

## **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Oct-06)

Conversation No. 779-3/780-1

Date: September 15-16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:43 pm, September 15 and 1:01 am, September 16, 1972

Location: Oval Office

[An unknown portion of the conversation was not recorded while the tape was changed]

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Vietnam peace negotiations

- -Kissinger's meeting with Le Duc Tho
  - -Release of US Prisoners of war [POWs]
    - -Perception of US thinking
    - -Reciprocation by US
    - -Peace group
      - -Hanoi
    - -Announcement
  - -Georges J.R. Pompidou
  - -Possible press reaction
  - -Saigon
  - -Peace proposals by North Vietnam
    - -Kissinger's view
    - -Provisional government
      - -Nguyen Van Thieu's position
      - -Various approaches
        - -Territorial control
  - -Future meetings
    - -September 29, 1972
    - -State Department interpreter
      - -W[illiam] Averell Harriman
  - -Possible settlement
    - -Timing
      - -1972 election
        - -Louis P. Harris poll
        - -Concessions
      - -October 15, 1972
    - -Scheduling with North Vietnamese
    - -Saigon

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -The President
- -Domestic opposition
  - -Reaction
- -Prospects
  - -Kissinger's view
- -Le Duc Tho
  - -Kissinger's view
- -International Control Commission
- -Political settlement
  - -Two-day meeting
    - -Possible motivations
    - -Effect on 1972 election
  - -Publicity
  - -The President's possible re-election
    - -Kissinger's view
    - -Bombing
    - -Effect on North Vietnamese
    - -Negotiation stance for November
  - -Tone
  - -Compared to 1971
  - -Chou En-Lai
- -North Vietnamese
  - -Possible settlement
  - -Negotiating tactics
  - -Speed of negotiations
  - -Changes in demands
    - -Saigon's position
  - -Attitude
  - -Kissinger's meeting with Pompidou
  - -New US proposal
- -Thieu
  - -Negotiating stance
    - -Cease fire
- -North Vietnamese
  - -Negotiating stance
- -Leonid I. Brezhnev
  - -Le Duc Tho
    - -Moscow
    - -Kiril Mazurov
- -Kissinger's meeting with Brezhnev
  - -Kremlin

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -Politburo
- -Cabinet room
- -The President
- -US visit
- -Camp David
- -Soviet naval base
- -Key Biscayne, Florida
  - -Brezhnev's gift to the President
    - -Hydrofoil
- -Peace talks
- -Soviet Union position
  - -Le Duc Tho statement
  - -Thieu
- -Peace negotiations
  - -Pompidou
  - -Edward R.C. Heath
  - -Willy Brandt
- -Kissinger's forthcoming press conference
- -Report on negotiations
  - -The President's dealings with Brezhnev
  - -Complete peace package

#### **US-Soviet relations**

- -Public announcements
  - -William P. Rogers
  - -Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
    - -Informing Soviets
    - -Possible leaks
  - -Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR] and European Security Conference
    - -State Department handling
  - -Rogers
    - -Date for talks
  - -SALT II
    - -Timing
  - -US-Soviet trade agreement
  - -Scheduling
    - -Guarantee of all agreements
      - -SALT
      - -Trade
    - -Maritime agreement

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -Bunkering
- -Trade agreement
  - -Progress
  - -Rogers
  - -Monetary figures
  - -Lend-lease
    - -Amounts
- -Trade agreement
  - -James T. Lynn
  - -Peter G. Peterson
    - -The President's view

#### Kissinger's forthcoming press conference

- -Announcement of agreements
  - -Actual peace agreement for Vietnam
  - -Kissinger's handling of question
    - -European Security Conference
      - -Issues
    - -SALT
    - -Vietnam peace progress
- -Press report
  - -Dan Rather
  - -Moscow
  - -Blockade's effect on Hanoi
  - -Rather
    - -Administration sources
      - -State Department
      - -Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
    - -Blockade's effectiveness
      - -Documents leaked
        - -Tonnage delivered to North Vietnam
        - -Delivery of material to South Vietnam
      - -Intercepts
      - -Paris negotiations
      - -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]

#### Kissinger's schedule

- -State Department
  - -Rogers
- -Meetings with Brezhnev
  - -Conversation

## **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Oct-06)

## Kissinger and Haig left at an unknown time before 1:01 am, September 16, 1972.

Conversation No. 780-2

Date: September 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 9:13 am and 9:21 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-Henry A. Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:21 am.

Conversation No. 780-3

Date: September 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 9:13 am and 9:21 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-Henry A. Kissinger meeting

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:21 am.

Conversation No. 780-4

Date: September 16, 1972

## **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Oct-06)

Time: Unknown between 9:13 am and 9:24 am

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

Conversation No. 780-5

Date: September 16, 1972

Time: Unknown time between 9:13 am and 9:24 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman at 9:21 a.m.

Henry A. Kissinger's schedule

Haldeman left at 9:23 a.m.

Conversation No. 780-6

Date: September 16, 1972 Time: 9:24 am – 9:26 am Location: Oval Office

#### The President met with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman and Ronald L. Ziegler.

Henry A. Kissinger's forthcoming press conference

- -Photograph session with the President
- -Briefing of William P. Rogers

Kissinger's recent trip to Soviet Union

- -Importance of mission
  - -Meeting with Leonid I. Brezhnev
  - -Possible scenarios

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -Media coverage
  - -Meeting with the President
  - -Kissinger's schedule on trip
  - -Photograph arrangements
    - -Rose Garden
    - -Terrace
    - -Lighting

-Ziegler's forthcoming conversation with Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins

Ziegler left at 9:25 am.

Conversation No. 780-7

Date: September 16, 1972 Time: 9:26 am - 10:20 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

The President talked with Charles W. Colson between 9:26 am and 9:27 am.

[Conversation No. 780-7A]

Washington Post article
-National Archives

Indictment of White House aide

- -Harry S. Truman aide
  - -Jail term
- -Harry H. Vaughan
- -Missouri
- -Mathew J. Connelly
  - -Press secretary
  - -Jail term
  - -Research
    - -Kennneth W. Clawson
- -Lyndon B. Johnson aide

## **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Oct-06)

-Walter W. Jenkins

The President's schedule -Kissinger

[End of telephone conversation]

Washington Post article

- -Colson
- -The President's view
- -Media coverage
- -National Archives

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:27 am.

The President's schedule
-Kissinger meeting
-Haldeman

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:46 am.

Kissinger

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 10s \_\_\_\_]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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Kissinger's trip

- -Previous meeting with the President
  - -Kissinger's schedule
    - -Talks with Le Duc Tho
    - -Talks with Leonid I. Brezhnev

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -Talks with Georges J.R. Pompidou
- -Talks with Edward R.G. Heath
- -Talks with Willy Brandt
- -Comparison to the President
- -Negotiations
- -Kissinger's meeting with William P. Rogers
- -Kissinger's negotiating results
  - -The President's view
  - -Importance of press briefing
  - -Peter G. Peterson
  - -Government agencies
    - -The President's re-election
    - -State Department
    - -Commerce Department

#### Possible leaks

- -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- -Dan Rather's story
  - -Kissinger
  - -Leaked documents
    - -Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
    - -Blockade
      - -Effectiveness
        - -Tonnage shipped into Vietnam
  - -David R. Young, Jr.
    - -The President's instructions
    - -Richard M. Helms
    - -Distribution of documents
    - -William H. Rehnquist
      - -Document distribution
  - -Distribution of documents
    - -Kissinger, Haig
    - -Personal action
  - -Young
    - -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] investigation

#### White House personnel

- -John W. Dean, III
  - -John D. Ehrlichman
  - -The President's view
  - -Lawrence F. O'Brien, Jr.

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -Ehrlichman
  - -O'Brien
  - -The President's view
- -Dean
  - -The President's view
  - -Differences between Dean and Ehrlichman
    - -Haldeman's view
- -Ehrlichman
  - -Firing of personnel
    - -Walter J. Hickel
  - -President's view
- -Dean
  - -Haldeman's view
  - -Image
  - -Social relations
  - -Rock music
  - -Discotheques
  - -Hollywood
  - -Kissinger
    - -The President's view
  - -Judgement of people
    - -Haldeman's view
  - -Frank C. Carlucci
  - -The President's view
  - -Compared to Robert Stripling, House Un-American Activities Committee [HUAC] investigator
    - -The President's view
  - -Actions
- -Second term
  - -Dean
  - -Fredric V. Malek
  - -Colson
  - -Carlucci
  - -Haldeman's view
    - -White House personnel
- -Ronald L. Ziegler
- -Ehrlichman
- -Staff actions
- -Ziegler
  - -Performance as press secretary
    - -The President's view

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -George E. Christian
  - -John B. Connally
  - -Aid to the President
  - -Writing ability
    - -Foreign policy speech
    - -Style
      - -White House speech writers
        - -The President's view
  - -Working relations
    - -Haldeman's view
  - -Speech style
    - -The President's style
      - -Compared to Connally
    - -White House speech writers
      - -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
        - -The President's view
- -Dean
- -Second term plans
  - -Cleanup period
    - -Schedule
  - -Vacancies
    - -Cuts
    - -Changes in personnel
  - -White House staff cuts
    - -Jobs outside administration
    - -Promotions
    - -Departmental jobs
    - -H. Dale Grubb
      - -National Aeronautics and Space Administration [NASA]
    - -Haldeman aide
      - -Study of agencies
      - -Appointments by the President and Cabinet officers
- -Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
  - -Changes
  - -Cutbacks
- -Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger
  - -Role
  - -Reduction-in-force [RIF]
- -State Department
- -Congressional relations
  - -Revision in philosophy

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

-Effect of 1972 election victory margin
-White House Congressional liaison
-Cutback
-Attitude
-Johnson years
-Bryce Harlow

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#### BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

-Edward C. Nixon

[Personal returnable] [Duration: 29s ]

#### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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- -Edward Nixon
  - -Protocol office
    - -East wing
    - -Capabilities
      - -Relations with public
      - -Possible role
  - -Relations with business groups
  - -Teachers
    - -Roger E. Johnson
    - -Capabilities
    - -Relations with people
    - -Image as the President's friend

#### Watergate

- -Media coverage
  - -Television report
  - -Interview of Cubans
    - -Communist conspiracy
      - -Democratic Party
    - -George S. McGovern

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

#### Henry Kissinger entered at 9:46 am.

#### Greetings

### **US-Soviet Union relations**

- -Timing of announcements
  - -Haig
- -Rogers's reaction to negotiations
- -US-Soviet Union trade agreement
- -Kissinger's meeting with Roger's
  - -October 1972
    - -Normal diplomatic routes
    - -European Security Conference
    - -Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MFBR]
    - -Agreement date
  - -Rogers
    - -Meetings with foreign ministers
  - -Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
    - -Diplomatic channels
    - -Announcement
    - -State Department prepatory work
  - -Rogers's reaction
  - -European Security Conference
  - -MBFR
  - -SALT II
  - -Trade agreement
    - -Haldeman's view

#### -SALT

- -Ceremony
- -Andrei A. Gromyko
  - -Meeting with Kissinger
  - -Timing
  - -Publicity
- -Leonid I. Brezhnev meeting with the President

### -SALT ceremony

- -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- -Gromyko
  - -Trip to Camp David
    - -Dinner arrangements
  - -New facilities
  - -Message to Brezhnev

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -Press reaction
- -White House meeting
  - -Rogers
  - -US embassy in Moscow
    - -Personnel
  - -Dinner arrangements
- -Timing of announcements
  - -SALT
  - -US-Soviet Union trade agreement
    - -Announcement date
    - -Haldeman's view
    - -Legal discussions
- -US-Soviet Union Trade Agreement
  - -Rogers
    - -Reaction to breakthrough
  - -Scope of agreement
    - -Kissinger's view
  - -Monetary figures
  - -Trade center in Moscow
    - -Facilities
  - -International arbitration
  - -Announcement
    - -Businessmen conference
      - -Donald McI. Kendall
      - -Peter G. Peterson's role
      - -Armand Hammer
        - -Komitet Gossudarstvennoi Bezopastnosti [KGB] allegation
      - -Support for President's policy
  - -Pre-notification concerns
    - -Haldeman's view
    - -Grain sale to Soviet Union
      - -Problems
    - -Soviet Union actions
    - -Public perception
    - -Grain dealers
      - -Profit
    - -Earl L. Butz
      - -Retroactive policy
    - -US Business in the Soviet Union
      - -Arbitration
      - -Soviet courts

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -Timing of announcements
  - -Maritime agreement
  - -European security conference
  - -SALT II
    - -Announcement
    - -Trade agreement
      - -Media coverage
      - -Soviet view
      - -Options
  - -European security conference and MBFR
    - -Rogers
      - -Soviet negotiating style
  - -The President's schedule
  - -SALT II
  - -East Germany/West Germany treaty
    - -Berlin
    - -Impact on US
- -Brezhnev message to the President
  - -Lin Piao
    - -Airplane crash
      - -Possible bomb
      - -Photographs
        - -Dental and medical work in the Soviet Union
- -Brezhnev gift to the President
  - -Tray
  - -State flags
    - -Semi-precious stones
  - -Pictures of presidents
    - -George Washington
    - -Abraham Lincoln
    - -The President
- -White House gift
  - -Tray with state flags
  - -The President's gift to Brezhnev
  - -Coins
  - -Presidential flag
- -Brezhnev
  - -Relations with the President
    - -Kissinger's view
  - -Minister for Shipping
    - -Maritime agreement

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

-Timetable for conclusion

- -Visit to Camp David
  - -Laurel lodge
  - -Possible May 1973 arrival

#### 1972 election

- -Pompidou
  - -French television
    - -Comments on Vietnam War
      - -1972 Presidential election
- -Abram Chayes
  - -England
  - -Edward R.G. Heath
    - -Reports
    - -Pompidou
  - -Chatham House meeting
    - -George S. McGovern position
    - -Left-wing Labor Party
      - -Reaction
- -Kissinger's forthcoming press conference
  - -European relations with US
    - -Approach
    - -Meeting with the President after 1972 election

#### Kissinger's press forthcoming conference

- -1972 accomplishments
  - -Relations between great powers
  - -World peace
  - -US negotiations
    - -PRC and the Soviet Union
  - -Basis of relations
    - -Direct confrontation
    - -Cooperativeness
      - -Importance
      - -Meeting with Japanese
      - -Latin American
      - -Africa
- -Messages from the President
- -Paris Herald-Tribune editorial
  - -Kissinger's trip to Moscow
  - -The President's initiative

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

#### -Announcements

-White House initiative

#### Haldeman left at 10:00 am.

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-Trade agreement negotiations
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-Peterson's efforts

-Dealing with other powers

-Efforts at highest level

-Second-level negotiations

-Kissinger's effectiveness

-Qualities

-Kissinger's role

-Relationship to the President

-Trade ministers

-PRC

-Chou En-Lai

-US current relations

- -Chou En-Lai
- -Brezhnev
- -Pompidou
- -Heath
- -Brandt
  - -Attitude towards US
  - -Television appearance with Kissinger
- -The President's policies
- -Kissinger's schedule
  - -Haircut
- -Negotiations
  - -Timetable of breakthroughs
    - -Kissinger's wording
      - -The President's suggestions
  - -The President's review of progress
    - -Lend-lease
    - -SALT
    - -MBFR
    - -Brezhnev and the President's previous summer in Moscow
      - -Communique
    - -Kissinger's meeting with Brezhnev
      - -Interchange of messages

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -State Department
- -Presidential level talks
  - -Details
  - -Issues
- -Trade agreement
  - -Brezhnev
  - -Soviet Jewish emigration
- -Lend-lease
  - -Monetary figures
  - -Timetable for payments by Soviets
  - -Five-year plan
    - -1976
    - -Commodity credit corporation credit [CCC]
- -Press relations
  - -Publicity
  - -Kissinger's view
    - -Maritime agreement
    - -Most-favored nation status [MFN] for Soviet Union

### Kissinger's schedule

-Barber

#### Kissinger's forthcoming press conference

- -US-Soviet Union relations
  - -Maritime agreement
  - -MFN
  - -Lend-lease agreement
  - -Trade center
  - -Negotiations
    - -The President's communications with Brezhnev
    - -Kissinger's communications with the President
      - -Cables
        - -Commercial channels

#### -MBFR

-Communiqué

-Haig

- -Rogers
  - -Paris negotiations
    - -Proposals
    - -North Vietnamese proposal for public release -International Control Commission [ICC]

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

-Possible leak

-Kissinger's forthcoming negotiations

-Timing

-US domestic impact

### Vietnam peace talks

-North Vietnam

-Possible settlement

-Kissinger's views

-Concerns

-Motivations

-Meeting length

-Meeting length

-Le Duc Tho

-Ziegler's briefing

-Timetable for negotiating

-The President's trip to west coast

-News coverage

-Campaign finance dinner

-Timetable for negotiations

-News coverage

-The President's view

-Ziegler

-Announcement

-North Vietnamese proposal

-Administration response

-McGovern

-Disclosure of peace talks

Photograph session

-Ziegler

Vietnam peace talks

-Settlement

Kissinger's conversation with Le Duc Tho

#### An unknown woman entered at an unknown time after 10:00 am.

Photograph session

- -Ziegler
- -Timing
- -Kissinger

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. Oct-06)

#### -Haircut

## The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 10:15 am.

Vietnam peace talks

-Kissinger's schedule

-Le Duc Tho

-Administration's interest

-Rogers

-North Vietnamese

-The President's view

-Behavior in war

#### Vietnam

-Leak of blockade story

-Source

-CIA

-State Department

-Ray S. Cline

-State Department

-Background

-CIA

-Rogers

-Study

-Purpose

-Kissinger

#### Alexander P. Butterfield and Ziegler entered at 10:15 am.

Kissinger's schedule
-Haircut

Butterfield left at 10:16 am.

Folders for Haig

## Ziegler left at 10:18 am.

The President's schedule

- -Trip to New York
- -Invitation to Kissinger

## **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Oct-06)

(16V. Oct-

-Camp David

Kissinger meeting with Peterson -Peterson's role

Vietnam peace talks

-North Vietnamese position

-Perception of US in negotiations

-Bombing of North Vietnam

-The President's view

-Sorties

-Kissinger's view

-October, November 1972

-Effects of blockade on North Vietnam

-CIA study

-Oil

-Railways

-Bombing

-North Vietnam

-The President's re-election

-Louis P. Harris poll

-Bombing

-Mining

-Communist government in [South Vietnam]

Ziegler entered at an unknown time after 10:18 am.

The President's schedule -Papers

The President, Kissinger and Ziegler left at 10:20 am.

Conversation No. 780-8

Date: September 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:20 am and 10:40 am

Location: Oval Office

#### **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Oct-06)

## Ronald L. Ziegler met with an unknown woman.

Folder

Notebook and other items from office -Henry A. Kissinger's desk

Ziegler and the unknown woman left at an unknown time before 10:40 am.

Conversation No. 780-9

Date: September 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:20 am and 10:40 am

Location: Oval Office

Alexander P. Butterfield met with an unknown person.

The President's schedule -Henry A. Kissinger's schedule

Butterfield and the unknown person left at an unknown time before 10:40 am.

Conversation No. 780-10

Date: September 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:20 am and 10:40 am

Location: Oval Office

Unknown men [Secret Service agents].

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Non-historical]

## Tape Subject Log (rev. Oct-06)

[Duration: 8m 3s ]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
***********************
The unknown men left at an unknown time before 10:41 am.

Conversation No. 780-11

Date: September 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:41 am and 10:44 am

Location: Oval Office

## The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Henry A. Kissinger

First Family's schedule
-Arrivals to the White House
-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
-Tricia Nixon Cox
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower

-Trip to Camp David

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:44 am.

Conversation No. 780-12

Date: September 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:41 am and 10:44 am

Location: Oval Office

## **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Oct-06)

## The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Harold T. Rigley
-Utility Workers Union of America

Conversation No. 780-13

Date: September 16, 1972 Time: 10:44 am - 10:45 am Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Harold T. Rigley.

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#### BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal returnable] [Duration: 23s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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1972 Utility Workers Union Convention

- -Miami, Florida
- -Union's membership
- -Geographic scope
  - -Detroit
  - -Southern California
- -Pacific Gas and Electric [PG&E]
- -Southern California [Cal] Edison

The President's schedule

-Willie J. Usery, Jr.

## **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Oct-06)

-1972 election

Parting remarks

Conversation No. 780-14

Date: September 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:45 am and 10:55 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 10:55 am.

Conversation No. 780-15

Date: September 16, 1972 Time: 10:55 am - 12:50 pm Location: Oval Office

#### The President met with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

The President's forthcoming speech at the Conference on International Narcotics Control

- -Length
  - -John K. Andrews, Jr.
  - -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
  - -The President's view
  - -Duration of speech
  - -Haldeman's view
- -Content
  - -Phrasing
    - -Need for headline

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -The President's role in writing
  - -Haldeman's view
  - -White House speechwriters' abilities
- -State Department
- -The President's view
- -Length
- -Department of State briefings
- -Television [TV] coverage
- -International drug traffic
  - -Administration policy
- -Speech-writing process
  - -Andrews
    - -Letter
- -The President's efforts in writing speech
  - -Haldeman's view
- -Length
  - -Delivery
  - -Desired speech format
  - -Anecdotes
  - -Audience
    - -Compared to high school audience
  - -The President's view
- -Content
  - -Phrasing
    - -The President's view
  - -Theme for the President's speech
- -Press reports
  - -Reporters
    - -Headlines
      - -Speech writers
        - -Phrasing
- -General audience
  - -The President's use of anecdotal speech
- -International affairs audience
  - -Desired speech format
    - -The President's view
- -The President's speech to International Monetary Fund [IMF]
  - -William L. Safire
    - -Timing

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -Need for editor
  - -Importance of headline
- -Price
  - -Editorial abilities
- -Editor's role
  - -Haldeman's view

The President's forthcoming speech at the Conference on International Narcotics Control

- -Content
  - -Theme
- -Length
  - -Effect on audience attention
  - -Washington, DC
- -Audience
  - -Purpose of speech
- -Format
  - -The President's instructions to speech writer
  - -Anecdotal speech
- -Recitation of the record on an issue
  - -Effectiveness
    - -John D. Ehrlichman
    - -Egil G. ("Bud") Krogh, Jr.
- -Wording
  - -Catch-phrases
  - -Accomplishments and goals
- -International affairs audience
  - -Number of countries
  - -Drug control officials
    - -Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs
- -Purpose
- -Length

#### US foreign policy

- -The President's recent conversation with Henry A. Kissinger
  - -William P. Rogers
    - -Interest in substance
  - -Rogers
    - -Interest in substance
    - -Concern about results
      - -Publicizing of results

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -Compared to Kissinger -Details
- -Announcements
  - -Effect on campaign
  - -US-Soviet Union Trade Agreement
  - -Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement [SALT] II
    - -The President's policy
    - -Future promise in foreign affairs
    - -Compared to SALT I
  - -European Security Conference
  - -Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR]
  - -US-Soviet Union trade agreement
    - -Final detail negotiations
  - -Positive news for the President's campaign
    - -Administration's accomplishments
      - -Compared to opposition's accomplishments
  - -George S. McGovern
    - -Positive campaign ideas
    - -Price and wage program
      - -News summary
      - -1966 program
      - -Chances of success
      - -Food prices
      - -Response
        - -Herb Stein
        - -Donald H. Rumsfeld
      - -Compared to Lyndon Johnson's guidelines
      - -Economic philosophy
      - -Walter W. Heller
        - -Food Prices
        - -Trickle-down effect
      - -Trickle-down effect on food prices
        - -Criticisms of the President
    - -The administration's control of other prices

\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 2m 59s ]

## **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Oct-06)

#### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*

## Foreign policy

- -Timing of announcements
  - -The President's schedule
    - -Washington, D.C.
- -Kissinger's trip to Paris
  - -Vietnam peace negotiations
  - -Timing compared to the President's trip to West Coast
    - -Media coverage
- -Kissinger's Paris trip
- -Vietnam peace negotiations
- -Moscow visit
  - -Buildup of expectations

#### Watergate

- -Tactics
- -Kissinger
- -News coverage
  - -Statements by the Cuban defendants
    - -News summary
    - -Public's belief in accusations
    - -Infiltration of communists
    - -John W. Chancellor
      - -McGovern response
      - -Direct challenge to Democratic National

Committee

-Communist influence

#### Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:55 am.

Julie Nixon Eisenhower's schedule

- -Philadelphia
- -Possible change in flights
  - -Camp David
  - -Secret Service notification

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -Tricia Nixon Cox
- -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

#### First Family's schedule

- -Changes
- -The President's arrival at Camp David
- -Hagerstown

#### Haldeman's schedule

-Ehrlichman

#### Bull left at an unknown time before 12:14 pm.

## Haldeman's schedule

-Meeting

#### Watergate

- -Media coverage
  - -TV interviews of Watergate defendants
- -Bernard Barker interview
  - -Informant role
  - -Communist conspiracy
- -American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
- -National Broadcasting Company [NBC]
- -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
  - -Coverage of Watergate
  - -Barker
- -Defendant's credibility
  - -Fear of McGovern
    - -Sell-out to Communists
- -Henry Rothblatt
  - -Barker's lawyer
- -Interview of defendants
  - -Fear of McGovern
  - -Compared to Manolo Sanchez
  - -Cover-up charges
  - -Barker

-New York Times interview

-Motivation for cover-up

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 10:55 am.

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

## Watergate

- -TV coverage
- -Cubans indicted in Watergate
- -Fear of McGovern
  - -Communists
    - -Democratic Party
- -Newspapers

## Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:14 pm.

McGovern

-Loyalty to US

-Cubans

#### Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 10:55 am.

Press relations

-Newspaper

-Cuba

-New York Daily News

- -McGovern
- -The President
- -Democrats

-Communists

## Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:14 pm.

- -1972 election
- -McGovern
  - -Communism
  - -Vietnam
    - -Jane Fonda
    - -W. Ramsey Clark
    - -Jerry Rubin
    - -John V. Lindsay
      - -Support for McGovern

-Supporters

-Sanchez's reading

1972 election

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

-Press releases

-The President's financial statement

-Timing

-September 16, 1972

-Kissinger's press conference

-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

-Seeing-eye dog

-TV coverage

## The President's forthcoming speeches

- -Conference on International Narcotics Control
  - -Reading
  - -TV coverage
  - -Response to speech
  - -Need for votes
- -Radio talk on senior citizens
  - -Taxes
  - -Headline-grabbing theme
- -Radio talks

\*

#### BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 2m 13s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

\*

The President's economic program

- -Rise in personal income
- -Retail sales
- -Stock market
  - -Rise in profits
    - -Public psychology
      - -Effect of 1972 election
      - -Status of the market at present

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -Capability of rise in Dow Jones Average
- -Concern over market

#### Stock market

- -Newspaper coverage
  - -Washington Star
    - -Associated Press [AP] story
      - -[Sterling F. Green ?]
        - -Paris peace talks
  - -The President's view
- -Average stockholder
  - -Sale of International Business Machines [IBM] stock
  - -Kissinger's progress in Vietnam peace talks
- -Predictions for future
  - -Discussion of rise in market
  - -Effect of more conservative government
    - -1972 presidential election

#### White House personnel

- -John W. Dean, III
  - -Ehrlichman
  - -Haldeman
- -Recruitment for the White House
  - -Frederic V. Malek
  - -Dean
  - -David R. Young, Jr.
    - -Ehrlichman
      - -Kissinger's office
      - -Work assignments
      - -Haldeman and Nixon's vision
  - -Krogh
    - -Work assignments
- -The President's meeting with tax experts
  - -John B. Connally
  - -George P. Shultz
  - -Stein
  - -The President's view
  - -1968 election
  - -Opposition from Congress
  - -1968 election results
    - -Lack of mandate for the President

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -Effect on policy-making
  - -Urban riots
  - -Hunger program

## Future White House policies

- -Conservative administration
  - -Cutbacks on programs
  - -Agricultural programs
    - -Cotton program
    - -Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
      - -Amount of outlays
      - -Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]
      - -Education programs
      - -Child-care cutbacks
  - -Savings in budget
- -Domestic Council staff
  - -New programs
- -Benjamin Disraeli
  - -Ehrlichman
  - -Robert Blake biography [Disraeli]
  - -Party reform
    - -Effect of long period of reforms
      - -William Gladstone
      - -Franklin D. Roosevelt
      - -Dwight D. Eisenhower
  - -Lessons for Nixon's second term
- -New policies
  - -Government reorganization
    - -Connally
  - -Real gains of reform
    - -Needs of people
      - -Louis P. Harris's theory
    - -Desire not to improve
      - -Blake's analysis
- -Nelson A. Rockefeller
- -Ehrlichman's staff
  - -New programs
  - -American people's attitude
- -End to experimental programs
  - -Retention of good programs
- -Caspar W. Weinberger

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -Study of budget
- -City-orientation
- -Compared to the President's philosophy
  - -Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
  - -OEO
- -Instructions from the President

\*

#### BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 28m 11s ]

#### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

\*

#### Watergate

- -Proper campaign response
  - -Avoidance of fatalism
    - -The President's view
- -White House actions to change situation
  - -International Telephone and Telegraph Corp. [ITT]

#### Kissinger

- -Concern over policy image
  - -Mining
  - -Cambodia

Need to look forward -Positive attitude

\*

#### BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 3m 17s ]

## **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Oct-06)

#### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

\*

## George H. Gallup poll

- -John S. Davies
  - -Contact with the White House
    - -Government work aspect of polling
  - -Gordon C. Strachan
    - -Importance of contacts within the White House
    - -Cooperation with the Gallup Poll organization
- -The President's use of the Gallup Poll organization
  - -Possible leaks of poll information
    - -Disclosure of polls to the President
  - -Motivation of pollsters
- -Jack N. Anderson
  - -White House connections with pollsters
  - -Gallup poll
  - -Harris poll
    - -Motivation for polling
    - -Ties to power
- -Gallup poll
  - -Anderson story
    - -Source of story
- -Anderson
  - -Possible prosecution
    - -Timing
  - -Joint Chiefs of Staff
  - -Charles E. Radford

#### White House use of executive powers

- -Reasons
- -The President's view

#### White House relations with press in second term

- -Press's attitude toward White House
- -The President's view
- -Hugh S. Sidey

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -John F. Osborne
- -News blackout
- -Washington Post
  - -Government sources
  - -Business failure
    - -Effect of profits on editorials
- -Charles W. Colson
  - -Trip to New York
    - -Effect on broadcasters
    - -Effect on news
      - -William S. Paley
      - -Frank Stanton
- -The President's letter to Screen Actors Guild
  - -Ronald L. Ziegler press conference
    - -Barry Serafin
    - -Intimidation of networks
      - -White House concern
    - -Questioning of Ziegler
    - -Re-run question
    - -Network operations
      - -Entertainment and news divisions
      - -White House intimidation of the networks
  - -Division of news and entertainment
  - -Benefits of decrease in re-runs
    - -Viewers
    - -Actors
    - -Hollywood
    - -Filmmakers
    - -Haldeman's view

#### Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:55 am.

First Family schedule

- -Julie Nixon Eisenhower's return
- -Tricia Cox's return
  - -National Airport
  - -Edward R.F. Cox
    - -Cincinnati
- -Mrs. Nixon
  - -Return time

## **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Oct-06)

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:14 pm.

The President's letter to Screen Actors Guild
-John Gavin
-Network practices
-Profits
-Station-ownership
-Profits for network

Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:55 am.

Tricia Nixon Cox telephone call

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:14 pm.

The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox at between 12:14 pm and 12:19 pm.

\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5 [Personal returnable]

[Duration: 15m 38s ]

[END OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

\*

**Economic situation** 

World situation

- -Effect of 1972 Presidential election
  - -Vietnam war
    - -North Vietnamese attack
    - -Effect
    - -Haldeman's view
    - -Kissinger's effects
      - -Negotiations

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

-Middle East

-Peoples Republic of China [PRC]

-Soviet Union relations

-Effect

-Focus

-Hypothetical Suez crisis

-Effect on polls

-Realities of international relations

\*

## BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 21s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

\*

Henry Kissinger entered at 12:33 pm.

Recent press conference

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 12:33 pm.

Refreshments

Sanchez and the President left at an unknown time before 12:35 pm.

Foreign policy

-Kissinger's recent press conference

-Europe

-Questions by Jews

-Soviet-Jewish emigration

-US-Soviet Union

-Trade agreement

-Abrehem A. Ribicoff Amendment

-US position

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -Submission to Senate
- -Jacob K. Javits

### President entered at an unknown time before 12:35 pm.

- -Length
- -Crowd size
- -European relations
  - -The President's message to European leaders
    - -New vitality
    - -Moscow
    - -Peking
  - -Cornerstone of US foreign relations
  - -Possible trip by the President to Europe
  - -Contact with European leaders
  - -New diplomacy
    - -Economic ties
      - -New basis
      - -Press interest
      - -Press coverage
        - -Effect on McGovern campaign
        - -McGovern withdrawal of troops from

Europe

- -Introductory statement
- -US-Soviet Union relations
  - -Visit
  - -Meeting with Secretary General [Leonid I. Brezhnev] and President
    - -Results of Moscow summit
    - -Future negotiations
      - -Personal contact between US-Soviet Union leaders
        - -August 1972
          - -Decision making

#### Ziegler entered at an unknown time after 12:33 pm.

- -Press stories
- -Relations with Soviet Union
  - -Negotiations
    - -Vietnam
- -Handling of press

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

## Ziegler left at an unknown time before 12:35 pm.

- -US-Soviet relations
  - -The President's messages to Brezhnev
  - -Economic relations
- -European Security Conference and MBFR
  - -Stalemate problem
  - -The President's message to Brezhnev
  - -SALT II
  - -Economic negotiations
    - -Kissinger's contact with the President
  - -Progress
    - -Dates
    - -Categories
  - -Aleksai N. Kosygin
    - -Presence at meeting
      - -Brezhnev
- -Vietnam negotiations
  - -Press questions
    - -Kissinger's response
    - -Negotiations goals
      - -Ending of war
        - -Pace
  - -Le Duc Tho
    - -Transcript
    - -Desire to end war characterized

#### Israel

- -Movement of troops into Lebanon
  - -Kissinger's message to Israeli Charge D'Affairs
  - -Effect of troop movement
    - -Possible Egyptian response

#### Haldeman left at 2:35 pm.

- -US aid
  - -Demarche
- -Kissinger's trip to the Soviet Union
  - -Appearance of collusion
- -US-Soviet Trade agreement

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Oct-06)

- -Possible action in Congress
- -Treatment of Soviet Jews
  - -Foreign pressure on US
    - -Angela Davis
    - -US response
- -The President's message to Israel
  - -Israeli troops in Lebanon
    - -US aid
      - -McGovern's Israel policy
    - -US talks with Egyptians
      - -Anwar El-Sadat
      - -Murder of Israeli athletes
        - -Egypt
        - -Syria
    - -Motives for action vis-à-vis Lebanon
  - -Conditions
    - -Inheritance from previous Administration
  - -The President's international rule
    - -Support
    - -Compared with Eisenhower
      - -Roosevelt as world leader
        - -Concept of foreign policy
          - -Strength of US
            - -Winston S. Churchill
            - -Joseph V. Stalin
  - -Dominance
    - -Other Nations
    - -Brezhnev's foreign policy
    - -Chou En-Lai
    - -Konrad Adenauer
    - -Gen. Charles A.J.M. De Gaulle
    - -Churchill
    - -[Meunie] Harold MacMillan
    - -Compared to Europe
    - -The President's grasp of policy
  - -McGovern as president
    - -Effect on
      - -PRC
      - -Soviet Union
        - -McGovern's position
          - -PRC reaction

## **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Oct-06)

-Unilateral US disarmament -Effect on PRC

\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 2m 45s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

\*

Israel

-Kissinger's possible message to Israeli *Charge D'Affairs* -US position
 -[Golda Meir]
 -Movement of troops into Lebanon
 -The President's support of Israel

-Aid

-Rogers and Melvin R. Laird -Rogers

-Gunnar V. Jarring mission -Rogers and Laird -February 1971

-Aid -Airplanes

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

\*

Kissinger's schedule
-Invitation to Camp David
-Meeting on Vietnam negotiations

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Oct-06)

Kissinger left at 12:50 pm.

	Conversation No. 780-16
Date: September 16, 1972 Time: Unknown between 12:50 pm and 1:08 pm Location: Oval Office	
The President met with Manolo Sanchez.	
**************	********
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 19s]	
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1	
***************	*********
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:08 pm.	

Conversation No. 780-17

Date: September 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:50 pm and 12:58 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull and Manolo Sanchez.

Request for Charles W. Colson -Colson's schedule

## **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Oct-06)

-Lunch

First Family schedule

- -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
- -Tricia Nixon Cox
- -Julie Eisenhower
- -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - -Lunch with Mary Jean Eisenhower -William R. Codus

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:08 pm.

Conversation No. 780-18

Date: September 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:50 and 12:58 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

The President left at 1:08 pm.

Conversation No. 780-19

Date: September 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:58 pm and 1:59 pm

Location: Oval Office

<u>Unknown men [Secret Security agents] met.</u>

The President's location
-Executive Office Building [EOB]

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Oct-06)

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person between 12:58 pm and 1:59 pm.

[See Conversation No. 780-19A]

The President's location

[End of telephone conversation]

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 1:59 pm.