Conversation No. 810-1

Date: October 31, 1972
Time: 11:04 am - 11:10 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler at 11:04 am.

[This recording began at an unknown time while the conversation was in progress.]

Statement on possible Vietnam settlement
- Coalition government
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.’s view
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
- Preservation of South Vietnam’s right to choose its own government
- Expectations of agreement
  - Henry A. Kissinger’s schedule
    - Timing
    - Signing of agreement
    - Associated Press [AP] wire story

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:04 am.

The president's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:10 am.

- Deadline
  - Deliberate pace of negotiations
    - Avoidance of resumption of war
  - The President’s meeting with Kissinger

Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:04 am.

The President’s schedule
  - Kissinger’s office

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:10 am.
Conversation No. 810-2

Date: October 31, 1972
Time: 11:10 am - 11:36 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Nelson A. Rockefeller and Henry A. Kissinger; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

Rockefeller’s forthcoming National Press Club speech
- Cuts in text
- Vietnam

Vietnam negotiations
- History of US peace agreement
  - 1968 bombing halt
- Possible agreement
  - Deadline
- Message from Hanoi
  - North Vietnamese position
    - View of US negotiating tactics
    - Deadlines
    - The President's previous message to Hanoi
- Possible publication of negotiation record
- Demand for settlement
- North Vietnamese leaks of terms
  - Phom Van Dong’s interview in Newsweek
    - Attempted modification of settlement terms
- Coalition government
- Orders to North Vietnamese cadres
  - Ignore cease-fire to seize territory
- North Vietnamese interpretation administrative structure
- North Vietnamese troop withdrawal
  - No reinforcement provision
- Message from Hanoi
  - Kissinger’s view
    - 1972 election
    - Factors conducive to settlement
    - Bombing
- Possible publication of negotiation record
- Possible backgrounder by Kissinger
  - Timin
    - The President’s speech [“Look to the Future”] November 2, 1972
- Rockefeller’s forthcoming National Press Club speech
  - Use of information regarding orders to Vietcong [VC]
  - The President’s view
    - Differences between negotiating parties
      - Peace
      - 1968 agreement
- Phom Van Dong’s interview in Newsweek
  - Attempted modification of settlement terms
- Rockefeller’s forthcoming National Press Club speech
  - The President’s view
- [Arnold] Eric Sevareid
  - Analysis
    - Timing of possible settlement
      - 1972 election
- US position
  - North Vietnamese strategy
    - Quality of agreement
- North Vietnamese strategy
  - Concessions
    - Nguyen Van Thieu
  - 1972 election
  - Military Situation
    - Cadres
    - Bombing
      - B-52s
      - 19th parallel
- Previous US internal restriction
  - 20th parallel
  - 19th parallel
  - Supply dumps
- Rockefeller’s forthcoming National Press Club speech
  - Possible press questions
  - Kissinger’s “Peace is at hand” remark
  - Progress of negotiations
- Rockefeller’s view
- Administration press strategy
  - Possible publication of negotiating record
  - Breakdown of talks
  - Blame on North Vietnamese
- Nature of agreement
  - North Vietnamese position
- Kissinger’s forthcoming backgrounder
  - Timing
    - Rockefeller’s view
    - Kissinger’s view
    - Information from Hanoi
  - US press reaction
- Possible clarification of points
  - North Vietnamese troop withdrawal
  - North Vietnamese seizure of territory
  - Pham Van Dong’s interview
    - Coalition Government
- Rockefeller’s view
  - The President compared to Winston S. Churchill
- Rockefeller’s forthcoming National Press Club speech
  - John N. Mitchell’s request of Rockefeller
- Thieu
  - Kissinger’s previous meeting with Thieu
  - Necessity of US consultation with Thieu
    - North Vietnamese pressure for settlement
    - Possible publication of negotiation record
- Rockefeller’s dinner with Abraham M. Rosenthal
  - Foreign Affairs Editor of New York Times, [James Greenfield]
  - New York Times
  - Greenfield’s view of Kissinger’s press briefing
  - Editorial
  - Consistency of the Administration’s negotiating position
-Far left
  -Attitude toward Thieu
    -Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
-US position
  -Press statements
    -Conciliation
  -Status of negotiations
  -Kissinger’s forthcoming meeting with Jay Lovestone
    -George Meany
  -George S. McGovern stance
    -Signing of agreement
      -Abrogation of agreement
      -Arms to South Vietnam
      -Aid to South Vietnam
      -Effects on talks

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: __1m 50s__]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Support for the President
  -New York Times
  -Catholic community
    -Jewish community
  -Catholic community
    -Vietnam War
      -Francis Cardinal Spellman
        -The President’s previous trip to Vietnam as Vice President

Vietnam negotiations
-Administration’s desire for peace
  -North Vietnamese demand for settlement
  -Need for clarification of settlement terms
- Kissinger possible backgrounder
  -Paris Situation
  -Timing
  -Issues
-Propaganda
- The President’s defense of national interests
- Nature of agreement
  - South Vietnam

The President’s schedule
  - Possible post-election meeting with Rockefeller
    - Camp David
    - Lyndon B. Johnson,
    - Forthcoming signing of 1973 Appropriations Act

Rockefeller and Kissinger left at 11:36 am.

---

**Conversation No. 810-3**

Date: October 31, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 11:36 am and 11:43 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
  - Signing ceremony of 1973 Appropriations Act
    - Possible photograph session

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:43 am.

---

**Conversation No. 810-4**
Date: October 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:36 am and 11:43 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown woman.

The President’s schedule
   -Forthcoming signing of 1973 Appropriations Act

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 11:43 am.

Conversation No. 810-5

Date: October 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:36 am and 11:43 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Forthcoming signing ceremony of 1973 Appropriations Act
   -Alexander P. Butterfield’s location
   -Timing
   -Possible photograph session

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:43 am.

Conversation No. 810-6

Date: October 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:43 am and 11:53 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
   -House Resolution [H R] 1
   -H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Nov-03)

-[Signing of documents]
  -Veto
  -John D. Ehrlichman
  -Appropriations
  -Pen
  -Ronald L. Ziegler's location
    -Press

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:43 am.

  -Signing ceremony of 1973 Appropriations Act
    -Timing
    -Wire services
      -Photograph session

Bull and Butterfield left at an unknown time before 11:53 am.

Conversation No. 810-7

Date: October 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:43 am and 11:53 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

  The President’s schedule
  -Annual report of Commerce Department
    -Office of Minority Business Enterprises
  -Ideas Editors
    -Ideas
      -Conservative Jewish thought
      -H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 27s]
Display case
-Coins

Butterfield left at 11:53 am.

Conversation No. 810-8

Date: October 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:53 am and 11:54 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Ronald L. Ziegler’s briefing
- The President’s forthcoming trip

The President’s schedule

The President and Bull left at an unknown time before 11:54 am.

Conversation No. 810-19

Date: October 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:54 am and 2:38 pm
Location: Oval Office

An unknown person [Secret Service agent] talked with an unknown person.

The President’s location
- Executive office building [EOB]
Conversation No. 810-9

Date: October 31, 1972
Time: 2:38 pm - 2:41 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

[This recording began at an unknown time while the conversation was in progress.]

The President’s schedule
  - Henry A. Kissinger
  - Signing of 1973 Appropriations Act

Butterfield left at 2:41 pm.

Conversation No. 810-10

Date: October 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:41 pm and 2:42 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
  - Signing ceremony of 1973 Appropriations Act
  - Henry A. Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:42 pm.

Conversation No. 810-11

Date: October 31, 1972
The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

The President’s schedule
   - Possible appearance O'Hare International Airport
   - Dwight L. Chapin's conversation with John H. ("Jack") Riley
   - Possible size of crowd
   - Possible trip to Duluth, Minnesota
   - Richard Moore
   - Announcement of forthcoming trips
     - Illinois
     - Oklahoma
     - Illinois
   - Possible trips to Oklahoma and North Carolina

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:41 pm.

   Signing ceremony of 1973 Appropriations Act
      - Henry A. Kissinger
      - Photograph session

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:42 pm.

The President's trip to Chicago and Oklahoma
   - Announcements

Haldeman left at 2:42 pm.

Conversatio No. 810-12

Date: October 31, 1972
Time: 2:42 pm - 2:44 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with the White House photographer and members of the press.
Signing ceremony of 1973 Appropriations Act
  -[Photograph session]
  -Pen distribution
  -Details of legislation vetoed or approved by the President
    -Alexander P. Butterfield

The White House photographer et al. left at 2:44 pm.

---

Conversation No. 810-13

Date: October 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:44 pm and 2:52 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
  -Henry A. Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:52 pm.

---

Conversation No. 810-14

Date: October 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:44 pm and 2:52 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person [H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman].

Compilation of material
  -Radio tapes
  -Television tapes
  -Film
  -Letters
Conversation No. 810-l5

Date: October 31, 1971
Time: 2:52 pm - 3:23 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Nelson A. Rockefeller's National Press Club speech
  -Quality of speech
    -Kissinger’s view
  -Reaction
  -Defense of the President’s foreign policy
  -Reception

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 2:52 pm.

Refreshment

The unknown person left at an unknown time after 3:23 pm.

Nelson A. Rockefeller's National Press Club speech
  -Points
    -Vietnam peace treaty
      -The President's stance
        -Details of agreement
          -Armistice compared to peace
          -Response by audience
    -Quality
      -Kissinger’s recent press conference
        -Response by audience

Vietnam negotiations
  -Public relations
    -The Administration's aggressive stance
      -Demonstrators
    -Support from conservatives
      -Details of agreement
    -Troop Withdrawal
      -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
- Los Angeles Times
- New York Times
- Marvin L. Kalb
- Dan Rather
- Coalition Government
  - Kalb
    - [Arnold] Eric Sevareid
    - Possible result in collapse of South Vietnamese government
- US failure to sign agreement
  - The President’s moral position
- Bombing halt of 1968
  - Public perception
- North Vietnamese reaction
  - Kissinger’s view
    - Anticipation of victory
    - Instructions to cadres
- Press reaction
  - Kissinger
  - Nguyen Van Thieu’s reaction
  - North Vietnamese reaction
- Ambiguities
- North Vietnamese Position
  - Negotiation schedule
  - Bombing halt
  - 1972 election
  - Attacks on Kissinger
    - Kissinger’s use of the phrase “peace is at hand”

- US position
  - Possible message after 1972 election
  - Negotiation record since October 22, 1972
    - US initiatives
  - Possible message to Thieu
    - Thieu’s position

- Outcome
  - Polls
  - Effect of negotiations on Watergate and other issues
  - News domination
  - Public perception
    - The President’s strength
    - Settlement signing prior to 1972 election
    - Kissinger's mail
-News summary
  -Emphasis on negative stories
-Liberal Reaction
-Troop withdrawal
  -Kissinger’s efforts with press
-Announcement of signing
  -Timing
    -Late November 1972
    -Benefit to the President’s second term
-Bombing
  -Possible deployment of B-52s
  -Possible reconnaissance around Hanoi
  -Extent
  -North Vietnamese reaction
    -Possible continuation of war
-North Vietnamese strategy
  -Territorial situation
  -Reaction of cadres
-US position
  -Initiative
  -Insistence on a proper agreement
-Military Pressure
-Rockefeller’s National Press Club speech
  -Audience response
  -Television coverage
  -US stance
    -Peace compared to armistice
  -Support for the President
-George S. McGovern’s position
  -Desire to negotiate agreement
  -Desire to sign agreement
-North Vietnamese strategy
  -Negotiating stance
    -Possible break off of talks
    -William J. Porter
-Military Position
  -Offensive
    -Feasibility
  -Resupplying
    -Effect on signing
  -US bombing
-Forthcoming People's Republic of China [PRC] note
-PRC refusal to attend dinner party
  -New York
  -Chiao Kuan-Hua
  -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
-PRC note
  -Possible tone
-Public Reaction
  -Joseph C. Kraft
    -Quality of US diplomatic performance
      -PRC
      -Soviet Union
      -North Vietnam
      -South Vietnam
  -Post-1972 election reactions
-US honor

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: ___1m 58s___]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

The President's post-1972 election schedule
  -Possible trip to Florida
    -Cabinet

Vietnam negotiations
  -Kissinger’s schedule
  -US power
    -1972 election
  -North Vietnamese actions
    -Seizure of territory
    -Coalition government
  -North Vietnamese statement on peace
- Continuation of war
- Thieu
  - Casualties
- Kissinger's talk with Max Frankel
  - US preparations for peace
- Protests over terms
- Post-1972 election stance
  - Victory claims
- Relationship with the President
- Possible visit with the President
  - San Clemente
- Negotiation schedule
- Press relations
  - Kissinger’s possible meeting with John W. Chancellor
- Message from the President
- Sevareid
- Howard K. Smith
- Hugh S. Sidey
- “Georgetown set”
- “New York set”
- Time-Life
- Reaction to the administration’s success
  - Shift blame from liberal ideas to McGovern
- Press sympathy for McGovern
  - Opposition to US power
- Possible Vietnam settlement
  - Thieu
  - Coalition government
  - US military assistance to South Vietnam
- Congress
  - Funding for South Vietnam assistance
  - 1972 election

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 2m 15s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
Vietnam negotiations
  - Attacks on US position
    - North Vietnam
    - Thieu
    - Washington Post
  - North Vietnamese strategy
    - Possible break off of negotiations
      - 1972 election
      - Polls
  - Press relations
    - Timing
    - The President’s forthcoming trip to Chicago
    - Ronald L. Ziegler

McGovern campaign
  - Press blaming of McGovern
  - News Summary
  - Thomas F. Eagleton
    - Effect on McGovern campaign
      - McGovern's stand on issues
Democratic National Convention
  - Marlo Thomas, Shirley MacLaine
    - Abortion issue
    Appearance of delegates

Kissinger’s forthcoming conversation with Jay Lovestone

Kissinger left at 3:23 pm

Conversation No. 810-l6

Date: October 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:23 pm and 3:25 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.
The President’s signing of the 1973 Appropriations Act
-Mementoes
- Alexander P. Butterfield
- Presidential library [?]  

Bull left at an unknown time after 3:25 pm.

Conversation No. 810-17

Date:  October 31, 1972
Time:  3:25 pm - 4:08 pm
Location:  Oval Office

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

1973 Appropriations Act
- 92nd Congress

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 46s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Nelson A. Rockefeller's National Press Club speech
- Reaction
  - Henry A. Kissinger
  - Vietnam negotiations

Vietnam negotiations
-US public opinion
  -Polls
  -Peace
    -Peace advocates
      -Opposition to the President
      -Marijuana
      -Abortion
      -Welfare
      -Amnesty for draft evaders
      -Permissive judges
      -Government size

The President's schedule
  -Speeches
    -Chicago
      -Length of speech
      -Richard B. Olgie
      -Charles H. Percy
      -Congressmen
      -Importance of Illinois
      -Recent train accident in Chicago
      -Peace settlement

Public relations
  -Poll
    -Timing
    -Questions
      -Laos, Cambodia
      -Vietnam negotiations
    -Louis P. Harris
    -Opinion Research Corporation [ORC]
    -Timing
      -Verification of previous results
      -Reaction to peace talks
      -The President’s forthcoming statements
      -Reaction to corruption issue
  -Possible shift in polls
    -Verification
    -Reasons
      -George S. McGovern
      -Supporters
Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 3:40 p.m.

Announcements
- The President’s schedule
  - Chicago
    - O’Hare International Airport
  - Oklahoma
  - Providence, Rhode Island
  - Details
  - Chicago
    - Possible motorcade
    - Train accident
    - Adjustment of schedule
  - Ziegler’s morning briefing
    - Vietnam
    - Wire services
- Administration stance
  - Nature of peace settlement
    - Previous peace agreements
      - 1968
  - Justification for the President's schedule
    - Oklahoma, Rhode Island
      - Congressional elections
    - North Carolina, New Mexico, Oklahoma
    - Rhode Island
    - New Mexico
    - Details of trip

Ziegler left at 3:44 pm.

Ziegler
- The President's view

Polls
- Value of additional polls
  - Corruption issue
    - Lawsuit
  - Vietnam
- Possible shifts in polls
  - Reasons
    - New charges of corruption
      - McGovern
    - *Washington Post*
    - Lack of new information

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: _14m 25s_]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
Haldeman left at 4:08 pm.

Conversation No. 810-18

Date: October 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 4:10 pm, October 31, 1972 and 3:01 pm, November 1, 1972
Location: Oval Office


An unknown person [Secret Service agent] talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 4:10 pm, October 31, 1972 and 3:01 pm, November 1, 1972.

[Conversation No. 810-18A]

The President's location
- Executive Office Building [EOB]
An unknown person [Secret Service agent] talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 4:10 pm, October 31, 1972 and 3:01 pm, November 1, 1972.

[Conversation No. 810-18B]

The President's location

[End of telephone conversation]

The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 3:01 pm, November 1, 1972.