig left at 8:40 am.

Conversation No. 371-4

Date: October 20, 1972  
Time: 9:11 am - 9:14 am  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's recent conversation with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Butterfield left at 9:14 am.

Conversation No. 371-5

Date: October 20, 1972  
Time: 9:15 am - 9:16 am  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 31-150]

Conversation No. 371-6

Date: October 20, 1972  
Time: 9:16 am - 9:50 am  
Location: Executive Office Building
The President met with Charles W. Colson.

Colson's schedule

The President's schedule
- Gen. William C. Westmoreland

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 6m 36s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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

George S. McGovern
- Watergate allegations
  - The President’s involvement

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 56s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

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

Campaign practices and Watergate
- McGovern’s October 19, 1972 attacks
  - Allegations regarding the President
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Oct-06)

- White House response
- The President’s view
- McGovern’s tone
- Compared to Hubert H. Humphrey

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 3m 50s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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

Campaign practices and Watergate
- McGovern’s allegations regarding the President
  - Vietnam
  - McGovern’s strategy
    - Possible public response
      - Food prices

Campaign issues
- National economy news
  - George P. Shultz
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Consumer Price Index [CPI]
- Vietnam
  - Henry A. Kissinger’s efforts on a possible peace settlement
    - Effect on McGovern’s campaign
    - Marvin Kalb’s statement
    - R. Sargent Shriver’s statement
      - Thomas W. Braden’s article

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal returnable]
Campaign practices
- McGovern campaign
  - In-fighting
  - Desperation
- Thomas P. Eagleton, Shriver
- Money problems
  - Publicity
- Al Smith Dinner
  - McGovern's speech
  - Vice President Agnew's speech
  - Terrence Cardinal Cooke

Issues
- The President's role
- Kissinger's role
- Budget
- Taxes
- The President's conduct compared to McGovern's conduct

Campaign issues
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Oct-06)

-The President’s strategy
-Agnew's statements on amnesty
  -Agnew’s handling of hecklers

Demonstrators
  -Ehrlichman’s conversation with Frank L. Rizzo
  -Police State comment

News stories
  -Patrick J. Buchanan’s ability to monitor the news
  -McGovern’s lack of success
    -Corruption issue and Donald H. Segretti
  -Visit from prisoner of war [POW] wives, October 16, 1972

The President's schedule
  -Revenue sharing
    -Signing ceremony I Philadelphia, October 20, 1972
  -Radio speech on education, October 25, 1972

Revenue sharing

1972 Campaign practices

McGovern's allegations regarding the President
  -Agnew’s statements
  -The President compared to Adolf Hitler
    -Public reaction
  -Agnew’s recent speech in Cleveland
    -Labor

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 40s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
Colson left at 9:50 am.

Conversation No. 371-7

Date: October 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:50 am and 10:04 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with John D. Ehrlichman.

The President's schedule
- Camp David meeting on economic issues
- World Series
- Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon’s schedule
  - Florida
- Ehrlichman’s and George P. Shultz’s recent press briefing
  - Philadelphia

Conversation No. 371-8

Date: October 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:50 am and 10:04 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
- Gen. William C. Westmoreland
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:04 am.

Conversation No. 371-9
Veteran met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr. and Gen. William C. Westmoreland.

Vietnam
- Peace settlement negotiations
  - Haig's previous conversation with Westmoreland
  - Message from Henry A. Kissinger
    - Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu's concerns
    - North Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam
    - Possible cease-fire violations
    - Tripartite committee
      - Coalition government
- Political aspects
  - The President's conversation with Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
    - National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord
- US public support
- Thieu
- Prisoners of War [POWs]
-Military Dispositions
  - Timing
    - Cease-fire
  - A-5’s
- Soviet Union
- Thieu
- The People's Republic of China [PRC]
- May 8, 1972 bombing of Hanoi and mining of Haiphong Harbor
- Analysis of conditions
  - Thieu
  - Cease-fire
    - Possible publicizing of settlement terms
- 1972 Election
- Westmoreland’s view
  - Military situation
  - POWs
  - Political problems for South Vietnam
    - Sovereignty
    - Thieu
Withdrawal of North Vietnamese forces

-Sovereignty of South Vietnam
  -Vietcong
  -Provisions of agreement
    -Thieu
  -Military realities
    -Saigon
    -Vietcong
  -Vietnamization

South Vietnamese Air Force

-Thieu’s intentions
  -Westmorland’s suspicions
-Sovereignty of South Vietnam

-Possible secret agreement
  -Possible bombing resumption
    -South Vietnamese Air Force
  -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese forces

-North Vietnamese POWs

-Bombing

-Additional military aid

-Withdrawal of military forces
-Sovereignty of South Vietnam
-US position

-Political realities
  -1972 election
    -Timing

-Control mechanisms of agreement
  -The President’s view
  -Cambodia, Laos

-Cambodia
  -US pressure on Lon Nol
  -Possible Military Action
    -The President’s view

-Laos

-Negotiations
-South Vietnamese morale
  -Thieu's Relations with US

-Thieu
  -The President’s view
    -Ngo Dinh Diem
-South Vietnamese political stability
Westmoreland and Haig left at 10:35 am.

Conversation No. 371-10

Date: October 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:35 am and 10:36 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

The President's schedule

Conversation No. 371-11

Date: October 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:35 am and 10:36 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 10:36 am.

Conversation No. 371-12

Date: October 20, 1972
Time: 10:36 am - 10:56 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

Watergate
- Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
  - Mark W. Felt
    - Haldeman's possible conversation with L.[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
    - Relationship with John D. Ehrlichman
      - E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
    - Haldeman's forthcoming conversation with Ehrlichman
    - Possible motivations
  - Time-Life reporter
- Religious, political views
- John W. Dean, III's efforts
- Justice Department
- Haldeman's forthcoming conversation with Ehrlichman
- Dean
  - Time-Life reporter
- Religious, political views
  - Possible motivations
Tricia Nixon Cox
- Conversation with the President October 19, 1972
  - Halloween at the White House
  - Public relations
  - Security considerations
  - Age of guests

An unknown person entered and left at an unknown time before 10:53 am.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 4m 42s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 17s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Revenue sharing signing ceremony in Philadelphia
  - Photograph opportunity
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Oct-06)

- Receiving line
  - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's role
  - Size
    - Compared to Texas trip
    - Frank L. Rizzo
- Return trip to Camp David
  - Ehrlichman
  - The President's arrival time

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr. at an unknown time between 10:36 am and 10:53 am.

[Conversation No. 371-12A]

Request that Haig join him

The White House operator talked with the President at 10:53 am.

[Conversation No. 371-12B]

[See Conversation No. 31-151]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule
  - Philadelphia
  - Drive
  - Haig's recent call to Haldeman

Haldeman left at 10:56 am.

Date: October 20, 1972
Time: 10:56 am - 11:10 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
Vietnam
-Peace settlement negotiations
  -Henry A. Kissinger's talk with Thieu
  -Gen. William C. Westmoreland's Views
    -The President's previous conversation with Westmoreland
    -Private understanding
    -South Vietnamese sovereignty
    -North Vietnamese intentions
    -Settlement predictions
    -Westmoreland's Views
  -The President's letter
  -South Vietnamese Security Council
  -Thieu's possible reaction
    -Westmoreland's views
    -Haig’s view
      -Kissinger’s pressure on Thieu
        -Timing compared with 1972 election
      -Risks
      -Haig's conversation with Kissinger
        -1972 election
        -Thieu
  -The President’s forthcoming message to Kissinger
    -1972 Election
      -Timing of settlement
      -Kissinger
        -The President’s view
    -Possible settlement
      -Thieu’s possible acceptance
        -Gen. Creighton W. Abrams's view
        -Haig’s view
    -The President’s forthcoming message to Kissinger
      -Prevention of Communist takeover of South Vietnam’s territory
        -Thieu’s role
        -Risk of North Vietnamese public release
          -US Response
            -Thieu
      -Kissinger's previous message
        -Haig's reaction
    -The President's schedule
      -Haig’s updates for the President
Haig left at 11:10 am.

Conversation No. 371-14

Date: October 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:10 am and 11:19 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:19 am.

Conversation No. 371-15

Date: October 23, 1972
Time: Unknown between 7:47 am and 8:34 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Delivery of an item
- Raymond K. Price, Jr.
- David R. Gergen

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:34 am.

Conversation No. 371-16

Date: October 23, 1972
Time: Unknown between 7:47 am and 8:34 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum to Raymond K. Price, Jr.

- Television speech, “Look to the Future,” November 2, 1972
  - The President’s statement in Atlanta
  - Themes
    - Moral and religious values
    - Background material for New York trip
    - Erosion and revitalization
    - “One child” theme
    - The President’s previous use with narcotics control and education
    - The President’s 1968 nomination acceptance speech
  - Equal opportunity
  - Camp David

Conversation No. 371-17

Date: October 23, 1972
Time: Unknown between 7:47 am and 8:34 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person.

Dictabelt for Rose Mary Woods

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 8:34 am.

Conversation No. 371-18

Date: October 23, 1972
Time: Unknown between 7:47 am and 8:34 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
Bull left at an unknown time before 8:34 am.

Conversation No. 371-19

Date: October 23, 1972
Time: 8:34 am - 9:17 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

File of messages between Henry A. Kissinger and the White House
   - The President’s request
   - The President’s schedule
   - Nassau

Vietnam
   - Peace settlement negotiations
      - Haig’s conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, October 22, 1972
      - Possible additional changes
         - Kissinger's Message
      - Kissinger’s relations with Haig
         - Haig’s conversation with the President
      - Possible bombing halt and reduction of bombing
         - The President’s telephone call to William P. Rogers, October 22, 1972

- 1972 election
   - Importance for US Foreign Policy
      - Soviet Union, the People's Republic China [PRC]

- Survival of South Vietnam
   - Prospects
      - The President’s view
      - PRC
      - South Korea
- Taiwan, Republic of China
- Japan, Indonesia, Thailand
- 1972 Election
  - Appearance of influence
    - Possible dumping of Thieu
- Kissinger’s views and efforts
  - The President’s Visit to Soviet Union May 1972
  - Roger’s comments
    - The President’s schedule, October 24, 1972
    - Photograph session
- Kissinger’s conversation with Thieu
- Kissinger’s possible trip to Hanoi
- Haig’s conversation with Dobrynin
  - Possible Paris meeting
  - Le Duc Tho
- Pressure on Thieu
- The President’s conversation with Rogers
  - Thieu’s role
    - Roger’s previous conversation with Haig
    - U. Alexis Johnson
    - William H. Sullivan
- Roger’s view
  - PRC
- US Casualties
  - The President’s view
  - Communist domination of Eastern Europe after World War II
- Gen. William C. Westmoreland’s view
- Military’s view
- Peace settlement negotiations
  - Changes in possible settlement
    - Thieu
      - North Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam
- Possible US announcement of bilateral agreement with North Vietnam
  - Kissinger
  - Thieu
  - Public pressure
- 1972 Election
  - Thieu’s leverage
  - Kissinger’s view
  - The President’s view
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Oct-06)

-Terms
  -Withdrawal if US forces
  -Stopping of US bombing, mining
  -Prisoners of war [POWs]
  -North Vietnamese withdrawal from Cambodia and Laos
  -US aid to South Vietnam
    -Soviet Union aid to North Vietnam

-Duration of War
  -January 1, 1973
  -Views of American People
    -Thieu

-Thieu’s role
  -Haig’s conversation with Dobrynin
  -Newspaper headlines
  -Thieu’s distrust of Kissinger and communists
    -Communist strategy
    -Cease-fire
    -Document capture

-Post-1972 election
  -Possible ultimatum to Thieu by the President
    -Kissinger

-Cease-fire
  -Kissinger
  -Possible presentation of fait accompli

-Haig's conversation with Dobrynin
  -North Vietnamese actions
    -Public relations

-Negotiation record
  -The President’s request
  -Kissinger conversation with Thieu

-U.S. Military Policy
  -May 8, 1972 decision to bomb Hanoi and mine Haiphong Harbor
    -The President's conversation with Kissinger
  -The President's visit to Soviet Union, May 1972
    -Possible cancellation of Soviet summit
      -John B. Connally's previous views
      -North Vietnamese Spring 1972 offensive
      -The President’s view
  -Kissinger’s view
  -Views of Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], National Security Council [NSC]
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Oct-06)

-Kissinger's Views
-John Negroponte’s views
-Winston Lord's view
-Kissinger's views
  -Cambodia
  -Compared with the President, Connally
  -PRC. Soviet Union policy
-Bombing and mining
  -effect on negotiations
  -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer's views
  -CIA's views
  -Effect on North Vietnam
    -News stories
  -Views of the American people
    -Connally's view
    -The President's conversation with H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  -PRC, Soviet Union

Kissinger
  -The President’s view
    -Associates

Vietnam
  -Peace settlement negotiations
    -The President's forthcoming meeting With Rogers
    -Haig’s possible conversation with Kissinger
      -State Department Bureaucracy
  -Leaks
    -The President’s view
      -State Department
      -Hanoi
  -Kissinger's Views
    -State Department
    -Secrecy
  -Marvin L. Kalb
  -Rogers
  -Melvin R. Laird
  -The President's conversation with Rogers October 22, 1972
    -Korean concerns
      -Thieu
      -Park Chung Hee
-Fear of US abandonment

-Cease-fire
  -Psychological importance
    -Thieu
    -Victory

-Haig's conversation with Kissinger
  -Timing
  -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
  -Thieu’s cooperation
  -Settlement conditions

-North Vietnamese position
  -1972 election
  -Polls
    -Possible release of settlement offer
      -Haig's conversation with Dobrynin October 22, 1972

-McGovern’s campaign
  -Thieu’s future
  -Haig's conversation with Charles W. Colson

-The President’s schedule, October 22, 1972
  -Announcement
    -Rogers
    -Timing

-Laird
  -Prisoners of war [POWs]

-North Vietnamese intentions
  -Possible US bombing halt
  -Assistance to South Vietnam
  -The President’s instructions
  -20th parallel
  -North Vietnam
    -Gen. John D. Lavelle
      -Protective reaction
        -The President's orders to Laird
      -Falsification of records
      -Targets
        -Surface to air missiles [SAMs]
      -Falsification of records
      -The President’s instructions
      -POWs
    -Mining and Bombing
      -Cambodia, Laos
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Oct-06)

- POWs
- Cease-fire
- Peace settlement negotiations
  - Control of territory provisions
  - Thieu
- Communist representation in South Vietnamese National Assembly
  - Compared to France, Italy
  - Thieu
  - Possible meeting with the President
  - Timing compared with 1972 election
  - Congress
  - Funding

Football game
- Washington Redskins
  - White House television capability
  - Comparison with Dallas Cowboys
  - Larry Brown

Haig left at 9:17 am.

Conversation No. 371-20

Date: October 23, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:17 am - 9:55 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Request for a meeting with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman

Conversation No. 371-21

Date: October 23, 1972
Time: 9:55 am - 10:38 am
Location: Executive Office Building
The President met with H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: __16m 9s__]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

The President’s schedule

Henry A. Kissinger
- The President’s recent meeting with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Haig

Vietnam
- Peace settlement negotiations
  - Possible bombing halt
  - Timing compared with 1972 election
    - John D. Erlichman’s view
    - Haldeman’s view
- Kissinger's itinerary
- Possible North Vietnamese statements
  - Prisoners of war [POWs]
  - Coalition government
- Coalition government
  - North Vietnamese statements
    - Soviet Union
    - Victory celebrations
  - Kissinger’s efforts
    - Haig
- Haig’s role
  - Accompanying Kissinger on trips as opposed to speaking for the President
- Military compared to political problems
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Oct-06)

-Haig’s and Kissinger’s view
-1972 Election
-George S. McGovern
-Nguyen Van Thieu

1972 campaign
-Public relations
-White House role
-Alvin Snyder
-Questions of television programs
-Response to McGovern’s debate issue
-Clark K. MacGregor
-Instruction for Charles W. Colson
-Kissinger
-Colson
-Vietnam
-Magazines
-Schedule

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: _5m_]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Vietnam
-Peace settlement negotiations
-1972 election
-Thieu's reaction to proposed settlement
-Patrick J. Buchanan and Raymond K. Price
-North Vietnamese
-Soviet Union
-Kissinger
-William L. Safire
-Public statements
The President's schedule
 - Radio broadcast
   - White House
     - Camp David
     - Kissinger
     - Library
     - Sound
   - Kentucky

Haldeman left at 10:38 am.

Conversation No. 371-22

Date: October 23, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:38 am and 11:15 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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

The President's schedule
Charles W. Colson

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:15 am.

Conversation No. 371-23

Date: October 23, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:38 am and 11:15 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule
Forthcoming meeting with Charles W. Colson

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:15 a.m.

Conversation No. 371-24

Date: October 23, 1972
Time: 11:15 am - 11:17 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Henry A. Kissinger and William P. Rogers
Butterfield left at 11:17 a.m.