

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar-02)

Conversation No. 349-1

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

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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

- -Sonnnenfeldt
 - -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

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-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
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Kissinger left at 12:20 pm.

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•	TA T	240 0
Conversation	NO.	349-2

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.

Conversation No. 349-3

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.

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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: 27s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 ************************************
The President talked with Rose Mary Woods at an unknown time
[Conversation No. 349-4A]
The President's location
[End of telephone conversation]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 40s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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

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Conversation No. 349-5

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]

Conversation No. 349-6

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

Conversation No. 349-7

Date: July 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:06 pm and 3:02 pm

Tape Subject Log (rev. Mar-02)

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

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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
************************
    Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters's visit to Woods
        -Henry A. Kissinger
        -Briefing
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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 25s]
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END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

Tape Subject Log

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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
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-US military superiority

-Soviet Union

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 10m 47s]

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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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 5m 57s]
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]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 9m 32s]

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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

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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?]

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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

Sequoia

-Schedule

-Richard M. Scammon

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.

Tape Subject Log

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[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]

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[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

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-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]

Tape Subject Log (rev. Mar-02)

[End of telephone conversation]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 59s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

Haldeman talked with an unknown person. [Conversation No. 349-12F]
Schedule -EOB
[End of telephone conversation]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 10m 27s]
Colson entered at an unknown time after 4:28 pm.
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

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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

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************************************ **BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8** [Personal returnable] [Duration: 9m 54s] KISSINGER ENTERED AT 4:55 PM. END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8 ************************* Vietnam -Kissinger's conversation with McGovern -The President's January 25, 1972 Vietnam speech -George Stevens's party -Vietnam negotiations -McGovern's role -Troop withdrawal for prisoners of war [POWs] ************************* 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

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-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

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Kissinger's schedule
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- -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.

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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.

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Conversation No. 349-13

Conversation No. 349-14

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.

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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

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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

Forthcoming congressional session

- -Democratic leadership
- -Compared to 1948
 - -Harry S. Truman, Thomas E. Dewey

-Use of term "Democrats"

-Compared to "McGovernites"

- -Congress, George S. McGovern, Thomas F. Eagleton
- -Phrase "McGovernites"
- -Name recognition
 - -Media

Tape Subject Log

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-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
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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 12m 22s ]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
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Tape Subject Log

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-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.

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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.