



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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

Conversation No. 810-1

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

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

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

Statement on possible Vietnam settlement

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

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

The president's schedule

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

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

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

The President's schedule
-Kissinger's office

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

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Tape Subject Log
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- 1972 election
- Quality of peace
 - Details of agreement
 - Compared to 1968 agreement
 - Compared to 1962 agreement

Ziegler left at 11:10 am.

Conversation No. 810-2

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

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

Greetings

Rockefeller's forthcoming National Press Club speech

- Cuts in text
- Vietnam

Vietnam negotiations

- History of US peace agreement
 - 1968 bombing halt
- Possible agreement
 - Deadline
- Message from Hanoi
 - North Vietnamese position
 - View of US negotiating tactics
 - Deadlines
 - The President's previous message to Hanoi
 - Possible publication of negotiation record
 - Demand for settlement
- North Vietnamese leaks of terms
 - Phom Van Dong's interview in *Newsweek*
 - Attempted modification of settlement terms

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
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- Coalition government
- Orders to North Vietnamese cadres
 - Ignore cease-fire to seize territory
- North Vietnamese interpretation administrative structure
- North Vietnamese troop withdrawal
 - No reinforcement provision
- Message from Hanoi
 - Kissinger's view
 - 1972 election
 - Factors conducive to settlement
 - Bombing
- Possible publication of negotiation record
- Possible backgrounder by Kissinger
 - Timin
 - The President's speech ["Look to the Future"] November 2, 1972
- Rockefeller's forthcoming National Press Club speech
 - Use of information regarding orders to Vietcong [VC]
 - The President's view
 - Differences between negotiating parties
 - Peace
 - 1968 agreement
- Phom Van Dong's interview in *Newsweek*
 - Attempted modification of settlement terms
- Rockefeller's forthcoming National Press Club speech
 - The President's view
- [Arnold] Eric Sevareid
 - Analysis
 - Timing of possible settlement
 - 1972 election
- US position
 - North Vietnamese strategy
 - Quality of agreement
- North Vietnamese strategy
 - Concessions
 - Nguyen Van Thieu
 - 1972 election
 - Military Situation
 - Cadres
 - Bombing
 - B-52s
 - 19th parallel

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
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- Previous US internal restriction
 - 20th parallel
 - 19th parallel
 - Supply dumps
- Rockefeller's forthcoming National Press Club speech
 - Possible press questions
 - Kissinger's "Peace is at hand" remark
 - Progress of negotiations
 - Rockefeller's view
- Administration press strategy
 - Possible publication of negotiating record
 - Breakdown of talks
 - Blame on North Vietnamese
 - Nature of agreement
 - North Vietnamese position
 - Kissinger's forthcoming backgrounder
 - Timing
 - Rockefeller's view
 - Kissinger's view
 - Information from Hanoi
 - US press reaction
- Possible clarification of points
 - North Vietnamese troop withdrawal
 - North Vietnamese seizure of territory
 - Pham Van Dong's interview
 - Coalition Government
- Rockefeller's view
 - The President compared to Winston S. Churchill
- Rockefeller's forthcoming National Press Club speech
 - John N. Mitchell's request of Rockefeller
- Thieu
 - Kissinger's previous meeting with Thieu
 - Necessity of US consultation with Thieu
 - North Vietnamese pressure for settlement
 - Possible publication of negotiation record
- Rockefeller's dinner with Abraham M. Rosenthal
 - Foreign Affairs Editor of *New York Times*, [James Greenfield]
 - New York Times*
 - Greenfield's view of Kissinger's press briefing
 - Editorial
 - Consistency of the Administration's negotiating position

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Nov-03)

- Far left
 - Attitude toward Thieu
 - Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
- US position
 - Press statements
 - Conciliation
 - Status of negotiations
 - Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with Jay Lovestone
 - George Meany
 - George S. McGovern stance
 - Signing of agreement
 - Abrogation of agreement
 - Arms to South Vietnam
 - Aid to South Vietnam
 - Effects on talks

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 1m 50s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Support for the President

- New York Times*
- Catholic community
 - Jewish community
- Catholic community
 - Vietnam War
 - Francis Cardinal Spellman
 - The President's previous trip to Vietnam as Vice President

Vietnam negotiations

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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

The President's schedule

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

Rockefeller and Kissinger left at 11:36 am.

Conversation No. 810-3

Date: October 31, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:36 am and 11:43 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

- Signing ceremony of 1973 Appropriations Act
- Possible photograph session

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

Conversation No. 810-4

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Nov-03)

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

The President met with an unknown woman.

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

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

Conversation No. 810-5

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

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

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

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

Conversation No. 810-6

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

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
-House Resolution [H R] 1
-H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Nov-03)

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

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

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

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

Conversation No. 810-7

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

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
 [Personal returnable]
 [Duration: 27s]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
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END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO.1

Display case
-Coins

Butterfield left at 11:53 am.

Conversation No. 810-8

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

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

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

The President's schedule

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

Conversation No. 810-19

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

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

The President's location
-Executive office building [EOB]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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

Conversation No. 810-9

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

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

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

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

Butterfield left at 2:41 pm.

Conversation No. 810-10

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

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

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

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

Conversation No. 810-11

Date: October 31, 1972

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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

Time: Unknown between 2:41 pm and 2:42 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

The President's schedule

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

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

Signing ceremony of 1973 Appropriations Act

- Henry A. Kissinger
- Photograph session

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

The President's trip to Chicago and Oklahoma

- Announcements

Haldeman left at 2:42 pm.

Conversation No. 810-12

Date: October 31, 1972

Time: 2:42 pm - 2:44 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with the White House photographer and members of the press.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Nov-03)

- Signing ceremony of 1973 Appropriations Act
- [Photograph session]
 - Pen distribution
 - Details of legislation vetoed or approved by the President
 - Alexander P. Butterfield

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

Conversation No. 810-13

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

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

- The President's schedule
- Henry A. Kissinger

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

Conversation No. 810-14

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

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

- Compilation of material
- Radio tapes
 - Television tapes
 - Film
 - Letters

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Nov-03)

Conversation No. 810-15

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

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

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

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

Refreshment

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

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

Vietnam negotiations

- Public relations
 - The Administrations aggressive stance
 - Demonstrators
 - Support from conservatives
 - Details of agreement
 - Troop Withdrawal
 - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log**
(rev. Nov-03)

- Los Angeles Times*
- New York Times*
- Marvin L. Kalb
- Dan Rather
- Coalition Government
 - Kalb
 - [Arnold] Eric Sevareid
 - Possible result in collapse of South Vietnamese government
- US failure to sign agreement
 - The President's moral position
 - Bombing halt of 1968
 - Public perception
 - North Vietnamese reaction
 - Kissinger's view
 - Anticipation of victory
 - Instructions to cadres
 - Press reaction
 - Kissinger
 - Nguyen Van Thieu's reaction
 - North Vietnamese reaction
 - Ambiguities
 - North Vietnamese Position
 - Negotiation schedule
 - Bombing halt
 - 1972 election
 - Attacks on Kissinger
 - Kissinger's use of the phrase "peace is at hand"
 - US position
 - Possible message after 1972 election
 - Negotiation record since October 22, 1972
 - US initiatives
 - Possible message to Thieu
 - Thieu's position
 - Outcome
 - Polls
 - Effect of negotiations on Watergate and other issues
 - News domination
 - Public perception
 - The President's strength
 - Settlement signing prior to 1972 election
 - Kissinger's mail

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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

- News summary
 - Emphasis on negative stories
 - Liberal Reaction
- Troop withdrawal
 - Kissinger's efforts with press
- Announcement of signing
 - Timing
 - Late November 1972
 - Benefit to the President's second term
- Bombing
 - Possible deployment of B-52s
 - Possible reconnaissance around Hanoi
 - Extent
 - North Vietnamese reaction
 - Possible continuation of war
- North Vietnamese strategy
 - Territorial situation
 - Reaction of cadres
- US position
 - Initiative
 - Insistence on a proper agreement
 - Military Pressure
- Rockefeller's National Press Club speech
 - Audience response
 - Television coverage
 - US stance
 - Peace compared to armistice
 - Support for the President
- George S. McGovern's position
 - Desire to negotiate agreement
 - Desire to sign agreement
- North Vietnamese strategy
 - Negotiating stance
 - Possible break off of talks
 - William J. Porter
 - Military Position
 - Offensive
 - Feasibility
 - Resupplying
 - Effect on signing
 - US bombing

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Nov-03)

- Forthcoming People's Republic of China [PRC] note
- PRC refusal to attend dinner party
 - New York
 - Chiao Kuan-Hua
 - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- PRC note
 - Possible tone
- Public Reaction
 - Joseph C. Kraft
 - Quality of US diplomatic performance
 - PRC
 - Soviet Union
 - North Vietnam
 - South Vietnam
 - Post-1972 election reactions
- US honor

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 1m 58s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

The President's post-1972 election schedule

- Possible trip to Florida
- Cabinet

Vietnam negotiations

- Kissinger's schedule
- US power
 - 1972 election
- North Vietnamese actions
 - Seizure of territory
 - Coalition government
- North Vietnamese statement on peace

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Nov-03)

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 2m 15s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Nov-03)

Vietnam negotiations

- Attacks on US position
 - North Vietnam
 - Thieu
 - Washington Post*
- North Vietnamese strategy
 - Possible break off of negotiations
 - 1972 election
 - Polls
- Press relations
 - Timing
 - The President's forthcoming trip to Chicago
 - Ronald L. Ziegler

McGovern campaign

- Press blaming of McGovern
 - News Summary
 - Thomas F. Eagleton
 - Effect on McGovern campaign
 - McGovern's stand on issues

Democratic National Convention

- Marlo Thomas, Shirley MacLaine
 - Abortion issue
- Appearance of delegates

Kissinger's forthcoming conversation with Jay Lovestone

Kissinger left at 3:23 pm

Conversation No. 810-16

Date: October 31, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:23 pm and 3:25 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Nov-03)

The President's signing of the 1973 Appropriations Act
-Mementoes
-Alexander P. Butterfield
-Presidential library [?]

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

Conversation No. 810-17

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

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

1973 Appropriations Act
-92nd Congress

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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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

Vietnam negotiations

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Nov-03)

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

The President's schedule

- Speeches
 - Chicago
 - Length of speech
 - Richard B. Olgive
 - Charles H. Percy
 - Congressmen
 - Importance of Illinois
 - Recent train accident in Chicago
 - Peace settlement

Public relations

- Poll
 - Timing
 - Questions
 - Laos, Cambodia
 - Vietnam negotiations
 - Louis P. Harris
 - Opinion Research Corporation [ORC]
 - Timing
 - Verification of previous results
 - Reaction to peace talks
 - The President's forthcoming statements
 - Reaction to corruption issue
- Possible shift in polls
 - Verification
 - Reasons
 - George S. McGovern
 - Supporters

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Nov-03)

- Commercials
- Youth
- Manual workers
- Youth
 - Peace issue
 - Professors
 - Desire for conflict
- Big business and the rich

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 7m 15s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 3:40 p.m.

Announcements

- The President's schedule
 - Chicago
 - O'Hare International Airport
 - Oklahoma
 - Providence, Rhode Island
 - Details
 - Chicago
 - Possible motorcade
 - Train accident
 - Adjustment of schedule
- Zeigler's morning briefing
 - Vietnam
 - Wire services

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Nov-03)

- Administration stance
 - Nature of peace settlement
 - Previous peace agreements
 - 1968
- Justification for the President's schedule
 - Oklahoma, Rhode Island
 - Congressional elections
 - North Carolina, New Mexico, Oklahoma
 - Rhode Island
 - New Mexico
 - Details of trip

Ziegler left at 3:44 pm.

Ziegler

- The President's view

Polls

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 14m 25s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Nov-03)

- Public relations
 - Backgrounders
 - Honesty
 - Robert H. Finch
 - Objectivity
 - Compared to advocacy

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 5m 7s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

Haldeman left at 4:08 pm.

Conversation No. 810-18

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

Unknown men [Secret Service agents] met.

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

[Conversation No. 810-18A]

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
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[End of telephone conversation]

The President's location
-EOB

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

[Conversation No. 810-18B]

The President's location

[End of telephone conversation]

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