Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

Conversation No. 788-1

Date: September 29, 1972 Time: 9:45 am - 10:45 am Location: Oval Office

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

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/02/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[788-001-w001] [Duration: 2m 13s]

1972 election

-George S. McGovern

-Editorials

-David Brinkley

-The President's schedule and campaign strategy

-Maurice Schumann

-Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] signing

-Press comments

-George S. McGovern

-"Mayors for McGovern"

-Crime statistics

-Patrick J. Buchanan

-Coverage

-Mayors for McGovern

-Richard J. Daley

-Henry W. Maier

-Joseph L. Alioto

-John V. Lindsay

-Kenneth A. Gibson

-Local politics

-Internal problems

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

Watergate

- -Washington Post report
 - -Possible sources
 - -John N. Mitchell
 - -Bernard L. Barker
 - -Possible sources
 - -Methods
- -John P. Roche column
 - -Barry M. Goldwater
 - -Speech
 - -The President's campaign airplane in 1968
 - -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
 - -Lyndon B. Johnson

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/02/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[788-001-w002] [Duration: 1m 4s]

1972 election

- -Press coverage
 - -Edith Efron's analysis of press coverage
- -Endorsements
 - -Letter to Washington Star
 - -Letter to New York Times
 - -Ronald L. Ziegler's statement

Vietnam

- -The President's meeting with Henry A. Kissinger and
- -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- -Post-election efforts to bring war to a conclusion
 - -Implications
 - -The President's view

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Kissinger
- -Escalation
- -International repercussions
 - -Possible escalation
 - -Haldeman's view
 - -The President's view
 - -The People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - -Soviet Union
- -Effects on relations with other countries
- -Nguyen Van Thieu
 - -Possible settlement

Kissinger and Stephen B. Bull entered at 10:00 am.

The President's schedule
-Maurice Schumann

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

Vietnam

- -Possible settlement
 - -Thieu
 - -Haig
 - -Post-election plans
 - -End the war strategy
 - -1972 Presidential election importance
 - -Effect of options on elections
 - -The President's view
 - -George S. McGovern stand
 - -World position of the US
 - -Statement of principles
 - -Implication for election
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Prisoners of War [POW] release
 - -Cease-fire
 - -Coalition government
 - -Continuation of Government of Vietnam [GVN]
 - -Thieu
 - -Resignation
 - -Commission of National Reconciliation
 - -Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
 - -Thieu's possible action

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Effect on Asian governments

-Philippines

-Indonesia

-Consequence of agreement

- -Resignation of Thieu
 - -Technical issues
 - -Cease-fire
 - -American disengagement
 - -Return of POWs
 - -Thieu
 - -North Vietnamese

Haldeman left at 10:04 am.

The President's schedule

-Forthcoming meeting with Schumann

-Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet

-Georges J.R. Pompidou

-US-French relations

-Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR]

The President left at 10:05 am.

The President entered at 10:05 am.

1972 Presidential election

- -The President's meeting with Kissinger and Haig on Vietnam
- -POWs
 - -McGovern
 - -Uniforms
 - -Edward K. Elins

Maurice Schumann, Kosciusko-Morizet, Bull, the White House photographer and members of the press entered at 10:06 am.

Greetings

-The President's schedule

-California trip

-Bill signing

[Photograph session]

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

-Seating arrangements

The White House photographer and members of the press left at an unknown time before 10:45 am.

Oval Office

- -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
- -Effect of décor on television filming

US-French relations

- -The President's view
- -Pompidou
- -Kissinger's talks with North Vietnamese in Paris
 - -French government
- -Direction of relationship
 - -Channel of communication
- -Possible meeting with Pompidou
 - -Timing
 - -The President's previous meeting
 - -Azores
 - -Monetary discussion

The President's schedule

- -Previous trip to Peking
- -Previous trip to Moscow
- -1972 campaign trips
- -Focus on Europe in 1973
 - -Kissinger
 - -Atlantic community

US-foreign policy

- -US-Soviet Union talks
 - -Effect on US-European relationship
 - -Soviet Union
 - -PRC

French policy

- -Mao Tse-Tung
- -Lin Piao
 - -Views on relationship with West
- -French-North Vietnamese relations

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Communications

-US-North Vietnamese talks

US foreign policy

- -The President's previous trip to California
- -The President's briefing by Kissinger

-[Sequoia]

Paris Peace Talks and Vietnam War

- -Soviet Union
- -Status of North Vietnamese forces
 - -Laos
 - -Cambodia
 - -South Vietnam
 - -Political issues
 - -North Vietnam
 - -Thieu
 - -Guarantees
 - -Haig's forthcoming trip to Saigon
 - -Ellsworth F. Bunker
 - -Thieu
 - -Kissinger's schedule
 - -Next meeting with North Vietnamese
 - -French cooperation
 - -Importance
 - -North Vietnamese
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Political decisions
 - -Nature of negotiations
 - -US approach to negotiations
 - -North Vietnamese approach to negotiations
 - -Thieu's position
 - -Forthcoming US Presidential election
 - -US negotiating position
 - -North Vietnam
 - -War as an issue
 - -Settlement
 - -Transition after the election
 - -The President's schedule
 - -Cabinet
 - -Government changes
 - -State of the Union address

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Budget

- -Interests
- -Nature
- -Provisions of agreement
- -Policy considerations
 - -US entry in Vietnam
 - -1954 Geneva Accords
 - -Hanoi, Peking
- -Importance of details
 - -Kissinger's view
- -Thieu's role
 - -North Vietnam
- -Kissinger's schedule
 - -Paris Peace Talks
 - -1972 Presidential election
 - -Possible speech in San Francisco
 - -The President's previous conversation with
 - David Packard
- -US-North Vietnamese interests
- -North Vietnam
 - -Need for an advisor
 - -Soviet Union's role
 - -Chou En-Lai
 - -Soviet Union
 - -Schumann's previous conversations with Andrei A. Gromyko
- -French impression
 - -North Vietnamese desire for settlement
 - -Possible bombing halt
 - -1968
- -US policy
 - -Possible bombing halt
 - -The President's view
 - -Compared to bombing halt of 1968
 - -Reactions
 - -Progress in negotiations
 - -The President's policy
 - -Total agreement
 - -Public announcement
 - -Next meeting
 - -Traffic lawyer analogy

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -US-French relations
 - -Pompidou
 - -Meeting with the President
 - -Monetary Policies
 - -Valery Giscard D'Estaing
 - -The President's view
- -George P. Shultz
- -Previous meetings in Azores
 - -The President's previous statement
 - -Pompidou
 - -Total convertibility
 - -Floating currency
 - -US policy
- -Shultz
 - -The President's view
 - -Post-election schedule
 - -Possible meeting with Giscard D'Estaing
- -The President's view
 - -French
 - -British
 - -Germans
 - -Italians
 - -Differences on issues
 - -Importance of understanding
 - -Shultz
 - -Germany
 - -Great Britain
 - -Japan
 - -US policy
 - -France
 - -Azores
 - -Possible meeting with Pompidou
 - -Shultz
 - -Giscard D'Estaing
 - -Pompidou's position
 - -Schumann's view

Koscinski-Morizet's schedule

- -Shultz
 - -Monetary policy speech
- -Meeting with Peter Flanagan
- -Peter G. Peterson

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Giscard D'Estaing

Paris Peace Talks and Vietnam

- -Possible briefing by Kissinger
 - -Timing
 - -Negotiating assistance
 - -France
 - -PRC
- -Settlement
 - -North Vietnamese negotiating techniques
 - -Soviet Union
 - -PRC
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Effect on negotiations
- -Position of the North Vietnamese
 - -Possible settlement
 - -Timing
 - -The President's view
 - -1972 Presidential election
 - -Allies
- -Election importance
 - -The president's view
 - -Bombing halt in 1968
 - -Hubert H. Humphrey
- -The President's policies for second term
 - -Relationships with other countries
 - -PRC
 - -Soviet Union
 - -Rest of the world
 - -Focus
 - -Importance of Vietnam
 - -Indonesia
 - -Thailand
 - -Effect of war on foreign policy
 - -Effect of the President's policies in first term
 - -Previous trip to PRC
 - -Previous trip to Soviet Union
 - -The President's view
 - -US policies
 - -Europe
 - -Soviet union
 - -PRC

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

-Settlement

-The President's view

-Kissinger's view

Presentation of Presidential gifts
-Cuff links

Schumann, et al. left at 10:45 am.

Conversation No. 788-2

Date: September 29, 1972 Time: 10:45 am - 10:50 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's list to forthcoming state dinners

- -Dinner for Sir Alexander F. Douglas-Home
 - -Melvin R. Laird
 - -Richard G. Kleindienst
 - -Additions
 - -John H. ("Jack") Whitney
 - -Elliot L. Richardson
 - -George P. Shultz
 - -Richardson
 - -George W. Romney
 - -James D. Hodgson
 - -John A. Volpe
 - -Richardson
 - -Andrei A. Gromyko dinner
 - -Results

Butterfield left at 10:50 am.

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

Date: September 29, 1972 Time: 10:51 am - 10:53 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's forthcoming meeting with Sir Alexander F. Douglas-Home

Henry A. Kissinger's schedule

William P. Rogers's Schedule -Kissinger

Butterfield left at 10:53 am.

Conversation No. 788-4

Date: September 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:54 am and 11:07 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
-Forthcoming meeting with Sir Alexander F. Douglas-Home
-George R.S. Baring [Earl of Cromer]
-Possible attendance
-Topics of discussion

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:54 am.

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman's schedule -John D. Ehrlichman

The President's schedule
-Forthcoming trip to Atlanta
-Timing for return
-Possible meeting with Dr. W. Kenneth Riland

Butterfield left at 10:56 am.

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

Ronald L. Ziegler's schedule

The President's schedule
-Arthur F. Burns
-Previous telephone call to the President
-The President's previous speech to the
International Monetary Fund [IMF]
-Peter M. Flanigan
-Forthcoming trip to India
-Ziegler's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:07 am.

Conversation No. 788-5

Date: September 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:56 am and 11:07 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Arthur F. Burns.

The President's schedule
-Previous meeting with Maurice Schumann

International Monetary Fund [IMF] meeting

-Burns's view

-Prices in US

-Foreign reaction to trends in US

-Control

-Production

-Last year's statistics

Burns's schedule

-Stephen B. Bull

-Timing

-1972 Presidential elections

-Burns's role

-Japan

-India

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

```
-Indonesia
    -India
        -The President's view
        -Pakistan
        -Bangladesh
    -Indonesia
        -The President's view
    -Burns's previous trips
        -Singapore
        -Malaysia
        -South Korea
        -Taiwan
        -Hong Kong
        -South Korea
-Possible itinerary
        -Japan
        -Indonesia
        -Iran
            -Mohammad Reza Pahlavi [Shah of Iran]
                     -The President's view
                     -Israel
                       -Hussein ibn Talel [Hussein, King of Jordan]
The US economy
    -Federal Reserve system
    -Discount rates
        -Bank directors
        -Control of rates
            -Timing
        -Stock market
            -Effect
            -New York
            -New Jersey
            -Connecticut
            -Joseph P. Kennedy's purchase of stocks in 1960
                 -Timing
        -New York Stock Exchange
            -[James J. Needham], Bernard J. ("Bunny") Lasker
    -Money supply and interest rates
        -Control of prices
            -The President's view
```

-Increases

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -The president's view
- -Italians
- -British
 - -Current situation
 - -The President's forthcoming meeting with Sir

Alexander F. Douglas-Home

- -Burns's view
 - -Fiscal discipline
 - -Government control
- -American labor unions
 - -British labor unions
 - -George Meany
- -British
 - -Attitude

-George P. Shultz

Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:54 am.

The President's schedule

- -Forthcoming meeting with Home
- -Forthcoming dinner for Home
 - -Unknown person's schedule
 - -Burns's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:07 am.

The President and Burns left at 11:07 am.

Conversation No. 788-6

Date: September 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:07 am and 12:03 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown men met.

Schedule

[This conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 12:03 pm.]

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

Conversation No. 788-7

Date: September 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:03 pm and 12:11 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-Taping schedule
-Timing
-Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC)

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/02/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable] [788-007-w001]

[Duration: <u>15s</u>]

The President's schedule

-Arrival, October 5, 1972

-Time

-Appointment with W. Kenneth Riland

-Motorcade

The President's schedule
-H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
-Charles W. Colson

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:11 pm.

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

Date: September 29, 1972 Time: 12:11 pm - 2:03 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

Greetings

The President left and H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 12:12 pm.

The President's schedule

The President entered at an unknown time before 12:15 pm.

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 12:15 pm.

The President's schedule
-John B. Anderson
-Dinner

Butterfield left at 12:17 pm.

1972 Presidential election

- -The President's election headquarters in Phoenix
 - -Arson
 - -Demonstrators

-George S. McGovern

-News summary

-Press usage

-Exploitation

- -Anti-war demonstrators at Doral Hotel
 - -Richard Moore
 - -Signs
 - -International Telephone and Telegraph Company [ITT]
 - -Watergate
 - -Anti-Nixon rally
 - -Pictures
 - -Communist banners
 - -Century Plaza demonstration
 - -Mao Tse-tung
 - -George Putnam

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

```
-Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
            -Pictures
    -McGovern
        -Supporters
        -Century Plaza demonstrators
    -Burning of headquarters
        -Senate Fair Campaign Practices Committee
            -Complaint filing
                 -Robert J. Dole
        -Congress
        -Ronald L. Ziegler
    -Clark MacGregor's statement
        -Press coverage
        -Surrogates
Speeches by campaign surrogates
    -Quotations
        -Colson
        -John B. Connally
    -Defense issue
    -Spiro T. Agnew
        -Peter H. Dominick
        -William P. Rogers
    -McGovern
        -Defense cuts
            -Melvin R. Laird
            -The President's speech to American Legion
                 -Defense strength
                     -Navy
                       -Aircraft carriers
                     -Air Force
                       -B-1 bomber
```

-Army

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/02/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[788-008-w001]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

[Duration: 14m 4s]

Campaign techniques

- -Negative ads
 - -Effectiveness
 - -Charles W. Colson's opinion
- -George S. McGovern ad
 - -Charles W. Colson's opinion
- -White House policy
 - -Strategy
 - -Popular reaction
- -Campaign
 - -Press
 - -Technique compared with content
 - -Analysis
 - -Patrick J. Buchanan
 - -Lyndon K. ("Mort") Allin
 - -Public interest
 - -Importance

Thomas E. Dewey's campaign in 1948

- -New York
- -Standing
 - -Gallup poll

Public interest

- -Average person's opinion
- -Confidence
- -Healthy economy
- -Vietnam concerns
- -View of politics

Catherine Mackin's reports on television

- -Edith Efron's analysis of press coverage
- -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's assessment
 - -Laredo
 - -Statue of Liberty
 - -Jews for Nixon
- -Editorializing

National Broadcasting Company [NBC] coverage

-Julian Goodman

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Tape
- -Ken W. Clawson
- -Herbert G. Klein
- -Today Show
 - -Audience
- -Evening news spot
- -Catherine Mackin
 - -Job
 - -George S. McGovern
- -Richard G. Valeriani
 - -Coverage of George S. McGovern campaign
- -John W. Chancellor
 - -Chicago cab driver
- -Effect on George S. McGovern campaign
- -Media
 - -Facts

The President's previous trip to Texas

- -Dell E. Webb
 - -Statement to the President

White House campaign strategy

- -Positive remarks in the President's speeches
- -Position attack
 - -Media interpretation
- -Radio
 - -Positive image
- -Congressional position
 - -Vetoes
 - -Taxes
- -George S. McGovern's campaign
- -Image
 - -Next four years
 - -Positive outlook

White House press strategy

- -Handling
- -Comparison to 1968 and 1960 elections
- -William R. Hearst, Jr.'s coverage
 - -1960 campaign
 - -John F. Kennedy
 - -Comparison of press image

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

```
-Daniel L. Schorr [?]
              -1968 campaign
          -Coverage
              -John W. Chancellor
              -Catherine Mackin
              -New York Times
              -James E. Doyle
                  -Evening Star
          -Press opposition
              -Defense
              -Network commentator
              -Columnist
              -Reporter
              -Paul's [surname unknown] thesis
                  -Ronald L. Ziegler
          -Post-election policy
              -Attack the press
          -Character of press relations
          -National Broadcasting Company [NBC] coverage
              -Kenneth W. Clawson
              -Catherine Mackin
                  -White House response to misrepresentation
                     -Clark MacGregor
                         -Indignation
                         -Presentation
                             -Committee to Re-elect the President [CRP]
                             -Edmund S. Muskie [?]
                             -Slander charge
                             -Reuven Frank
***********************
          Watergate
              -White House reaction
***********************
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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/02/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

[788-008-w002] [Duration: <u>14m 59s</u>]

```
1972 election coverage
     -National Broadcasting Company [NBC] coverage
         -Catherine Mackin report
              -George S. McGovern
              -Charles W. Colson's opinion
                  -The President's statements on welfare
                  -Clark MacGregor
              -George S. McGovern policy
                  -Defense budget cuts
                      -San Francisco
                  -Welfare reform
                  -The President's statements
                      -Charles W. Colson's analysis
         -Compared to John W. Chancellor
              -Republican National Convention
     -George S. McGovern media strategy
         -Frank F. Mankiewicz's comments on television networks
         -Ploy
         -Coverage
              -Charles W. Colson's theory
                  -Opposition
                  -Underdog image
                  -Counterproductive nature of television coverage
     -White House media strategy
         -Charles W. Colson's plan
              -Radio wire
                  -R. Sargent Shriver's speech
                      -Democratic National Committee [DNC]
                      -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] news coverage
                      -Football comparison
                          -Front four
                               -John N. Mitchell
                               -Earl L. Butz
                               -John B. Connally
                               -Spiro T. Agnew
                               -The President
```

-"Tricky Dicky"

-Use of R. Sargent Shriver's speech by Republicans

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Backfire
- -Criticism of voice
 - -Cheerleader at Yale
 - -Frank Stanton
 - -Television coverage
 - -Ralph Yarborough
 - -Spanish-speaking individuals
 - -Football players
 - -Welfare debate
 - -Los Angeles Rams player
 - -Cleveland Browns
 - -Jack F. Kemp
 - -Background
 - -Woody Hayes
- -Catherine Mackin report
 - -Correction of report
 - -Fighting press image
- -Press coverage of the White House
 - -Steps to take
 - -Impact on 1972 election
 - -Catherine Mackin
 - -Correction
- -Issues
 - -Defense
 - -Tax confiscation and welfare issue
 - -Redistribution of wealth
 - -Food prices
 - -George S. McGovern's position
- -Press tactics
 - -Debate
 - -Richard G. Kleindienst's remarks on crime statistics
 - -George S. McGovern
 - -Charles W. Colson's opinion
- -George S. McGovern's campaign image
 - -Reception
 - -Doral Hotel anti-war demonstrators
 - -Columbus debate
 - -Archie Bunker
 - -Comments
 - -Perception as racist
 - -New York Times editorial
- -Press

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -New York Times
 - -Reaction to column with a letter
 - -Establishmentarian
- -Washington Post
- -Eastern Establishment label
 - -New York Times
 - -Washington Post
 - -Boston Globe
 - -Milwaukee Journal
 - -St. Louis Post-Dispatch
 - -Louisville Courier Journal
 - -Opposition
 - -New York Times endorsement
 - -Thomas W. ("Teddy") Gleason support
 - -Joseph P. Tonelli support
- -Campaign coverage
 - -Issue excitement
 - -Controversy
 - -Effectiveness of Nixon Administration
- -George S. McGovern support
 - -Opposition to the President
 - -Campaign-election outcome
 - -Themes
- -Pol1
 - -WCBS-TV New York
 - -Frank Stanton
 - -Standings
 - -No change
 - -Albert E. Sindlinger
 - -Popular attitudes

John D. Ehrlichman's schedule

The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time after 12:15 pm.

[Conversation No. 788-9A]

Ehrlichman's schedule

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

[End of telephone conversation]

```
US-Soviet Union grain deal
```

- -Ehrlichman
 - -Report
 - -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] interviews
 - -Agriculture Department official in Japan
 - -Earl L. Butz
 - -Clarence D. Palmby
 - -Continental Grain Company employees
 - -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] interviews
 - -Watergate
 - -Ehrlichman
 - -L.[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
 - -FBI investigation
 - -Possible violations
 - -Possible firing
 - -Department of Agriculture staff
 - -Palmby
 - -Butz position
 - -Bryce N. Harlow's view
 - -ITT

Watergate

-Indictments

ITT

- -White House staff
 - -Disciplinary action

US-Soviet Union grain deal

- -Administration action
 - -Personnel
- -Butz
 - -The President's view
- -Administration personnel
 - -Action by Butz
- -Impropriety
- -Error in judgment
- -Joseph E. Kraft
 - -Soviet Union crop failure
 - -Effect

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.

-Subsidies

-Hurting tax payers

-Negotiations

-Soviet Union's wheat crop

-Future trade with Soviets

-Effect

-Negotiations

-Farm prices

-Other crops

-Compared to car sales

1972 Presidential election

-US-Soviet Union grain deal

-Farm state effect

-Public feeling

-Soviet position

-Big business advantage

-Possible use as campaign issue

-McGovern

-Patrick J. Buchanan

-Exit visas for Soviet Jews

-Foreign policy

-Trade with Soviet Union

-Big business

-Farmers

-Buchanan's assessment

-Effect on campaign

-Communists

-Possible gain in support

-Lack of media opposition

-Conservative media

-Liberal media

-Jews

-American opinion on foreign policy

-The President's view

-Support for President

Exit visas for Soviet Jews

-Effect on Americans

-The President's view

-Israeli policy

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-University of Southern California, Los Angeles [UCLA]
-Tuition rebate to medical students

US-Soviet Union grain deal

- -McGovern
- -Buchanan
- -McGovern's staff
- -Media support
 - -Watergate
 - -US-Soviet Union grain deal
 - -CBS
 - -New York Times
 - -Washington Post

Watergate

- -Washington Post
 - -Union at the Washington Post
 - -Colson's view
 - -Katherine A. Graham
 - -Publishing contract disputes
 - -New York Herald Tribune
 - -Compared to New York Times
- -Washington Times
 - -Publishing empire
 - -Television station owned by *Washington Post* [WTOP-Washington, DC]

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/02/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[788-008-w004]

[Duration: <u>11m 32s</u>]

1972 campaign

- -Republican Party organization
 - -Command center
 - -Richard G. Kleindienst
 - -Republican Party
 - -New York

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -California
 - -Los Angeles
 - -San Francisco
 - -Fundraising
 - -Issue to press
- -Benefit
- -Fundraisers
 - -Committee to Re-elect the President [CRP]
- -Republican Party
- -Republican Party leadership
- -George S. McGovern's schedule
 - -Baltimore
 - -William D. Shaffer
 - -Streets of Baltimore
 - -Rallies
 - -Maryland support
 - -Segurt, New Jersey potential appearance
 - -September 29, 1972
 - -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
 - -The President's previous visit as Vice Presidential candidate
 - -Atlantic City
 - -September 30, 1972
 - -Industrial union conference
 - -Bronx, New York
 - -September 30, 1972
 - -Testimonial dinner
 - -Borough President
 - -Newark, New Jersey
 - -October 2, 1972
 - -Military Park
 - -Eastern Shore
 - -House
 - -Worth
 - -Washington, DC
- -R. Sargent Shriver
 - -Financial status
 - -Trust funds
 - -Wife and kids
 - -Impact as George S. McGovern running mate
 - -Charles W. Colson's opinion
 - -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's opinion
 - -John B. Connally's opinion

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Previous conversation with Charles W. Colson

- -Campaign role
- -Schedule
 - -Washington, DC
 - -Minneapolis
 - -October 1, 1972
 - -Rock Island
 - -South Chicago
 - -Chicago
 - -Columbus
 - -Philadelphia
 - -Denver
 - -Fresno
 - -Same places
 - -Chicago
 - -Dallas
 - -Effect
 - -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy's appearance
- -George S. McGovern campaign
 - -Media coverage
 - -Political
 - -Effect
 - -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's opinion
- -1960 campaign
 - -Vice President's schedule
 - -John F. Kennedy
 - -Schedule requests
- -1968 campaign
 - -Schedule pressure
- -George S. McGovern campaign
 - -Sitting senator
 - -Requests from friends
 - -Democratic Party organization
 - -Richard J. Daley
- -Republican Party organization
 - -Jack D. Maltester
 - -Santa Ana, California
- -Local Democratic organization
 - -Richard J. Daley
 - -Youngstown, Ohio

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

The President's schedule

- -Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT] interim agreement
 - -Congressional signing
 - -Andrei A. Gromyko
 - -Monday meeting
 - -Tuesday signing ceremony

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/02/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[788-008-w005]

[Duration: 43m 22s]

Campaign schedule

- -Jewish event
 - -October 1, 1972
 - -Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon's schedule

John B. Connally's schedule

- -Monday October 2, 1972 taping
- -Wednesday October 4, 1972 speech
- -Health
- -Upcoming telephone call with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

The President's schedule

- -Possible trip to Atlanta on Thursday October 5, 1972
 - -Decision
 - -Charles W. Colson's view
 - -Clark MacGregor's view
 - -Bryce N. Harlow's view
 - -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman assessment
- -People-oriented events
 - -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] signing ceremony
 - -Andrei A. Gromyko
 - -Columbus Day
 - -New York dinners
 - -Pulaski Day

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Importance of Polish

```
1972 election
     -Italians
     -Polish
          -Pulaski Day
              -Buffalo
                  -October 15, 1972
              -Chicago
         -Polish Congress
              -September 30, 1972
              -Detroit
                  -Spiro T. Agnew
              -Leonard Woodcock
                  -Rank and file
     -Ethnic vote
     -Press coverage
         -New York dinner
              -Timing
                  -September 30, 1972
         -Statler-Hilton
         -Waldorf Astoria
     -Advance
     -Police
George S. McGovern-R. Sargent Shriver schedule
     -Minneapolis
     -Kansas City
     -St. Louis
     -Washington, DC
The President's schedule
     -Polish Congress
     -Possible trip to Atlanta
         -Motorcade
         -Southern Chairmen, Committee to Re-elect the President [CRP]
         -Democrats for Nixon
         -Radio talk
     -Long-range
         -Michigan
         -Ohio
```

-Pennsylvania

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -New England
- -California
 - -Vote
 - -Motorcade
 - -Suburbs
- -Philadelphia
 - -Motorcade

The President left at an unknown time after 12:17 p.m.

Poll results

- -October 1, 1972 release
 - -Results
- -Note to editors
- -Gap closing between George S. McGovern and the President
- -Breakdown

The President entered at an unknown time before 2:03 p.m.

White House schedule

The President's schedule

- -Campaigning
- -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
- -Andrei A. Gromyko
- -Congress
 - -Spending ceiling
- -Strategy in final four weeks
 - -Charles W. Colson's view
 - -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's view
 - -New England
 - -Motorcade
 - -New York
 - -Nassau County
 - -Westchester County
 - -Philadelphia
 - -Pennsylvania
 - -Frank L. Rizzo
 - -Pittsburgh
 - -Peter F. Flaherty
 - -Philadelphia Democrats
 - -Chicago

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Motorcade
- -Michigan
- -Ohio-Illinois
 - -Motorcade
- -Nebraska
- -Motorcade
 - -Technique
- -Press coverage
 - -Organization of motorcade
 - -Focus on crowd
 - -Efficient image
 - -Demonstrators
- -Analysis
 - -Lyndon K. ("Mort") Allin
 - -Patrick J. Buchanan
 - -John F. Kennedy

Campaign organization

- -Importance
- -Foreign policy
- -Viet Cong
- -Exposure
- -Press coverage
 - -1970 campaign
 - -Communications
 - -Technology of campaigns
 - -Time impression
 - -Aircraft
 - -Arizona
 - -New Mexico
 - -Utah
 - -California
 - -Mormon Tabernacle
 - -Decision on Atlanta visit

Campaign exposure

- -Motorcade
 - -Laredo
- -Airport arrivals
- -Support
- -Motorcades
 - -The President's opinion

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

```
Communications
     -Limiting
         -New England
         -Massachusetts
              -Chances of winning
         -Philadelphia visit
         -Massachusetts
              -Hastings Keith
              -Robert F. Drinan's district
                  -Jewish
                  -Affiliation with George S. McGovern
                  -Liberal
              -Paul W. Cronin
                  -F. Bradford Morse
                  -Lowell and Lawrence
                      -George S. McGovern popularity
                  -Michael J. Harrington
     -Atlanta trip
         -Timing
     -Pennsylvania
     -Maine
     -New York
         -Upstate
         -Long Island
              -Nassau County
              -Westchester County
         -Exposure
     -Chicago
     -Midwest
     -South
     -Los Angeles
     -Ohio
         -Heartland section of the US
         -Motorcade
              -John B. Connally's recommendation
         -Key to winning
     -Michigan
         -Robert P. Griffin
     -New York
     -Illinois
         -Richard B. Ogilvie in Ohio
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Los Angeles
- -Chicago motorcade
 - -Suburbs
- -Ohio
 - -Southern Illinois
 - -Motorcade strategy
- -Denver possibility
- -New York
 - -Northeast campaign chairman
- -Midwest and Mountain states
 - -Spiro T. Agnew
- -Regional coverage
 - -Atlanta October 12, 1972
 - -New York October 2, 1972
 - -Chicago October 26, 1972
 - -Ohio October 21, 1972
 - -Los Angeles November 4, 1972
- -Mountain states
 - -Senate campaigns
 - -Overnight after New York
- -Motorcade
- -Atlanta, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles
- -San Clemente
 - -Timing
- -Denver
 - -Importance
 - -Motorcade possibility
- -Kevin P. Phillips's book
 - -The South and Mountain states
 - -William Jennings Bryan
 - -South and Mountain states
 - -Northeast
 - -Franklin D. Roosevelt
 - -South and Mountain states
 - -Northeast
 - -The President
 - -South and Mountain states
 - -Northeast
 - -Mountain and Plains states
 - -1960 campaign
 - -1968 campaign

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

Reviewing the President's schedule in California

- -Ronald L. Ziegler
 - -Television [?]
 - -November 2-3, 1972
- -Sunday November 5, 1972
 - -Church
 - -Drop by election headquarters
- -Monday November 6, 1972
 - -Television appearance
- -Tuesday November 7, 1972
 - -Vote
 - -Return to Washington, DC

Deciding on visits

- -Unimportant stops
 - -Michigan, Boston, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Seattle
- -Spiro T. Agnew's campaign role
- -New York

Speech exposure

- -Radio possibilities
 - -Atlanta
 - -Southern compared to national
 - -Motorcade
 - -White House
 - -Night speeches
 - -Morning papers
 - -Timing
- -Political image
 - -Possible visit to New York
 - -Polish event
 - -Timing
 - -Columbus Day weekend
 - -R. Sargent Shriver's schedule
- -Political messages
 - -Potential public reaction

First Family's schedule

Spiro T. Agnew's campaign schedule

-Ability

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

```
Edward R. F. Cox's schedule
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- -Television appearance
 - -Al Capp's opinion
- -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's appraisal
- -Compared to R. Sargent Shriver

The President's schedule

- -Press reaction
- -Reaction to polling
 - -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's argument

Gallup poll

-October 1, 1972

George S. McGovern's image

- -Political
- -Patrick J. Buchanan analysis of effectiveness of television speeches

The President's previous talk with Dan Rather on television

- -George S. McGovern's speech
 - -Public reaction
 - -Competing with broadcast of *Love Story* movie
 - -American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
 - -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] schedule strategy
 - -Television networks
 - -Love Story
 - -American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
 - -Editing of profanity for television presentation
 - -Ali McGraw's language
 - -Nudity

Campaign strategy

- -Atlanta trip
- -Radio speech
 - -Benefits
 - -Impact
 - -Compared to television
 - -Costs
 - -Preparation

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

The President, Haldeman and Colson left at 2:03 pm.

Conversation No. 788-9

Date: September 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:04 pm and 3:15 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown men met.

Location of switch

The recording cut off at an unknown time before 3:16 pm.

Conversation No. 788-10

Date: September 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:05 pm and 3:16 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Speech draft -Length

The recording cut off at an unknown time before 3:16 pm.

Conversation No. 788-22

Date: September 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:05 pm and 3:16 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

An unknown man talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 3:05 pm and 3:16

An unknown man tarked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 3.03 pm and 3.
<u>pm.</u>
[Conversation No. 788-22A]
The President's location
[End of conversation]

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 08/02/2019.] [Unintelligible] [788-022-w001] [Duration: 45s]
[This portion of the tape is mostly tape noise with some muffled background conversation.]

The unknown people left at an unknown time before 3:16 pm.

Conversation No. 788-11

Date: September 29, 1972 Time: 3:16 pm - 3:30 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger's schedule

- -Executive Office Building [EOB]
- -Previous lunch with Hedley W. Donovan and Tad Szulc
 - -Vietnam Peace Talks
 - -Political effect
 - -The President's view
 - -Kissinger's response

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Possible settlement -Timing

Vietnam peace negotiations

-Peace talks

-Meeting after previous meeting -Importance

Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s schedule -Forthcoming trip to Vietnam

The President's schedule

-Forthcoming meeting with Sir Alexander F. Douglas-Home

-Kissinger's attendance

-Meeting with Kissinger and Haig

-Kissinger's schedule

-Previous talk with Haig

Vietnam Peace Talks

-Nguyen Van Thieu's position

-Resignation

-Scenario

-Possible effect

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 3:16 pm.

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 3:30 pm.

Thieu's possible resignation

-North Vietnam military

-Effect on South Vietnam

-Laos

-Cambodia

-South Vietnam

-French's view

-Possible bombing halt

-The President's view

-Sorties

-Agreement

-Kissinger's view

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-20th Parallel

Haig's forthcoming meeting with Thieu

- -Significance
 - -The President's view
 - -Paris Peace negotiations
 - -Possible progress
 - -North Vietnamese military
 - -North Vietnam
 - -Haig's presence at negotiations
 - -Haig's role
- -Impact on Thieu
 - -Haig's role
 - -Ellsworth F. Bunker
 - -Constituent assembly
 - -Constitution
 - -Presidential election in South Vietnam
 - -Review of Constitution
 - -Presidential election in South Vietnam
 - -National assembly
 - -Election
 - -Constitution review
 - -Haig
 - -Thieu's possible reaction
 - -Previous position
 - -Presidential election
 - -National Assembly election

Vietnam Peace Talks

- -Committee of National Reconciliation
- -Presidential election
 - -US proposal
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Committee
 - -Effect
 - -US withdrawal
 - -Cease-fire
- -North Vietnamese proposal
 - -Presidential elections
 - -Military and political issues
- -Haig's forthcoming meeting with Thieu
 - -Thieu

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Cease-fire
- -US presence in South Vietnam
- -Interests of US and South Vietnam
- -Thieus' position
- -Kissinger's view
- -South Vietnam
 - -Melvin R. Laird
 - -Supplies to South Vietnam
 - -South Vietnamese Air Force
 - -Supplies
 - -Navy
 - -Air Force
 - -Future plans
 - -Need for aircraft
 - -Bombing
 - -US withdrawal
 - -The President's view
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Need for aircraft
 - -Prisoner of war [POW] issue
 - -Communist government possibility

The President's schedule

- -The President's forthcoming meeting with Home
 - -Home's forthcoming meeting with Kissinger
 - -People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - -Topics of discussion

Kissinger's schedule

Kissinger left at 3:30 pm.

Conversation No. 788-12

Date: September 29, 1972 Time: 3:32 pm and 3:58 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Beurt and Cory SerVaas.

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

[The White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.]

Introductions

Presentation of Saturday Evening Post to the President
-Articles by Presidents
-Franklin D. Roosevelt's article on Vice Presidents
-[John] Calvin Coolidge
-Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins's photographs

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/02/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[788-012-w001]

[Duration: 1m 25s]

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Indiana politics
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-Beurt SerVaas

-Indiana

-State treasurer

-Richard G. Lugar

-Campaign for the President

-Philadelphia, Dayton, Syracuse, Rochester, Kansas City, Cincinnati

-Speeches

-Press reaction

-Revenue sharing

-Indianapolis government

-Beurt SerVaas

-Majority Leader

-Consolidation of city and county

-Urban government

-Richard G. Lugar

-Mayor

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Indianapolis -Curtiss Publishing -Offices

Steel business owned by SerVaas

-Steel plants

-Jennings County

-The President's previous visit

-Forging plants

-Automobile parts

-Hospital building

-North Vernon, Indiana

-Richmond, Indiana

-Columbus, Indiana

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/02/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[788-012-w002]

[Duration: 4m 8s]

Indiana politics

-Richard G. Lugar

-Potential Senate or Governor candidacy

-The President's opinion

-Birch E. Bayh, Jr.

-The President's opinion

-Vance Hartke

-Richard Roundebush

-Chances in 1974 Senate race

-Reflection as Mayor

-City-county consolidation

-Black vote

-Percentage

-Conservatives and liberals

-Indianapolis as an example

-Republican Party internal conflict

-Richard G. Lugar

-Support of the President for future campaign

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Pledge
- -Role of Deputy Mayor
- -Role of City Council

Plans for speech for the President on unemployment

- -Beurt SerVass's previous position as speechwriter
 - -American Legion
 - -National Commanders
 - -Foreign affairs
- -Unemployment problem
 - -Policy speech
 - -Utilization of draft boards
 - -Classification
 - -Handicap status
 - -Less than minimum wages
 - -Patrick J. Buchanan
 - -John D. Ehrlichman
 - -Domestic Council
 - -Draft of speech
 - -Sickle cell anemia
 - -Cerebral palsy
 - -Mental capabilities
 - -Cory SerVass's previous position
 - -Physician
 - -Work with handicapped
 - -Industry
 - -Sickle cell anemia
 - -Cerebral palsy
 - -Epilepsy
 - -Labor Department
- -The President's previous speech
 - -Reorganization of Cabinet
- -Importance of employment
 - -Need for union support
- -Sickle cell anemia
 - -Blacks
- -Classification of hardcore unemployed
 - -Identification of handicapped
 - -Draft board

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Humanitarian appeal
- -Welfare opposition
 - -Handicapped
 - -Desire to work

Saturday Evening Post

- -Plans
 - -Look magazine
 - -Bimonthly issue
 - -Circulation
 - -Holiday magazine
- -Previous problems
 - -Losses
- -Founder
 - -Benjamin Franklin
 - -Suspensions of circulation
- -Subscription costs compared to newsstand costs
 - -Postage rates
- -Madison Avenue advertising agencies
 - -Support
 - -Political orientation
 - -Kenneth Wilson
 - -Holiday Inn
 - -J. Walter Thompson Company
 - -E.I. Lilly Company
 - -Gene Beasly
 - -Unknown advertising agency
 - -Saturday Evening Post advertising
 - -Recommended advertising policy
- -Meeting with H.R. Haldeman
 - -J. Walter Thompson Company
- -J. Walter Thompson Company
 - -Wilson
 - -Holiday Inn
 - -William F. ("Billy") Graham
 - -Kodak
- -Media buyers
- -Washington Star editorial
 - -Jack Anderson
 - -Lewis F. Powell, Jr.
 - -Press bias
- -Advertising agencies' effect on television

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

- -National Review
- -General Motors advertising in Saturday Evening Post
- -Saturday Evening Post exposure of the President's policy -Compared to Reader's Digest and news magazines

Haldeman's schedule

Ehrlichman's schedule

Presentation of Presidential gifts

- -Cuff links
- -Pin
- -Golf balls

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/02/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable] [788-012-w003] [Duration: 30s]

Richard G. Lugar
-Political future

-The President's support

Beurt SerVaas

-Potential to inherit Richard G. Lugar's job

Beurt and Cory SerVaas left at 3:58 pm.

Conversation No. 788-13

Date: September 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:58 pm and 4:04 pm

Location: Oval Office

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's forthcoming meeting with Sir Alexander F. Douglas-Home -Henry A. Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:04 pm.

Conversation No. 788-14

Date: September 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:58 pm and 4:04 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's forthcoming state dinner for Sir Alexander F. Douglas-Home

- -Room arrangements
 - -Red Room
 - -Blue Room

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 4:04 pm.

Conversation No. 788-15

Date: September 29, 1972 Time: 4:04 pm - 5:15 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Sir Alexander F. Douglas-Home and Henry A. Kissinger; members of the press and the White House photographer were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

Kissinger's meeting with Home

- -The People's Republic of China [PRC]
- -Home's forthcoming trip to Asia

Photographs

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

Nature of conversation

The President's forthcoming dinner for Home -Schedule

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:04 pm.

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:08 pm.

The President's residences

-California

-Florida

Kissinger left at 4:08 pm.

1972 Presidential election

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:08 pm.

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:15 pm.

Foreign affairs

-US initiatives

-PRC

-Soviet Union

-Atlantic Alliance

-Lines of communication

-The President's view

-PRC

-Soviet Union

-The President's view

-US and Alliance policies

-Cooperation

-European Security Conference

-Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR]

-Soviet Union's policies

-Effect on Europe

-North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]

-Home's view

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Propaganda
- -European Security Conference
- -Soviet satellite countries
 - -Romania
 - -Poland
- -Czechoslovakia
- -Post-election policy of the US
 - -The President's view
 - -Exchange of views
 - -Timing
 - -The President's second term
 - -Appointments
 - -Budget
 - -Foreign affairs
 - -Edward R.G. Heath
- -NATO alliance
 - -French participation
 - -Charles A.J.M. de Gaulle
 - -Forthcoming French elections
 - -Michel Debre
 - -Georges J.R. Pompidou
 - -Maurice Schumann
 - -French Parliament
 - -Political parties
 - -Pompidou
 - -The President's view
- -Nuclear weapons
 - -The President's view
 - -Military
 - -Congress
 - -Secrecy
 - -Industrial nations
 - -Tactical nuclear weapons
 - -The President's view
 - -Europe
 - -Defense cuts
 - -The President's view
 - -Possible response
 - -The President's view
 - -Nuclear weapons
 - -Armed Forces
 - -Air Force

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Navy
-Army
-Manpower
-Weaponry
-Nuclear deterrent

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-009. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(6) on 10/11/2017. Archivist: DR] [National Security]

[788-015-w001] [Duration: <u>28s</u>]

FOREIGN POLICY

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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Foreign affairs
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-Nuclear weapons

-NATO military capability

-Public support

-Effect of arms control

-Soviet conventional arms

-Developments

-Need for US and NATO response

-PRC

-Soviet Union

-Soviet Union

-US and United Kingdom response

-Conventional Forces

-US Navy

-Aircraft carriers

-Jordan crisis in 1970

-Naval presence

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Importance

-Syria

-Soviet Union

- -Conventional Forces
 - -Importance
 - -Indian Ocean
 - -Soviet naval presence
 - -US naval strength

PRC

- -Interests
 - -US disarmament
 - -Japan
 - -The President's conversation with Chou En-Lai
 - -US military
 - -Soviet presence
 - -Japanese military

Foreign policy issues in 1972 election

- -House and Senate support
- -Defense issue
 - -George S. McGovern
 - -Defense cuts
 - -European withdrawal
- -Mandate for the President's policy

US military presence in Europe

- -Force reductions
- -Netherlands
- -Belgium
- -Denmark
- -Consultation with NATO
- -Soviet Union
- -Netherlands
- -Belgium
- -Denmark
- -Position of Germany
 - -The President's view
 - -Willy Brandt
 - -Olympic Games
 - -East German victories
 - -Reaction of West Germans

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Signs of unity

-Nuclear parity

-Soviet moves

-Conventional weapons

-European responsibility

-US and Soviet aims

-The President's view

-Differences between US and Soviet Union

-European Security Conference

-PRC-Soviet Union conflict

-The President's view

-Soviet union

-PRC

-Population

-Soviet references to the PRC

-PRC

-The President's view

-US negotiations

-US communications with PRC

-Indian Ocean situation

-Soviet relations

-India

-Britain's relations with India as colony

-PRC attitudes

-Chou En-Lai

-View

-Effect

-US-PRC initiative

-Soviet Union border buildup

-India

-The President's view

-Soviet arms to India

-Missiles

-Pakistan

-India

-India-Soviet Union relations

-The President's view

-Japan

-PRC view

-Intentions

-Chou En-Lai's view

-US role in Asia

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -The President's view
- -NATO strength
 - -MBFR
 - -Western Europe
- -US
- -Japan
- -Soviet Union
 - -The President's view
 - -Relations
 - -Effect of PRC-Soviet Union relations
 - -Public opinion
 - -US grain deal
 - -Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT] talks
 - -The President's view
 - -Interests
 - -Negotiations
 - -The President's view
 - -Implications of SALT II
 - -Western Europe
 - -Compared with SALT I
 - -Negotiations
 - -Need for consultations
 - -The President's view
 - -US view
 - -Negotiations
 - -Soviet Union view
 - -1972 election
 - -Mandate
 - -B-1 bomber
 - -Weapons research
 - -Senate vote
 - -Anti-Ballistic Missile [ABM] Treaty
 - -Agreement
 - -Offensive weapons
 - -Submarines
 - -Missiles
 - -Balance

European defense

- -Triangular force
 - -Home's view
 - -Independent nuclear forces

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-French force

-The President's view

-De Gaulle's view

-Size of forces

Dialogue with the Soviets

-Posture of the Allies

-The President's view

-NATO

-Defense

-PRC -Soviet Union relations

-Public opinion

-Role

-Effect of negotiations

Middle East

-Israel

-Present government

-The President's view

-Attitude of Golda Meir

-Need for peace

-The President's view

-Middle East population

-Israel

-Arabs

-Israeli interests

-Attitudes

-Need for negotiations

-The President's view

-Middle East

-Oil

-Attitudes

-Soviet approach

-The President's view

-United Arab Republic [UAR]

-The President's view

-Soviet Union involvement

-US involvement

-Israel

-Territorial defense

-Effect on Peru negotiation

-US support

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Phantoms
- -Skyhawks
- -Public support
- -1972 Presidential election issue
- -The President's view
 - -Bargaining position
 - -Problems
 - -Borders
 - -Jerusalem
- -Home's previous meeting with Meir
 - -Peace negotiations
 - -Arabs
 - -Egypt
 - -Israel withdrawal from territories
- -Great Britain's relationship with Egypt
 - -Soviet Union
 - -Sales of weapons
 - -Defensive weapons
 - -Offensive weapons
- -Great Britain and US policy
 - -Effect of Israeli situation
 - -Egypt
 - -Syria
 - -Egypt
 - -Israel
 - -Timing for negotiation
 - -The President's view
 - -Terrorism
 - -Attack on Israeli Olympic team in Munich
 - -Israeli response
 - -The President's view
 - -Future problems
 - -Need for settlement
 - -Effect on Middle East
 - -US policy
 - -The President's view
 - -Great Britain role
 - -US domestic situation
 - -Effect
- -Great Britain work with Mohammad Reza Pahlavi [Shah of Iran]
 - -Sheik of Abu Dhabi
 - -Islands in Persian Gulf

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Iran

British government

- -Home's previous meeting with Finance Ministries
 - -Anthony P.L. Barber
 - -Pierre-Paul Schweitzer
 - -George P. Shultz
 - -Schedule
 - -John B. Connally
 - -Treasury matters
 - -Present Administration
 - -The President's view
 - -Cooperation of with US
 - -Heath's poll standing
 - -The President's view
 - -[James] Harold Wilson example
- -Present situation in Great Britain
 - -Political climate
 - -Home's view
 - -Inflation
 - -Trade unions
 - -Wages
 - -Inflation
 - -Need for compromise
 - -Confederation of British Industry [CBI]
 - -Election
 - -Comparison of US and Great Britain labor forces
 - -The President's view
 - -Support in Presidential election
 - -McGovern
 - -National defense issues
 - -George Meany
 - -Social issues
 - -Support fort he President
 - -1932 Presidential election
 - -Labor union and Labor Party
 - -Relationship
 - -Union leaders
 - -Political philosophy
 - -Shop stewards
 - -Communists
 - -Power struggle

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Leadership

-Level of wages

-Effects of increases

-CBI

-Price increases

-Anthony Benn

-Position on European Economic Community

-Wilson

-US labor movement

-Meany

-Building trades

-Leonard Woodcock

-Automobile unions

-Meany

-Political philosophy

-Support for President

-Economic danger to country

-The president's view

-Price increases

-Wage increases

-Inflation

-Education

-Problems

-Media example

-Intellectuals

-The president's view

-Meany

1972 Presidential election

-McGovern

-Support from youth

-Educated

-Uneducated

-Vietnam war issue

-Current situation

-Effect

Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:08 pm.

The President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:15 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

1972 Presidential election

- -Youth
 - -Vietnam War issue
 - -Draft
 - -Casualties
 - -Troop withdrawals
 - -Bombing
 - -Prisoners of War [POWs]
 - -McGovern supporters
 - -Vietnam War stance
 - -The President's supporters
 - -Reaction to radicalism
 - -The President's view
 - -Drug culture and violence
 - -Nostalgia
 - -Romanticism
 - -Patriotism
 - -Youth
 - -The President's view
 - -Establishment problem
 - -The President's view
 - -Media
 - -Television
 - -Newspapers
 - -New York Times
 - -Washington Post
 - -News magazines
 - -College professors
 - -Church
 - -Catholics
 - -Northern protestants
 - -Supporters of the President's policies
 - -Traditional enemies
 - -Organized labor
 - -Defense and Vietnam issue
 - -Agriculture
 - -Education
 - -The President's view
 - -Eastern schools
 - -University of California
 - -Left-leaning tendencies

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

-Professors -Reaction by students -Vietnam issue

Home's schedule

The President and Home left at 5:15 pm.

Conversation No. 788-16

Date: September 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 5:16 pm and 5:21 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

-John D. Ehrlichman

-Domestic items

-H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman

-Henry A. Kissinger and Alexander M. Haig, Jr. meeting

-Forthcoming trip

-Kissinger and Haig's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:21 pm.

Conversation No. 788-17

Date: September 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 5:16 pm and 5:21 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

-John D. Ehrlichman's schedule

-Alexander M. Haig, Jr and Henry A. Kissinger's schedule

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:21 pm.

Conversation No. 788-18

Date: September 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 5:16 pm and 6:30 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman's schedule

John D. Ehrlichman's schedule

Ehrlichman entered at 5:21 pm.

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:50 pm.

Spending ceiling

- -House of Representatives
- -Wilbur D. Mills
 - -Ways and Means Committee
- -Amendment to debt ceiling extension
 - -George H. Mahon
 - -Carl B. Albert
 - -[Thomas] Hale Boggs
 - -Opposition
 - -Bryce N. Harlow
 - -Staff meeting
 - -Mahon staff member
 - -Mills staff member
 - -Opportunities for the administration
 - -Expenditures
 - -Lower taxes
 - -Support
 - -Embarrassment
 - -House Democrats
 - -Possibility of rebuff
 - -The President's role
 - -Republican Congressional leadership

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Surrogates
- -Major efforts
 - -Public interest groups
 - -Business lobby
- -Timing
- -Plans
 - -Meeting
- -Possible briefing
 - -The President
 - -The President's view
 - -Ehrlichman's possible role
 - -Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger
 - -Possible Republican Congressional leadership role
 - -Cabinet meeting
 - -William E. Timmons's list
 - -Letter
 - -Surrogate
 - -Outside group support
 - -Republican challengers issue
 - -Conference spokesmen

Andrei A. Gromyko's schedule

- -Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT] signing
- -Henry A. Kissinger's schedule

Budget

- -Meeting with the President
 - -Key Republican leaders
 - -Gerald R. Ford
 - -Leslie C. Arends
 - -Barber B. Conable, Jr.
 - -Plan
 - -Mills
 - -Albert
 - -Boggs
 - -Mahor
 - -Timmons's conversation with Mills
 - -Possible partisan motivation
 - -The President's view
 - -Environmental statement
 - -San Francisco
 - -Spending bills

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Pocket veto

-Water bill

-Possible veto message

-Previous recommendation by the President

-Tax increase

-Veto

-Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW] appropriations bill

-Veto

-Audio and video Speech

-The President's previous video speech

US-Soviet Union grain deal

-Haldeman's schedule

-Earl L. Butz

-Preparation

Previous Cost of Living Council [COLC] meeting

-Ehrlichman's schedule

-The President's view

-Rent

-Senior citizens

-Arthur S. Fleming

-The president's previous meeting with Robert E. Merriam

-Surrogates

-Donald H. Rumsfeld

Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:21 pm.

Haldeman's schedule
-Grain deal

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:50 pm.

1972 Presidential election

-Tax bill

-Ehrlichman's previous meeting

-Department of Treasury information

-John N. Andrews, Jr.

-Radio speech

-Problems of elderly

-Radio speeches

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Debt ceiling
- -Future

Grain deal with the Soviet Union

- -Handling by government officials
- -Grain trading
 - -Industry role
 - -Clarence D. Palmby
 - -Job offer
 - -Negotiations with Soviet Union
 - -Carroll G. Brunthaver
 - -Press release
 - -Telephone calls to grain dealers
- -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] special
 - -False allegations
 - -Previous Department of Agriculture knowledge of Soviet crop failure

Haldeman entered at 5:50 pm.

- -Agricultural attache report
 - -Moscow
- -Facts
- -Department of Agriculture
 - -Chronology
 - -Butz
 - -Midwest
 - -Possible radio address
 - -Explanation
 - -Three farm editors
 - -Meet the Press format
 - -Possible press conference
 - -Importance of radio
 - -Question and answer on radio
 - -Rationale
 - -The President's view

-Palmby

- -Butz's view
- -Possible changes
 - -Using industry officials
- -Butz's credibility
- -Three issues
 - -Disadvantage to taxpayers

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -Possible US subsidy to Soviet Union
- -Conflict of interest
 - -Palmby
 - -Brunthaver
- -Change in policy
 - -Grain dealer notification
- -Confusion
- -Democratic information
 - -14 government officials from grain industry
 - -The President's law firm
 - -John N. Mitchell
 - -Cargill Company
 - -Representation
 - -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] investigation
 - -Richard G. Kleindienst
 - -White House involvement
 - -Butz's responsibility
 - -Price consideration
 - -Cargill Company
- -Reaction of farmers
 - -Louis P. Harris Poll
 - -The President's standings in Midwest
- -Butz's handling of issue
 - -Schedule
- -Figures of poll standings
 - -Charles W. Colson
 - -Harris poll
 - -Ratings decreases
 - -Possible reason
 - -Midwest
 - -South
 - -West
 - -Michigian
 - -Detroit Daily News poll
 - -Minnesota
 - -Iowa

The President's schedule

- -The President's forthcoming meeting with Republican Congressional leaders -Timing
 - -Gromyko
- -Revenue sharing ceremony in White House

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

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-List of mayors to invite

-Mayors for George S. McGovern

-John V. Lindsay

-Joseph Alioto

-San Francisco, California

-Henry W. Maier

-Milwaukee, Wisconsin

-R. Sargent Shriver

-Lindsay

-Alioto
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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/06/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable] [788-018-w002] [Duration: 2m 17s]

1972 campaign

-R. Sargent Shriver's Milwaukee appearance

-Henry W. Maier

-Mary Ann Maier

-Myles J. Ambrose

-Policemen's Association address

-Marijuana issue

-Myles J. Ambrose

-Comment on George S. McGovern flip-flopping on issue

-Comment on R. Sargent Shriver's comparison to nicotine

-R. Sargent Shiver's response

-American Broadcasting Company [ABC] coverage

-Sound over

-Myles J. Ambrose

-Comments regarding abilities and intelligence

US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] grain deal as issue -The President's opinion

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

US Soviet Union grain deal as issue

-Poll importance

-The President's view

-Midwest

-Chicago

-Detroit

-Columbus

-Indianapolis

-Concern over grain

-Butz's view

-Storage sale

-Japan

-Wheat market

-Harris poll

The President's schedule

-Monday meeting

-Ehrlichman's role

-Timmons

-Cabinet Room

-Timing

-Gromyko

Ehrlichman left at 5:53 pm.

1972 Presidential election

-Possible use of information

-Kenneth W. Clawson's schedule

-White House role

-Mitchell

Radio talks by the President

-Issues

-Ehrlichman

-Number

-Timing

Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:53 pm.

The President's schedule

-Kissinger and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:03 pm. *********************** [Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/06/2019. Segment cleared for release.] [Personal Returnable] [788-018-w003] [Duration: 7m 39s] 1972 election -Campaigning -Ohio -Pair with visit to Indiana -Poll importance -Grain deal -Use of polls compared to use of Bible -Midwest -Harris poll -Sindlinger poll -Gallup poll -Release time -September 30 -Trend -Gallup poll difference -Compared to Harris poll -George S. McGovern gain -Getting wealth proposition -Yankelovich poll -Potential impact -Sindlinger poll -Most recent -Gallup poll

Stephen B. Bull entered an unknown time after 5:53 pm.

The President's schedule

Stephen B. Bull left at an unknown time before 6:03 pm.

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

1972 election
-Campaigning
-Michigan race
-New York
-Chicago
-California
-Atlanta
-Ohio
-Indiana
-Charles W. Colson's assessment
-Election results
-Percentage points
-Visits compared with events
-George S. McGovern
-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's speculation
-Democratic voters
-Competency issue
-Change of mind
-Compared to 1968
-Hubert H. Humphrey and George C. Wallace
-R. Sargent Shriver
-Labor support
-Catholic support
-Polls
-Richard M. Scammon
-Lyndon B. Johnson results in 1964 election
-Barry M. Goldwater, Sr.

Kissinger and Haig entered at 6:03 pm.

Haig's forthcoming trip to Saigon
-Vietnam peace negotiations

Haldeman left at 6:05 pm.

-Nguyen Van Thieu -Relations with US -Haig's forthcoming meeting with Thieu

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Haig's instructions

-US support

-US-Soviet Union summit

-Cambodia

-Laos

-Bombing

-Mining of Haiphong

-End of war

-The President's view

-Importance

-Prisoners of war [POWs]

-Peace negotiations

-Options

-Haig's view

-Kissinger's view

-Importance of effort

-Strength and moderation

-Lyndon B. Johnson's example

-Bombing

-Peace proposal

-Rejection of peace proposal

-Haig's view

-Chance of non-Communist government

-The President's view

-North Vietnamese aims

-Thieu resignation

-North Vietnamese Army

-South Vietnam

-US proposals

-North Vietnamese withdrawals

-South Vietnam

-Laos

-Cambodia

-Constituent assembly

-Haig's forthcoming meeting with Thieu

-Importance of withdrawal

-Election in US

-POW issue

-Structure of meeting with Thieu

-Past interest representation

-1968

-Johnson

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-1968 election

-Domestic problems

-Difference between 1968 and 1972

- -Strategic situation
- -Senate support
 - -Legislation
- -Haig's previous meeting with Thieu
 - -October, 1971
 - -Thieu's position
 - -May 1972 statement
- -Detailing counterproposal
 - -Effect to Thieu
- -Advisory group
- -South Vietnamese forces
- -Constituent assembly
- -New constitution
- -Possible South Vietnamese election
 - -Electoral commission
 - -Unanimity requirement
 - -1972 Presidential election effect
 - -Support for Thieu
 - -The President's view
 - -Support for previous policy
 - -US casualties and POWs
 - -Soviet Union
 - -People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - -US and South Vietnamese casualties
 - -Differences
 - -Instructions to Haig
 - -Thieu
 - -Response to peace proposal
 - -Timing
- -US relations with Thieu
 - -Possible George S. McGovern reaction
 - -Previous position
 - -Support
 - -Haig's forthcoming meeting with Thieu
 - -House of Representatives
 - -Senate
 - -Media
 - -Student rioting
 - -Agreement

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

- -North Vietnamese proposals
- -Kissinger's assessment
- -Protection of Saigon
- -Committee on National Reconciliation
- -Haig's forthcoming meeting with Thieu
 - -Transportation to Saigon
 - -Aircraft
 - -Air Force
 - -List of staff accompanying Haig
 - -John Negroponte
 - -Aid in negotiations
 - -Weapons expert
 - -Department of State
- -Importance of ending war
 - -Risk of break
 - -1972 Presidential election
 - -Plans after election
 - -B-52s
 - -Reaction to proposals

Haig's schedule

Haig left at 6:20 pm.

US-Soviet Union grain deal

- -Soviet Union position
- -Announcement of trade agreement
 - -Figures
 - -Israeli exit visas
 - -Peter G. Peterson
 - -Timing of trade agreement
 - -1972 Presidential election
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Leonid I. Brezhnev
 - -Public opinion
 - -Knowledge of Soviet food situation
 - -Farmers' reaction

-Foreign policy

- -Dealings with the Soviets
 - -Startegic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
 - -Liberals
 - -Joseph C. Kraft and Milton Viorst

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

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-Charges
-Wheat deal
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-Hedley W. Donovan

-Criticism of the President

Tintership of the Treside.

-Linkage of issue

-Middle East

-Egypt

-Soviet offensive weapons

-Vietnam

-Mining of Haiphong Harbor

-Liberals

-The President's view

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/06/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[788-018-w005]

[Duration: 20s]

1972 election

-Hedley W. Donovan

-George S. McGovern

-Liberal support

-Opinion of George S. McGovern

US-Soviet Union relations

-Trade agreement

-Kissinger's schedule

-Brezhnev

-Peterson

-Gromyko

-William P. Rogers

-State Department

-Possible leaks

-SALT II

-Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

-Kissinger's forthcoming press briefing

-Ouestions

-North Vietnamese

-Kissinger's previous trip to the Soviet Union

-News coverage of briefing

-Questions on Vietnam

Substance of Kissinger's forthcoming press conference

-SALT agreement

-Vietnam trip

-Separation of questions

Kissinger's schedule

-Peter Peterson

-Trade agreement

-Timing

-Haig

Forthcoming dinner

-Sir Alexander F. Douglas-Home

Kissinger left at 6:30 pm.

Conversation No. 788-19

Date: September 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:30 pm and 6:36 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield and Stephen B. Bull.

Charles W. Colson's schedule

Butterfield and Bull left at an unknown time before 6:36 pm.

Conversation No. 788-20

Date: September 29, 1972

Tape Subject Log (rev. Nov-03)

Time: Unknown between 6:30 pm and 6:36 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 30-31]

Conversation No. 788-21

Date: September 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:30 pm and 6:36 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Charles W. Colson's schedule

The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 6:36 pm.