

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

Conversation No. 806-1

Date: October 23, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:20 pm and 11:35 pm

Location: Oval Office

## The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr..

Henry A. Kissinger

-Telephone conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

Vietnam negotiations

-North Vietnamese

-Note

-Tone

-Possible settlement of war

-Timing

-1972 election

-Bombing

-Kissinger

## Kissinger

Vietnam negotiations

-William P. Rogers

-Haig's briefing

-Melvin R. Laird

-Attitude during negotiations

-Bureaucracy

-Nguyen Van Thieu

-Kissinger

-Attitude after 1972 election

-Military equipment

-Settlement

-North Vietnam

-Thieu

-Pressures

-The President's conversation with Rogers

-South Korea, Taiwan, Republic of China

-Charges

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

```
-Kissinger's memorandum
                 -The President's trip to Peking and Moscow
                 -US press
        -Ellsworth F. Bunker
             -Influence
        -Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
        -Bunker
             -October elections
                 -Rigging
    -Settlement
        -Kissinger
        -Timing
             -1972 election
            -Strategy for press coverage
        -Press coverage
             -Kissinger
                 -Nature of press release
                     -1972 election
                 -Meeting
                     -Timing
        -Thieu
             -Possible meeting with the President
             -Kissinger
             -US support
             -Haig's view
             -Possible leak from Saigon
                 -Cease-fire
             -Cease-fire
New York visit by the President
    -Crowd estimates
        -Press coverage
             -Washington Post
             -New York Times
```

## George S. McGovern's position on the Vietnam War

Vietnam negotiations
-Settlement

-Progress

-US offers

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

-Response

-Communist government in South Vietnam

- -Bombing
  - -1972 election
- -North Vietnamese strategy
  - -Thieu
- -Thieu
  - -Kissinger
- -US-Soviet Union relations
  - -Dobrynin
    - -Meeting with Kissinger
    - -Meeting with Haig
    - -The President's schedule
  - -Soviet objectives
    - -Settlement
      - -Delay
  - -Handling of Dobrynin visit
    - -Haig's schedule

Haig left at an unknown time before 11:35 pm.

Conversation No. 806-2

Date: October 23-24, 1972 Time: 11:35 pm - 12:05 am Location: Oval Office

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

Kissinger's schedule

- -Recent trip
  - -Ronald L. Ziegler's forthcoming briefing
  - -Briefing of William P. Rogers

Vietnam negotiations

- -Settlement
  - -Kissinger's view
  - -Terms

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

- [International Commission of Control and Supervision] [ICCS]
  - -International conference
- -Prisoner agreement
- -Military aid
  - -Replacement provision
- -Cambodia
  - -Lon Nol's reaction
- -Laos
- -Nguyen Van Thieu resignation
- -Agreement compared with the President's May 8, 1972 statement
  - -Guarantees
  - -Replacement provision
- -Kissinger's view
- -Thieu
  - -US options
    - -Possible overthrow
  - -Role
    - -US losses
  - -Treatment of Ellsworth F. Bunker
    - -Delays in meeting
    - -Kissinger's schedule
      - -[Hoang Duc Nha]
    - -Thieu's claim
      - -US staff in Vietnam
        - Haig's role
  - -Timing of settlement
    - -Army deployment
    - -Province chiefs
    - -Cease-fire
    - -1972 election
    - -Possible bilateral action
      - -Thieu's prospects
    - -New York trip
      - -Nelson A. Rockefeller
        - -Kissinger's forthcoming telephone call
        - -Lyndon B. Johnson
        - -Polls
          - -New York Daily News
- -George S. McGovern
  - -Thieu
- -Concluding the settlement

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

```
-Delay
```

- -Kissinger's recent telephone conversation with Dobrynin
  - -The President's possible conflict with Hanoi or Saigon

-Choice

- -Strategy
  - -Saigon
    - -1972 election
- -Changes recommended by South Vietnam
  - -Substance
  - [National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord]
    - -Coalition government claim
      - -Pham Van Dong interview with Arnaud de Borschgrave
- -McGovern
- -Delay
- -Kissinger's forthcoming meeting
- -Concessions
  - -Prisoners
- -Possible publicity
  - -Response
    - -Fine points
    - -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
    - -Coalition government
      - -1972 election

## -Rogers

- -State Department
  - -Possible leaks
    - -Thieu
      - -U. Alexis Johnson
      - -William H. Sullivan
        - -Future
- -Kissinger's possible background briefing
  - -The President's recent statement
    - -"Peace with Honor"
  - -Leaks
    - -Ziegler
    - -Settlement
    - -1972 election
    - -Successful conclusion
    - -Issues settled
  - -Timing of Announcement
- -Rogers

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Hanoi
  - -Kissinger's schedule
- -Commitment
- -Thieu
  - -Accepting agreement
  - -Possible meeting with the President
    - -Timing and purpose
  - -Details of recognition provisions
    - -Recognition of Vietcong [VG]
- -Agreement's political provisions
  - -Kissinger's forthcoming background briefing
    - -Coalition government
  - -Elections
    - -Self-determination
    - -Negotiations between two South Vietnamese parties
  - -Thieu's position
    - -Cease-fire
    - -US commitment
  - -Vietnamese desire for peace
    - -US Army
  - -North Vietnamese
    - -Gen. Creighton W. Abrams's, Jr.'s view
- -Support for agreement
  - -Abrams
  - -Kissinger's conversation with Gen. Fredrick C. Weyand and Bunker
  - -Sullivan
    - -Souvanna Phouma
  - -Souvanna Phouma
    - -The President's schedule
    - -Compared to Thieu
    - -View
      - -Report from Bangkok
  - -Lon Nol
    - -North Vietnam concessions on Cambodia
      - -Haig telegram
        - -Gratitude to the President
  - -Thieu
    - -Kissinger's return from Phnom Penh
    - -Claims
      - -People's Republic of China [PRC] and Soviet Union
      - -Cable

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

```
-Kissinger's staff, Haig
                     -US press
                     -Secrecy pledge
                          -Meetings with province chiefs and military commanders
                              -Cease-fire
        -Possible South Vietnamese collapse
             -1972 election
                 -The President's possible meeting with Thieu
             -Pace
                 -Saigon area
                     -North Vietnamese forces
                          -Gen. Duong Van Minh's view and efforts
        -Bombing
             -Extent
                 -20<sup>th</sup> parallel
                     -Irony
                          -Saigon
             -Negotiation card
        -Timing
             -End of November 1972
        -Changes recommended by South Vietnam
             -Feasibility
The President's schedule
    -Clock
    -Kissinger's schedule
    -Bill signings
    -October 24, 1972 meeting
        -Photographic session
             -Expectations
Bunker
    -Tenure
        -Thieu
    -US strategy
```

Thieu

-Kissinger's view -Emissary -Bunker

# **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Nov-03)

Kissinger's schedule
-Recent conversation with Dobrynin
-Settlement
-Saigon

The President, Kissinger and Haig left at 12:05 am.

Conversation No. 806-17

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:05 am and 8:43 am

Location: Oval Office

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

[Unintelligible]

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 12:05 am and 8:43 am.

[Conversation No. 806-17A]

The President's location -Residence

[End of telephone conversation]

The unknown agents left at an unknown time before 8:43 am.

Conversation No. 806-3

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:43am and 8:58 am

Location: Oval Office

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

The President met with Manolo Sanchez. This recording began at an unknown time while the meeting was in progress.

Schedule

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:58.

Conversation No. 806-4

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:43 am and 8:58 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule -Request for a meeting with Dwight L. Chapin

Bull left at an unknown time before 8:58 am.

Conversation No. 806-5

Date: October 24, 1972 Time: 8:58 am - 8:59 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Dwight L. Chapin.

The President's schedule -Towns -Preparation of certificates -H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman -Yonkers -Demonstrators

-Watergate issue

Telegram to Yonkers

# **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Nov-03)

-Previous days campaign trip -Crowds

Certificate mailing -Bonds, police

Chapin left at 8:59 am.

Conversation No. 806-6

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:59 am and 10:04 am

Location: Oval Office

## Alexander P. Butterfield met with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

Haldeman's injury
-Scratch
-Cause and circumstances
-Paper clip

## The President entered at 9:05 am.

The President's schedule

- -Signing ceremony paper
- -Possible meeting with John B. Connally

## Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:05 am.

The President's farm speech -Raymond K. Price, Jr.

Butterfield and Bull left at 9:11 am.

\*

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 15s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

\*

The President's schedule
-Incident during October 23, 1972 trip
-Man with shotgun

Crowd control

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:11 am.

John K. Andrews, Jr.'s farm speech draft

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:15 am.

## Crowd control

- -Safety of children
- -Disabled people
- -Haldeman's, Ronald L. Ziegler's actions
- -Measures for motorcades
  - -Ohio
- -Man with shotgun
  - -Publicity
    - -Effect

## Public opinion

- -Robert H. Finch's view
  - -Vietnam
  - -The President's safety

## **Demonstrators**

-Types

-New York campaign trip

- -America the Beautiful
- -Campaign counter-measures

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

-Condition of demonstrators
-Drug use

\* BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 53s ] END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3 The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 9:11 am and 9:15 am. [Conversation No. 806-6A] [See Conversation No. 32-14] [End of telephone conversation] Crowd control -Reaction -Ohio -Schools -Chicago -Southern California -Plans -Announcement -Finch -Charles W. Colson -Motorcade compared to airport rally -Rallies -The President's future -Southern California -Motorcades -Compared to Ohio and New York

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Demonstrators
- -Cancellation
  - -Security
  - -Vietnam

## The President talked with Andrews between 9:15 am and 9:17 am.

[Conversation No. 806-6B]

[See Conversation No. 32-15]

[End of telephone conversation]

\*

## BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 4m 11s ]

## END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

\*

## Crowd control

- -George S. McGovern supporters
- -The President's recent trip to New York
  - -Joseph M. Margiotta
- -Hecklers
  - -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
    - -Use of whistle
      - -Journalist son's Cracker Jacks box
  - -The President's predicament
    - -Colson
    - -The President's demeanor
      - -News coverage
  - -Benefit of motorcades
    - -Public vision
      - -Compared to rallies

# **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Nov-03)

\*

## BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[Personal returnable] [Duration: 12m 46s ]

#### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

\*

Motorcade safety

-Chicago

-Police

-Ohio

-Police

- -Reasons for possible cancellation
  - -Vietnam
  - -Presidential security
  - -Presidential health
- -Announcements
- -Crowd turnout
  - -Opposition
- -Presidential safety
  - -Carroll Kilpatrick
    - -Earl Warren Commission
      - -Washington Post
  - -Recommendation
    - -Compared to rally
  - -Bubble top on car
    - -Weather
  - -Unexpected stops compared to preplanned route

## Ziegler entered at 9:42 am.

Press photograph session of the President's meeting with Henry A. Kissinger and William P. Rogers

-Mood of meeting

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

-Rogers
---------

Ziegler's forthcoming press conference

- -Vietnam negotiations
- -Progress
  - -Saigon embassy statement
  - -Kissinger's meeting with the President
  - -Kissinger's forthcoming press briefing
    - -Announcement
      - -North Vietnam
      - -Kissinger's view
      - -Ziegler's forthcoming conversations with Kissinger and the President
      - -Timing

## Ziegler left at 9:46 am.

## Motorcade safety

- -Robert H. ("Bob") Taylor
  - -Conversation with Haldeman, October 23, 1972
  - -Secret Service
- -Positioning in motorcade
- -Communication between the President and motorcade leader
- -Stopping and starting
  - -Taylor's view
  - -Communication between Taylor and Haldeman
  - -Communication between Taylor and the President
    - -Intercom
      - -Hecklers

\*

## BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 4m 11s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

\*

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

## Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:46 am.

The President's schedule
-Photographic session
-Pool press
-Length of time
-Instruction for Ziegler

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

Photograph sessions -Problem

\*

## BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 4m 47s]

## END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

\*

Presidential safety
-Kilpatrick
-Washingt

-Washington Post

-Recent column

-Possible motivation

-Rallies

-Compared to motorcades

-Consequences for attacked -Lee Harvey Oswald

-George C. Wallace -Arthur H. Bremer

-Motorcade

-Cancellation

-Vietnam

-Weather

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

-Snow or wind -Precautions -Chrysler -Bubble-top car

## Watergate

- -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
- -John D. Ehrlichman
- -Issue
- -Administration strategy
  - -Colson
  - -John N. Mitchell
  - -Daniel L. Schorr's story on investigation
    - -John W. Dean, III
    - -Connection between investigations
      - -Journalistic methods
  - -Adminstration response
    - -Clark MacGregor
    - -Specific denials
    - -Possible lawsuit
      - -Deposition
    - -Specific denials
- -McGovern's handling
  - -McGovern
  - -Recent story
    - -Lack of specifics

## Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:46 am.

The President's schedule
-Meeting with Rogers
-Photograph session
-Length

Bull and Haldeman left at 10:04 am.

Conversation No. 806-7

Date: October 24, 1972

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

Time: Unknown between 10:04 am and 11:15 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler, Henry A. Kissinger and William P. Rogers.

Press photograph session

- -Length of time
  - -Press
  - -Mood of meeting

Ziegler left and entered at an unknown time after 10:04 am; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Vietnam negotiations

-Le Duc Tho

[Photograph session]

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 11:04 am.

Vietnam negotiations

- -Withdrawal
  - -Time frame
    - -Le Duc Tho
- -South Vietnam
  - -Kissinger's conversation with [Nguyen Van Thieu], October 23, 1972
  - -Treatment of Ellsworth F. Bunker, Kissinger and US

Delegation

- -Meeting of Thieu and Bunker
  - -Kissinger's schedule
  - -Postponement
  - -Cancellation
  - -Telephone call from Hoang Duc Nha
    - -Kissinger's schedule
  - -Thieu charges
    - -Kissinger's staff
    - -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s staff

-Thieu

- -Forthcoming broadcast
  - -Timing

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

```
-Coalition government
        -Foreign ministry dispatch
            -Bunker
        -Thieu's strategy
            -Rallies
        -Press and public perception
             -Obstacle to peace
    -US strategy
        -Private compared to public negotiations
-Message from North Vietnam
-Haig's conversation with Rogers
-Rogers's conversation with William H. Sullivan
-Provisions of settlement
    -October 17, 1972 meeting with Xuan Thuy
    -Political provisions
        -Elections
        -Constituent assemblies
        -Composition of international supervising bodies
            -Secretary General of the United Nations [UN]
            -India
    -Cadres in South Vietnamese jails
    -Replacement of South Vietnamese arms
    -Timing of signing
        -October 31, 1972
        -Prisoners
            -Sullivan's recommendation
    -Issues
        -Weapons replacement
             -Semantic differences
        -Written statement
            -Return of prisoners of war [POWs]
                 -Democratic Republic of Vietnam [DRV] [North Vietnam]
                     -Schedule

    -Laos, Cambodia

        -Cease-fire
            -Laos
        -Cambodia
```

-Le Duc Tho's meetings with Kissinger, September 26-27, October 8,

11, 1972 -DRV

-Foreign forces withdrawal

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

```
-Ban on introduction troops, armaments, war material
            -US
                -Political settlement
                     -Article 15B
            -POWs
                -DRV
                     -September, October 1972 meetings
        -Laos
            -Cease-fire
                 -October 31, 1972
            -POWs
                -December 30, 1972
    -Souvanna Phouma
        -Sullivan's briefing
        -View
    -Thailand
        -Sullivan's briefing
    -Lon Nol
        -Kissinger's briefing
        -View
            -Southeast Asia
-South Vietnam
    -Thieu
        -Meeting with Kissinger
            -The President's letter
            -National Security Council [NSC] of Vietnam
                -Size
                     -Prime Minister, Chief of Staff, Foreign Minister
    -Schedule
        -October 31, 1972
        -US equipment replacement
        -NSC of South Vietnam meeting
        -Kissinger, Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr., Bunker
        -Sullivan
        -NSC of Vietnam
            -Questions
                -Reinforcement, replacement provision
        -Abrams's meeting with Gen. Cao Van Vien
        -Thieu
            -Task force
                -Foreign Minister
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Changes recommended by South Vietnam
  - -Force withdrawal
    - -US and North Vietnamese forces and bases
  - -National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord
    - -Coalition government
      - -Pham Van Dong interview with Arnaud de Borchgrave
- -Message from the President to Kissinger
- -North Vietnam concessions
  - -Cambodia
    - -Kissinger's schedule
  - -NSC of South Vietnam
- -Cease-fire
  - -Implementation
    - -Unilateral action, National Assembly
- -Bunker
- -Lon Nol
- -Thieu stance
  - -Modifications to agreement
    - -Article 9G
      - -North Vietnamese troops in Military Region [MR] 1
  - -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
  - -Charges
    - -Betrayal
    - -People's Republic of China [PRC], Soviet Union
    - -Private meetings
      - -Information
    - -Press campaign
  - -Bunker, Sullivan
  - -Request that Thieu step down
  - -Cease-fire
    - -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese
      - -October 1970, January, May 1972
      - -The President's speeches
      - -Thieu's resignation
  - -US action before election
  - -1956 analogy
    - -Poland
      - -Article about expulsion of Eastern Europe's Jozsef Cardinal Mindszenty and Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski
  - -Charge
    - -Assassination coup

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Ngo Dinh Diem
- -US officials
- -US readiness to sign agreement
  - -Notification of North Vietnam
    - -Articles 7 and 8
- -Changes in agreement
  - -Request for meeting with North Vietnam
  - -Nature
    - -Cease-fire
  - -Sullivan
  - -Article 9G
    - -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
    - -Kissinger's conversation with Gen. Fredrick C. Weyand

\*

## BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[National security]
[Duration: 4s ]

**INTELLIGENCE** 

#### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

\*

- -MR III situation
  - -Military intelligence
  - -Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
    - -Saigon
  - -Gen. Duong Van Minh
  - -Extent of Communist control
  - -Future compared to present situation
    - -Weyland's and other's view
  - -Infiltration
- -US strategy
  - -Le Duc Tho
  - -Changing agreement after signing
  - -Bilateral action

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Future US relations with North Vietnam
  - -Military prospects
    - -Bombing
    - -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
  - -Economic prospects
    - -Five year economic agreement
    - -Economic commission between US and DRV
    - -Effect on continuing war
  - -Soviet Union, PRC
  - -US forces in Thailand
- -Quality of agreement
  - -Souvanna Phouma's and Lon Nol's view
- -Thieu
  - -Tenure
  - -Upcoming broadcast
  - -Coalition government
    - -Rallies
    - -Kissinger's conversation with Bunker
  - -Possible plans
    - -Resistance to US and independent action
      - -Cease-fire
    - -Face saving device for North Vietnam
      - -Sabotage
    - -North Vietnam's stance
      - -Concessions
    - -US strategy
  - -US message to Thieu
    - -US support
  - -Agreement provisions
    - -US economy and military aid
    - -Murrey Marder
  - -Upcoming broadcast
    - -Timing
    - -Coalition government
  - -US handling
    - -Possible effect on US foreign policy
  - -Coalition government
    - -Future of South Vietnam
    - -Self -determination
    - -Definition
      - -Elections in South Vietnam

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

- -US stance
  - -Vietcong [VC]
  - -Electoral commission
    - -May 1969, January 25, 1972
  - -Political provisions
    - -May 1969, January 25, 1972
    - -May 8, 1972 cease-fire provisions
    - -Type of elections
      - -South Vietnam's determination
- -Possible North Vietnamese pressure to accept agreement
- -North Vietnamese publication of agreement terms
  - -Strategy
    - -Solution of lesser points
      - -Administrative structure phrasing
      - -Disposition of forces
      - -Meeting
    - -1972 election
- -Cambodia
- -Resignation
  - -The President's January 25, 1972 peace proposals
  - -Provisions in agreement
    - -DRV
- -Coalition government
  - -Dong
- -North Vietnamese public stance
- -US strategy
  - -Parties to agreement
  - -Countering possible North Vietnamese publicity
    - -Working out details
- -North Vietnamese
- -Upcoming broadcast
  - -Bunker
  - -Content
    - -Possible victory claim
  - -Motives
    - -Confidence of South Vietnamese
- -US strategy
  - -US benefits from agreement
- -Settlement before 1972 election
- -Progress
  - -South Vietnam embassy statement

# **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Nov-03)

-Rogers, Ziegler
-Thieu
-Mental state
-Bunker's view
-Rogers's view
-Meeting with Haig
-North Vietnamese publication of agreement terms
-Victory celebrations
-Settlement before 1972 election
-Bunker
-US pressure
-Election deadline
-Right kind of agreement
-Progress
-Public announcement
-South Vietnam's embassy statement
-Ziegler
-Implementation of settlement terms
-Cease-fire
-Thieu's meetings
-Working groups about expediting withdrawal
-Thieu
-Behavior
************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National security]
[Duration: 7s ]
INTELLIGENCE
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
**********************

-South Vietnamese CIA

-Equipment

-CIA

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

```
-Thieu loyalty measures
            -Flags
                 -Purchase of blue materials
        -Possible massacre
            -1972 election
        -Pressure on Thieu
        -Thieu's possible fall
            -US public reaction
            -Effect on others
                 -Japanese
                 -Indonesians
                 -Filipinos
                 -South Koreans
-Laos
    -International Control Commission [ICC]
        -India
        -Soviet Union, PRC
    -Souvanna Phouma
        -Reaction
            -Sullivan
    -Thais
    -Souvanna Phouma
    -War in Laos
    -Souvanna Phouma
        -Bridge playing with French, US ambassadors
            -Sullivan
-Thieu
    -Domestic problems
        -US withdrawal, cease-fire
    -North Vietnam
        -Deadline
            -October 31, 1972
    -US public stance
        -Progress
        -Terms
        -Honorable peace
```

## Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:05 am.

The President's schedule

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

## -Fritz G.A. Kraemer

## Bull left at an unknown time before 11:04 am.

Vietnam negotiations

-Settlement

-Timing

-Dong and [Thieu]

-George S. McGovern

-Strategy

-Response

-Progress

-Thieu

-R. Sargent Shriver

-Credit

-Kissinger's forthcoming telephone call to Rogers

## Rogers left at 11:04 am.

The President's schedule

-Meeting with Kraemer

-Kissinger

Vietnam negotiations

-Message

-Timing

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

Conversation No. 806-8

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:04 am and 11:15 am

Location: Oval Office

## The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule -Henry A. Kissinger

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

#### -Fritz G.A. Kraemer

## Bull left at an unknown time before 11:15 am.

Conversation No. 806-9

Date: October 24, 1972 Time: 11:15 am - 11:45 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger and Fritz G.A. Kraemer; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

#### Introduction

[Photograph session]

Intellectual interpretation of world events

- -Doves
- -Totalitarianism
  - -Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China [PRC]

## Sacrifice

## Kraemer

- -Analysis of administration activities
  - -Kissinger's effort bringing to President's attention
- -Background
  - -Nicholas P. Thimmesch's article
    - -Thimmesch's conversation with Kraemer
    - -Baltimore Sun
    - -Tone
  - -Farm work in Maine
  - -Commission in infantry
  - -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
- -Power

#### World affairs

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

```
-Change
```

-Intentions of Communists

-Soviet Union, PRC

-Nikolai A. Podgorny, Leonid I. Brezhnev, Aleksei N. Kosygin

-Bureaucracy

-Compared to Nikita S. Khrushchev, Josef V. Stalin

-Risk

-Egypt

-Confrontation

-PRC

-Mao Tse-tung

-Kraemer's efforts in 1965

-Perception

## Vietnam

- -Technical cables
  - -Central Office of South Vietnam [COSVN] instruction
  - -Cease-fire

-National Liberation Front [NLF] flag display in Government of South

Vietnam [GVN] areas

-Viet Cong [VC] view

-North Vietnam intentions

#### -Cease-fire

-Timing of announcement and implementation

-North Vietnamese actions

-Twelve hours

-First two days

-International supervision

-Timing of arrival

-1972 election

-Settlement

-Timing

-Deadline

-Concessions

-North Vietnamese reaction

-View of the President

-US strategy

-US demands

-North Vietnamese prisoners in South Vietnamese jails issue

## -Cease-fire

-North Vietnamese stance

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Military situation
  - -Bombing
  - -Mining
  - -Attrition
  - -B-52s, carriers
  - -Results
    - -Mao's writings on retreat
    - -November 7, 1972 deadline
- -US negotiating position
  - -Prior to October 8, 1972
  - -Post -October 8, 1972
    - -US demands
      - -Cambodia
        - -North Vietnamese position
          - -PRC

-Laos

-Commission

- -Souvanna Phouma
  - -Quoted in French
- -US position
  - -Critics
    - -Demonstrators
    - -Establishment
    - -Journalists
    - -Professors
    - -Ministers
    - -Businessmen
  - -Supporters
    - -Intellectual backgrounds similar to Kraemer and Kissinger
    - -Workers
    - -Ethnics, Farmers, Southerners
    - -Washington, DC
  - -Quality of settlement
    - -War dead
    - -Effect on US foreign policy
    - -Thieu
      - -Effect on US stance
  - -Success of settlement
    - -Time frame
- -Effect of failure of settlement on US foreign relations
  - -US-North Vietnam relations

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

```
-Questions of other nations
             -Soviet Union, PRC
             -Conclusions
                 -Rio de Janeiro to Copenhagen, Hanoi to Moscow
             -Political compared to diplomatic options
    -Reasons for Vietnam War
        -Berlin
        -South Vietnam
        -Cuba
        -Psychological factors
             -French Foreign Legion
                 -Discipline
                     -Prince [Aage] of Denmark
             -Discipline of North Vietnamese forces
                 -Thieu
    -South Vietnam's military
        -Kissinger's meetings with regional intelligence officers
             -Directives compared to execution
                 -Example
                     -Unknown place
                          -Cease-fire
        -Gen. Duong Van Minh
             -Sapper squads
Kissinger's analysis
    -Kissinger
    -The President's outlook
Kissinger and Kraemer
    -Intellectual background
    -Intelligence Quotient [IQ]
        -Character quotient
             -Harvard University, Yale University
    -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
        -Promotions
             -Army
             -Support from field grade officers
                 -David Landau quote of Kraemer on brilliance [for Kissinger: The
                Uses of Power]
                     -Landau
```

-Harvard

## Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

Presentation of gifts -Cuff links -Presidential seal -Kraemer's son [Sven]

Kissinger and Kraemer left at 11:45 am.

Conversation No. 806-10

Date: October 24, 1972 Time: 11:45 am - 11:46 am Location: Oval Office

## The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Photograph sessions

The President's approval of statement on death of John Roosevelt ("Jackie") Robinson

-Duration -Mood for pictures -Henry A. Kissinger -Saigon -Meeting with policemen

-Kissinger

-William P. Rogers

Ziegler left at 11:46 am.

Conversation No. 806-11

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:46 am and 11:47 am

Location: Oval Office

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

## The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

- -Procedures for forthcoming meeting with policemen
  - -Rose Garden
  - -Photographs

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:47 am.

Conversation No. 806-12

Date: October 24, 1972 Time: 11:47 am - 11:56 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Jake Miller, Ray Fisher, Lawrence Hust, Philip Iannuccilli, Jack L. Lewis, Robert H. Jenkins, Jr., Susan Johnston, Alan J. Loman, Robert E. Murkerson, Patrick L. Scott, Clarence Coster, Egil ("Bud") Krogh, Jr., John E. Nidecker and Geoffrey C. Shepard. The White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

## Introductions

- -San Diego
  - -Police chief
- -Conviction
- -Waukesha, Wisconsin
  - -Glenn R. Davis
- -Dallas
  - -Cowboys
- -Minneapolis
  - -Charles Stenvig
    - -Meeting with the President in Texas
- -Frank L. Rizzo

## [Photograph session]

#### Press statement

- -Police work
- -Iannuccilli

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Protecting innocent
  - -Teenagers wrongly convicted of murder
  - -Arrest of confessed murderer

-Justice

Washington, DC weather

Presentation of Presidential gifts
-Pin and cuff links
-Presidential seal

White House tour

Miller et al. left at 11:56 am.

Conversation No. 806-13

Date: October 24, 1972 Time: 11:58 am - 12:32 pm Location: Oval Office

## The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Speech on education

-Draft

-John E. Ehrlichman

-The President's schedule

-John B. Connally

-Speech on farm policy

## H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 11:59 am.

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:02 pm.

\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal returnable]

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

[Duration: 40s] END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 \* Vietnam -Poll -Ngyuen Van Thieu -Pham Van Dong -Thieu -Upcoming speech -Dong -Poll -Prisoner of war [POW] question -Cease-fire and US withdrawal -Communist takeover of South Vietnam -North Vietnamese and Vietcong [VC] control of territory -Coalition government -Thieu -Settlement -Cease-fire -POWs -Control of territory -VC compared to North Vietnam

## Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 12:02 pm.

Veterans bill signing ceremony -Revision

## Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:32 pm.

```
Vietnam
    -Poll
        -Partial settlement compared to complete settlement
             -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
             -Laos, Cambodia
```

## Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 12:02 pm.

Refreshment

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:32 pm.

```
Vietnam
         -Poll
            -Conclusions
                -Settlement before 1972 election
                -Control of negotiations
                   -Honorable peace
                -POWs
                   -Communist takeover
      Motorcade safety
         -Ohio trip
            -Speech
                -Hecklers
         -Ashland, Kentucky trip
             -Purpose
*************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 49s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
************************
      Security
         -Ohio
             -Radio speech
            -Demonstrators
```

\*

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

## BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 29s ]

## END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

\*

```
The President's schedule
```

- -Los Angeles Airport
  - -Demonstrators
    - -University of California, Los Angeles [UCLA]
- -Ontario, California
- -Century Plaza Hotel
- -Colorado postponement
  - -Chicago
- -National television
- -California
  - -Need for event
  - -Motorcade
  - -Demonstrators
    - -UCLA
    - -Valley State University
    - -Airports
  - -Ontario, California [November 4, 1972]
    - -Torchlight rally
      - -1960 campaign
      - -Timing
      - -Benefits
    - -San Clemente
    - -Church
    - -Headquarters
    - -Vote
    - -Tone of speech
    - -Press coverage
      - -Radicals
  - -Denver postponement
    - -Justification
    - -Invitees to Chicago

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

-Flying
-Speech compared to hand-shaking
-Florida, Georgia
-Recent New York trip
-Speech
-States

\*

## BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[Personal returnable] [Duration: 1m 8s]

## END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

\*

```
Security
    -Tighter control
        -El Toro Marine Base
        -Ontario
        -March Field
             -Riverside, California
             -Military bases
             -Quality of control
                 -Traffic
    -1960 campaign
    -Ontario
    -El Toro
        -Torchlight rally
    -Crowd quality
        -March Field
             -Compared to El Toro
                 -Orange County
        -Riverside County
    -Los Angeles motorcade
    -Contact with people
```

Recent meeting

# **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Nov-03)

-Robert H. Finch -California -March Field -Access to Riverside, San Bernardino, Ontario, Pomona \* BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 4m 4s ] END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6 \* Watergate -Public posture -White Paper -John W. Dean III -Clark MacGregor -Answer to questions -Distribution to editors -Tone -Smear campaign -Quality of report \* BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 4m 40s ]

\*

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Nov-03)

-Issues
-Amnesty
-The President's recorded message for Veterans Day
-Arlington National Cemetery
-Abortion
-The President's New York trip
-Motorcade
-Organization
-Signs

\*

## BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 15s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

\*

Haldeman left at 12:32 pm.

Conversation No. 806-15

Date: October 24, 1972 Time: 12:49 pm - 12:50 pm Location: Oval Office

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

The President's Schedule

- -Signing ceremony for veterans bills
  - -Haldeman's experience
- -Executive Office Building [EOB]
- -Next week

# **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Nov-03)

The President, Haldeman and Sanchez left at 12:50 pm.

Conversation No. 806-16

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:50 pm and 12:57 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

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

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 12:50 pm and 12:57 pm.

[Conversation No. 806-16A]

Officers accompanying the President

[End of telephone conversation]

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 12:50 pm and 12:57 pm.

[Conversation No. 806-16B]

The President's location -EOB

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's location -EOB

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 12:50 pm and 12:57 pm.

# **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Nov-03)

[Conversation No. 806-16C]

The President's location -EOB

[End of telephone conversation]

[The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 12:57 p.m.]