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
    -Bombering
    -Hardline approach
  -Bombering
    -Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
    -B-52’s
      -19th parallel
      -20th 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
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”
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
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
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 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
-Campaign contributions
  -Clark MacGregor
  -Transfer of funds
-MacGregor
-John N. Mitchell
-Kevin P. Phillips
-Films
-Buildup
-Radio
-\textit{U.S. News and World Report}
-Telephone calls
-Robert J. Dole
-Phillips
  -News summary
-News summary

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: \textbf{3m 33s}]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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

[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
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
[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_]
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
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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: ___13m 31s__]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
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 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

Kissinger left at 12:26 pm.

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 13m 29 ]
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

********************************************************************************
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
********************************************************************************
Haldeman left at 1:05 pm.

Date: October 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:05 pm and 1:13 pm.
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: _5m 36s_]
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
- 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

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
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

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
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Nov-03)

-Publication
-Reason for results
-Corruption

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

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

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: __2m 55s__]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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

[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]