



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973  
Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

[Conversation No. 789-001](#)  
[Conversation No. 789-004](#)  
[Conversation No. 789-007](#)

[Conversation No. 789-002](#)  
[Conversation No. 789-005](#)

[Conversation No. 789-003](#)  
[Conversation No. 789-006](#)

[Conversation No. 789-001](#)

Date: September 30, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:58 am and 9:42 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman, Manolo Sanchez, and Stephen B. Bull.

White House grounds  
-Flowers  
-Trees

Haldeman, Sanchez, and Bull left at an unknown time before 9:42 am.

[Conversation No. 789-002](#)

Date: September 30, 1972  
Time: 9:42 am - 10:06 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 03/07/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*  
[Personal Returnable]  
[789-002-w001]  
[Duration: 5m 33s]



Weather

- Rain

1972 election

- Poll standings
  - Gallup poll
    - Inclusion in Sunday newspapers
    - Wire services distribution
  - Importance
    - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
    - White House staff
    - October 1 1972
    - Albert E. Sindlinger polls
- President's news summary
- California polls
  - Dorothy Cory
  - Different from Amherst
- H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's conversation with George L. Grassmuck
  - California polls
    - Inaccuracy of California polls
    - George S. McGovern polls
    - Connected to Dorothy Cory
- Newspapers' use of George S. McGovern polls
- President's use of Opinion Research Corporation [ORC] polls
  - Media criticism of President's polls
  - Linked to Republican National Committee [RNC]
- Dorothy Cory
  - George L. Grassmuck's opinion
  - Drinking
    - Bribe to fix poll results
  - Age
  - President's opinion
    - Anger due to lack of business from Republicans
- The President's poll findings
- Portland Oregonian*
  - Polls
  - Impact on President
  - Women voters
- President's September 29 1972 conversation with George H.W. Bush



- Roman L. Hruska
  - Reaction to Nebraska poll
- White House polling of Texas
  - Comparison to Nebraska polling
  - Daniel Yankelovich's poll
  - Harris poll
- George S. McGovern staff
  - Reaction to polls

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- US–Soviet grain deal
  - John D. Ehrlichman
    - Midwest drought
  - Administration public relations
    - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] report
    - Big company issues
    - Ehrlichman
      - Cargill, Inc.
    - Cargill
      - Losses
      - The President's former law firm, Nixon, Mudge, Rose, Guthrie and Alexander
        - John N. Mitchell, the President
      - Ehrlichman

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 03/07/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]  
[789-002-w002]  
[Duration: 9m 36s]

- 1972 election
  - President's thoughts
  - Political meetings



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973  
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- Scheduling
- Clark MacGregor
  - Forthcoming conversation with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
- Scheduling
  - Massachusetts
  - West Virginia
  - Minnesota
  - Washington
- Clark MacGregor
  - Feelings
  - Need for H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman to be sensitive
  - Job performance
  - Compared to Robert H. Finch
  - September 29 conversation with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - September 29 radio report
  - Wire service interview
- Campaign appearances by President
  - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman’s trip to Ohio
    - Outlook for President
  - Indiana
    - Likelihood of President winning
  - Illinois
  - West Virginia
    - Compared to Indiana
    - Importance
    - Wheeling
  - Indiana
    - Indianapolis
      - Campaign after Republican National Convention [RNC]
    - Jennings County
  - Ohio
  - New York
    - Buffalo
    - Length of trip
    - Rally
    - Nassau County
      - Potential campaign rally
    - Westchester County
      - Use of motorcade



- Nassau County
  - Visit to and dedication of Veterans Affairs [VA] hospital
  - Night rally
  - Issue of fundraising speech
  - Facilities
- October 23 1972 Veterans Day event
- Cancellation of Houston rally
- Importance of having a rally
  - Opinion of H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- President's opinion of New York campaign appearance
  - Use of Nelson A. Rockefeller's house
    - Westchester location
  - Impact of rally on presence of President's northeastern chairman
- Chicago
  - Presence of Midwestern chairman
- Denver
- Spiro T. Agnew
  - Campaign schedule
  - Press
  - Hecklers
    - Mentioned in President's news summary
  - Campaign event with Francis A. Sinatra
    - Italian-American event
    - Moved from New York to Michigan
    - Cobo Hall
    - Italian-American population in Michigan
    - Polish-American community in Michigan
    - Commonality of Polish and Italian Americans
    - Potential participation of Polish American community
- Massachusetts campaign event
  - Participation of Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
  - Participation of Spiro T. Agnew
  - Previous cancellation of Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon appearance
    - President's previous appearance in Boston
  - Potential participation of Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
    - Rescheduling appearance
  - Thomas A. Pappas
  - Potential participation of Spiro T. Agnew
    - Opinion of H.R. Haldeman



- Desirability of participation
- Issue concerning Governor of Massachusetts
- Francis W. Sargent
- Suitability of Thelma C. Ryan (“Pat”) Nixon
- Event scheduling
  - Assistance of H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Dwight L. Chapin
  - New Mexico
  - Trip to three different cities in one day
  - President’s opinion
  - Compared to Illinois
- Changes in strategy
- Campaign appearances by President
  - New York
  - Rally
- Campaign appearances by Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon
  - Indianapolis
  - October 4, 1972

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Magazine publishing

- The President’s meeting with Burt SerVaas and Cory Jane SerVaas, September, 29, 1972
  - Indianapolis
  - Haldeman's schedule
    - Indianapolis
  - Background
  - Saturday Evening Post*
    - Profitability
  - Holiday* magazine
    - Profitability
  - Jack and Jill* magazine
    - Profitability
  - Steel plants
  - Richard G. Lugar
  - Circulation
    - Costs



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- Newsstand, mailing
- Advertising agencies
  - J. Walter Thompson
  - Media buyers
    - Left orientation
      - Congress
        - Postal rates
    - Post-1972 election plans
      - J. Walter Thompson
  - E.I. Lilly
    - Indianapolis
      - Advertising in *Saturday Evening Post*
      - New York advertising agency [Geer DuBois]
        - Circulation argument
        - Rates
          - Readers' Digest*
    - Building the *Saturday Evening Post*
      - Advertising investment
- Holiday Inn
  - Kenneth Wilson
    - William F. ("Billy") Graham
      - Saturday Evening Post*
  - New York
  - Networks
  - Post-1972 election action

Press and media relations

- Catherine Mackin
- Charles W. Colson
- Advertisers
  - Post-1972 election action
    - Agencies
      - Congress
      - The President
    - Saturday Evening Post*
    - William Randolph Hearst newspapers
    - New York Daily News*
    - George Putnam
    - List of conservative media



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- “New Establishment”
- New commentators
  - Herbert G. Klein
- R. Sargent Shriver
- John Pierson [*of Wall Street Journal*]
  - Los Angeles Times*
  - Vermont C. Royster
    - Conversation with Haldeman
  - Access to White House staff
    - Ehrlichman
    - Henry A. Kissinger
- U.S. News & World Report*
  - Howard Morton
  - John P. (“Jack”) Sutherland
    - View of administration
- Kissinger's previous lunch with *Time-Life*
  - Effectiveness

Kissinger entered at 10:00 am.

- William P. Rogers's forthcoming attendance at *Washington Post* dedication
  - Katharine L. Graham
    - Invitation to Haldeman
  - Walter E. Washington
  - White House staff participation
  - Ehrlichman invitation
  - Kissinger invitation
  - Haldeman invitation
  - Washington Post* treatment of Rogers, administration foreign policy
  - Rogers's previous job as lawyer for *Washington Post*
    - Cabinet attendance
      - Note on attendance

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:00 am.

- The President's schedule
- Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT] signing ceremony for Joint Resolution





Bull left at an unknown time before 10:06 am.

Vietnam negotiations

- Democratic Republic of Vietnam [DRV] [North Vietnam]
- Message
  - Forthcoming meeting
  - Duration
  - Orientation
    - Possible settlement
    - Timing
    - Prolongation of war
    - US responsibility
  - Concessions
  - Tone
  - Lack of precedent

Forthcoming SALT signing ceremony

The President, Kissinger and Haldeman left at 10:06 am.

[Conversation No. 789-003](#)

Date: September 30, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:06 am and 10:16 am

Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [United States Secret Service agents] met.

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:06 am and 10:47 am.

[Conversation No. 789-3A]

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*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 03/11/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[789-003-w001]  
[Duration: 11s]

Response

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The President's schedule

Unknown agents left at an unknown time before 10:17 am.

[Conversation No. 789-004](#)

Date: September 30, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:17 am and 10:34 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger and Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson. This recording began while the meeting was in progress.

- National Defense policy
  - The President's meeting with Sir Alexander F. ("Alec") Douglas-Home
  - Nuclear weapons
    - Bilateral reduction
      - Soviet Union
    - Multilateral reduction
      - Europe
        - Netherlands
        - Belgium
        - Denmark
  - Conventional forces
  - The President's San Francisco speech, September 27, 1972



- Massive retaliation
  - Naval, air forces, army
  - Small nations

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*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-035. Segment declassified on 04/03/2019. Archivist: MAS]*

[National Security]

[789-004-w001]

[Duration: 3s]

National Defense policy

- The President's San Francisco speech, September 27, 1972
  - Massive retaliation
    - Small nations
      - Israel

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National Defense policy

- The President's San Francisco speech, September 27, 1972
  - Massive retaliation
    - Jordan crisis
      - Mobilization
        - Sixth Fleet
        - Airplanes
          - West Germany
    - Soviets
      - Syria
    - Soviet Union
      - Israel
    - Credibility
      - Europe

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[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-035. Segment declassified on 05/08/2019. Archivist: MAS]

[National Security]

[789-004-w004]

[Duration: 14s]

National Defense policy

- The President's San Francisco speech, September 27, 1972
  - Massive retaliation
    - Credibility
      - Europe
      - Israel
      - South Korea
      - Thailand

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National Defense policy

- The President's San Francisco speech, September 27, 1972
  - Massive retaliation
    - Credibility
      - Israel
      - Europe
    - Soviet Naval Buildup
    - Forward Bases
    - Conventional forces
      - US public opinion
      - Soviet buildup
        - Pace
          - Navy, air power
        - Yugoslavia
  - Troops cuts
    - Defense appropriations subcommittee
      - Europe
    - Forthcoming talks on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR]
      - Congressional awareness
  - Defense supporters



- John L. McClellan
- European responsibility
- Previous resolution for pullback, 1967

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 10:17 am.

#### Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 10:34 am.

#### National Defense

- Resolution for force pullback 1967
  - Michael J. Mansfield
- Consequences of vote
- Strategic Arms limitation Treaty [SALT] debate
  - Nuclear warheads
    - Number
    - Equality, deliverability
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
- William Proxmire
  - Tactical nuclear weapons compared to strategic nuclear weapons
- Arms Control and Disarmament Agency [ACDA] involvement
  - J. William Fulbright
  - Gerard L. Smith
  - Jackson Amendment
  - Hugh Scott
- Plans
  - Appropriations
  - Transfers
- Soviet Union
- Raymond L. Garthoff
  - Helsinki cable
    - Soviets
      - Arms control jargon
      - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
      - Conversation with Kissinger
- Position
  - Foreign Service
    - Uganda



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- Possible firing
  - Timing
    - 1972 election
    - Leaks
  - John Finney
    - New York Times*
  - Discussions with Soviets
    - Garthoff's background
      - Russian language skills
      - Wife
    - US fallback position
  - Smith
- Secor D. Browne
  - Possible involvement in administration
  - Civil Aeronautical Board [CAB] chairman
  - Previous position at Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT]
    - Aeronautical engineering
  - Soviet negotiations
    - Russian language skills
  - Weapons system expert
  - ACDA
  - State Department
  - Soviet negotiations
  - Consultant to industry
  - Commercial aviation expertise
  - Conventional weapons knowledge
  - MBFR
- ACDA
  - Negotiations
    - Role of administrator
      - MBFR
      - SALT II
        - Unilateral Disarmament
        - Mutual disarmament
- SALT
  - Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
    - Knowledge
      - Jackson's questioning
      - Air Force Chief of Staff



- Gen. John D. Ryan
- Antiballistic missiles [ABM]
  - Capitals defense plan
  - State Department
  - ACDA
  - JCS
- Interests
- Weapons system

#### Personnel management

- Lt. Gen. Edward Rowny
- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Background
    - Army
      - Supreme Headquarters, Allied Power Europe [SHAPE]
        - Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster
    - Replacement [for Ryan]
    - Promotion
    - Johns Hopkins University
    - US Military Academy at West Point
    - Development of air mobile concept
    - Yale University
      - Engineering
      - Political science
    - Doctorate [Ph.D.]
    - Haig
    - Scholar
    - Corps commander
  - JCS
    - Views
      - Compared to the President's
    - State Department
    - ACDA
    - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
    - JCS
      - ABM
        - Capitals defense plan
        - The President's view
  - Rowny



- Haig
- ACDA
- Garthoff
- Plans
- Loyalty
- Ideology

Jackson's forthcoming work with Kissinger

US-Soviet Union trade deal

- Jackson Amendment on Soviet Jewry
  - Exit visas
  - Amendment to bill
    - Timing
    - Forthcoming congressional session
  - Co-sponsors
  - Signal to Soviets
- Senate resolution
  - Hubert H. Humphrey
  - Jacob A. Javits
  - George S. McGovern
  - Opposition by Jewish community
  - Impact on the President
  - Compared to Jackson Amendment
    - Timing
  - Soviet Reaction
    - Exit visas
- Kissinger's forthcoming conversation with Hugh Scott
- Scott
  - Administrative assistant, William J. Hildebrand
- McGovern
- Political implications
  - Jackson's conversation with Scott
- Compared to Jackson Amendment
  - Voting
  - Signal to Soviets
  - Toughness
  - Co-sponsors
  - Withholding





Kissinger's schedule

Kissinger and Jackson left at 10:34 am.

[Conversation No. 789-005](#)

Date: September 30, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:35 am and 10:56 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

- Recent meeting with Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
- Interruptions

Bull left and Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 10:35 am.

[Signing documents]

Marjorie P. Acker entered at 10:36 am.

Edward C. Nixon's schedule

- The President's forthcoming trip to Camp David

Acker left at 10:37 am.

The President's schedule

- Forthcoming telephone call to Charles E. ("Chip") Bohlen
- Bohlen's health
- Avis Howard (Thayer) Bohlen
- Timing

Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:37 am.



- Camp David
- Weather

Butterfield left at 10:39 am.

- H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman's schedule
- Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's schedule
- Lunch
- Manolo Sanchez

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:56 am.

[Conversation No. 789-006](#)

Date: September 30, 1972  
Time: 10:56 am - 12:00 pm  
Location: Oval Office

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

- The President's schedule
  - Recent Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT] signing ceremony for Joint Resolution
  - [Treaty] Room

- 1972 election
  - Los Angeles demonstration, September 27, 1972
    - Photographs
      - Size of demonstration
      - Physical appearance
      - Signs
        - Anti-war group
        - George S. McGovern, R. Sargent Shriver
        - Vietnam casualties
    - Alleged Communist affiliation



- Jews
- Vietcong [VC] flags
- Hard hat action
  - Plans
    - International Brotherhood of Teamsters
    - Charles W. Colson
- Donald Kalish
  - University of California, Los Angeles [UCLA]
  - Alleged Communism
- Vietnam casualties
  - Killed in Action [KIA]
- Possible publication
  - U.S. News and World Report*
- Film

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[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 03/07/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]  
[789-006-w001]  
[Duration: 4m 20s]

1972 election

- Clark MacGregor
  - Get-out-the-vote effort
    - Southern states
    - Safe states
    - National margin
    - Issue of voter mandate
    - Volunteer effort
      - Not targeting Republican voters
  - Radio advertising
    - Southern states
  - Nonpartisan advertising
    - Safe states
  - Radio advertising
    - Use of country music



- Follow-up from H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Get-out-the-vote efforts
    - Safe states
    - Heartland states
- Albert E. Sindlinger poll
  - Percentage of voters tending to vote
    - Impact on mandate
    - Importance of getting out the vote
- Observation of Charles W. Colson
  - Originally made by Louis Harris
    - Split-ticket voters
      - Possibility of becoming party-line voters
      - Dependent on chances of preferred candidate
      - Application to Barry M. Goldwater
      - Application to George S. McGovern
  - Barry M. Goldwater supporters
    - Compared to supporters of George S. McGovern
      - Supporters’ belief in candidate’s potential victory
  - Black voters and poor voters
    - Likelihood of voting Republican
- Black vote
  - Apathy
    - Opinion of H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - American Broadcasting Corporation [ABC] coverage
  - Associated Press [AP] coverage
  - General view of election
    - Favorability to President
    - Likelihood of voting in election
  - Difficulty of getting out the vote
    - Opinion of H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Opinion of President
    - Party organization as mechanism to get out the vote
    - Cities
      - Strength for George S. McGovern
- Youth vote
  - Apathy
  - Voting as a duty
    - Tendency of Republican voters
    - Responsible voters



- Opinion of President
  - Young voters
  - Black voters
  - Fringe voters
- Voter apathy
  - Beneficial to President
  - Winning in close states
  - Size of vote
  - Size of margin
  - Effect on turnout

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#### Defense contracts

- McDonnell-Douglas
  - Press interviews of aerospace industry workers
    - St. Louis
  - Thomas Victor Jones
  - Union
  - 1972 campaign strategy
    - Leaflets
    - Timing
    - F-15
    - B-1
    - McGovern

#### Campaign spending law

- New York Times* or *Washington Post* story
- Constitutionality
  - Lawyers for the Committee for the Reelection of the President [CRP] argument
- Common Cause suit
  - Federal Corrupt Practices Act
  - Attempted stay
  - Supreme Court
    - Appeals
    - Timing
    - 1972 election



- [Malcolm Richard Wilkey]
  - Reappointment
  - Compared to [Murray I. Gurfein] of New York
    - Background
      - Jewish identity
    - Thomas E. Dewey

#### Appointments

- Rita E. Hauser
  - John N. Mitchell
  - United Nations [UN] Ambassadorship
    - Background
      - Jewish identity
    - Woman
  - New York Times* report
    - Unknown editorialist
  - Positions
    - Reelection of the President
    - The President compared to McGovern
    - Compared to the President
      - Human rights
      - Civil rights
      - Vietnam
      - Views on women
  - The President's possible victory margin
  - Mitchell
  - Jews
    - Herbert Stein
    - Henry A. Kissinger
    - Leonard Garment
    - Character
      - Garment

#### Return of three Prisoners of War [POWs]

- News summary
- Cora Weiss and David Dellinger
  - Barry M. Goldwater
  - McGovern
- Maj. Edward K. Elias



- Wife
  - Quote about reincarnation claim
- Weiss
  - Manner
  - Compared to Bella S. Abzug
- Lt. Norris A. Charles
- Lt. Markham L. Gartley
  - Parents
- Elias
  - Administration handling
    - Elias
      - Military hospital
      - Wife
- Defense Department Handling
  - Brig. Gen. Daniel ("Chappie") James, Jr.
    - Skill as a spokesman
- North Vietnam propaganda
  - Value
  - Elias
  - POW wives
    - Point about tour
  - Treatment by captors
    - Quality
      - Compared to unreleased pre-1067 POWs
      - Value

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 03/11/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[789-006-w003]

[Duration: 9m 8s]

1972 election

- George S. McGovern's schedule
  - Pulaski Day
  - Christopher Columbus Day



- Youth dinner
  - New York
- The President's schedule
  - Philadelphia
  - Two events in New York
    - Compared to Philadelphia
    - Pulaski Day event
  - Buffalo
- George S. McGovern's schedule
  - Baltimore City Fair
    - Speech
    - September 30, 1972
  - Meeting with labor leaders
  - Buffalo
    - October 4, 1972
  - Cleveland
    - City clerk forum
  - St. Louis
  - Debate among staff
    - Targeting of liberal suburbs
      - Versus targeting of ethnic voters
    - Compared to the President's campaign strategy
    - Raymond K. Price Jr.
    - Importance of targeting speeches at ethnic voters
    - As opposed to liberal suburban voters
  - Campaign schedule October 7 1972
    - St. Louis
    - Washington University
    - Labor union
    - Harry S Truman Day Dinner
      - Award for Thomas F. Eagleton
    - Speech
  - Campaign schedule October 8 1972
    - Washington, D.C.
  - Campaign schedule October 9 1972
    - Rochester, New York
- R. Sargent Shriver
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- George S. McGovern's schedule October 6 1972





- Washington D.C.
- R. Sargent Shriver's schedule
  - Week of October 1-7 1972
    - California
    - September 30 1972
      - Not campaigning
- Campaigning
  - Importance of television
    - President's opinion
- George S, McGovern's schedule September 30 1972
  - Motorcade
    - Cedar Point, Maryland to Baltimore
  - Afternoon rally
    - Land Rover
    - Inner Harbor
  - Departure from Friendship Airport
    - Kamono, New Jersey
  - Early evening Industrial Union Council speech
    - Atlantic City
  - Congress of Industrial Organizations [CIO]
  - Departure for La Guardia Airport
  - Evening dinner speech
    - Testimonial for Bronx borough president Robert Abrams
    - At New York Hilton
  - Evening departure for La Guardia Airport
  - Arrival at Friendship Airport
    - Maryland
- Airport appearances
  - Potential difficulties
  - Car
  - Indiana
  - Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
    - Objections
    - President's opinion
      - Embarrassment
  - Handling airport appearances
  - Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
    - Accompanying President
    - Motorcade



- Crowds
  - When to have them
    - Depending on motorcade use
- Usefulness of telephone calls for campaign
  - Based on President's standing in polls
  - Possible assignment for Charles W. Colson
    - Use of labor leaders
  - Hypothetical call from President to Henry E. Ford II
  - Letters as opposed to telephone calls
    - Certificates
      - Sent to deputy campaign chairs
- Clark MacGregor
  - List of people to call
  - Campaign chairmen
- Get out the vote efforts
  - Telephone calls
    - From President the week of October 30-November 3, 1972
    - Telephone calls to Democrats, campaign surrogates, labor leaders
- Importance of telephone calls and those to call
- Similarity to a visit to campaign headquarters
  - Telephone calls to workers at campaign headquarters
- Way for President to reach the South
  - Ability to reach major Southern cities
  - Telephone calls to best headquarters in cities in the South
  - News-making potential
    - Compared to Cost of Living Council
- H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  - Plan for President
- White House operators
  - Opinion of President
  - Impact on people receiving telephone calls
- Importance

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- Public relations
  - Polls
  - Timing



- US-Soviet Union trade deal
  - Wheat deal
  - Announcement
  - Kissinger
- Press briefings
  - The President's recent talk with Kissinger
    - Ronald L. Ziegler
    - SALT II
      - Kissinger's schedule
      - Vietnam
    - Focus on one subject at a time
      - Previous Vietnam briefing
        - Impact on Soviet Union briefing
      - Ziegler
        - Kissinger
          - Kissinger's Soviet Union briefing
          - News impact
          - Compared to Vietnam briefing
- Use of Kissinger

William P. Rogers's forthcoming attendance at *Washington Post* dedication

- Washington Post's* treatment of the President
  - The President
  - Rogers
  - Mitchell
  - White House staff
  - Watergate
    - Attention by other newspapers
- Orders to Cabinet
  - Handling
    - Possible phone calls from Alexander P. Butterfield

Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 10:56 am.

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[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 03/11/2019. Segment cleared for release.*]



[Personal Returnable]  
[789-006-w004]  
[Duration: 47s]

Edward C. Nixon

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 11:13 am.

1972 election

- Gallup poll
  - Candidate standings
  - Number of interviews
  - John Davies
    - George S. McGovern
      - Narrowing gap
  - Four point shift
    - Comparison to Harris poll

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Kissinger entered at 11:13 am.

The President's meeting with Andrei A. Gromyko, October 2, 1972

- Talking points
- Rogers
  - Vietnam peace plans
  - Nuclear missile treaty [SALT II]
- Duration
- Statements
  - Nuclear missile treaty [SALT II]
  - Vietnam War
    - Tone
- Vietnam War
  - Concessions
  - 1972 election
    - Military solution
      - Restraints



- Gromyko's schedule
  - Camp David
  - Rogers
  - Return to the White House
    - Kissinger's schedule
      - Breakfast
    - SALT signing ceremony
      - Weather
      - Rogers
    - Breakfast
      - The President's schedule
  - Kissinger's schedule
    - Camp David dinner
      - Rogers's schedule
        - The President's schedule
    - Escort for Gromyko
      - Rogers
        - The President's schedule
          - Helicopter
        - Dinner group
          - Helicopter
        - The President's schedule
        - Rogers's schedule
          - Administration group
        - Soviet Group
      - Breakfast
    - Breakfast
      - Nuclear weapons, Vietnam
      - The President's schedule
        - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, Kissinger
      - Map room
      - Ceremony
      - Map Room
      - Embassy
    - Ceremony
      - Arrival
    - Camp David
      - Rogers
    - The President's schedule



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- Oval Office meeting
- Camp David
  - Kissinger and Soviet group
  - Rogers and State Department group
  - Dinner
    - Helicopter
    - Aspen Lodge
- Return to White House
  - Rogers
    - Gromyko
  - Dobrynin
    - Kissinger
  - Second helicopter

Maritime agreement

- Signing
  - Timing
  - Colson
    - Conversation with Kissinger
    - White House setting
  - Commerce Department
- SALT
- Jobs
- The President's schedule
  - Camp David
  - Political leadership meeting
    - John B. Connally's broadcast
    - [Camp David]
- SALT

The President's schedule

- Wholesale Price Index [WPI]
- [Camp David]
- Meeting with Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
  - Executive prerogative
  - Purpose
- The President's appearance at retirement ceremony [for Adm. John S. McCain, Jr., September 1, 1972]
  - Foreign policy



- Kissinger's schedule
  - Paris
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Camp David
- Vietnam

#### Vietnam Negotiations

- The press
- Settlement
  - Prospects
- Deadline
  - North Vietnamese
- North Vietnamese Proposal
  - Nguyen Van Thieu's acceptance
- North Vietnamese expectations
  - Maurice Schumann
  - Bombing Halt

#### The President's forthcoming meeting with Gromyko

- Rogers
- Vietnam
  - US stance
    - Military solution
  - The President's previous talk with Shumann
  - Diplomatic solution

#### Vietnam War

- Settlement
  - North Vietnamese
    - 10-year involvement
    - Losses
  - Prospects
  - Progress
    - Current document
    - Thieu's tenure
- Thieu's tenure
  - Administration image
  - History's verdict
  - Public



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- 1972 election
- History's verdict
- US allies
- South Vietnam government's status
  - North Vietnamese strategy
  - Thieu's tenure
- Possibility of agreement
- Military solution
- US civilian and military leadership
- Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
  - Arms Control and Disarmament Agency [ACDA] [Raymond L. Garthoff]  
[sic]
  - Gen Andrew J. Goodpaster's Deputy [Lt. Gen. Edward Rowny]
- Hard liners
  - Defense Department
- JCS
  - Paul H. Nitze
- Vietnamization
  - Ground war
  - South Vietnam's Air Force
    - Compared to North Vietnam
    - Navy Operations
      - Carriers
      - Air Cover
  - Korea
  - US Aircraft
  - Plans
- Negotiations
  - Prospects
  - North Vietnamese leadership
    - Leonid I. Brezhnev
    - Chou En-Lai
  - US Strategy
    - Record
    - Thieu's tenure
      - Imposition of communist government
    - Military action
      - Attrition
      - Duration





- February 1973
  - Dry season
  - Effectiveness
  - Bombing
- North Vietnamese position
  - Offer
- Negotiation progress
  - Previous position of North Vietnamese
    - North Vietnamese control of army, police
    - Government of Vietnam [GVN] status
  - Present position of North Vietnamese
    - North Vietnamese government advisory committee role
    - GVN status
  - The President's January 1972 peace proposal
    - Concessions
      - Le Duc Tho
    - US stance
      - Kissinger's speeches
- Committee of National Reconciliation
  - Thieu's reaction
    - Previous offer in Electoral Commission
- Changes in North Vietnamese position
  - July 1972
- Prospects

#### US foreign policy

- Negotiations with the Soviet Union
  - Press reaction
    - Joseph C. Kraft
- Recent *Washington Post* story
  - The People's Republic of China [PRC]-Japan accord
    - Impact on US
    - Soviet Union
    - McGovern
    - Edward M. Kennedy
- Milton Viorst
  - Washington Star* article
    - US policy towards Soviet Union, PRC
      - Liberals



- Press
  - Contact with Kissinger
  - New York Times*

- 1972 election
  - McGovern
    - Press and media support
    - The President's victory margin

- The President's schedule
  - Kissinger's schedule
    - Gromyko
  - Rogers's schedule
  - Camp David
    - Swimming

Kissinger left at 11:36 am.

- Funding for the President's previous Texas trip
  - Publicity
  - Melvin R. Laird's travels

- Vietnam War
  - Kissinger
  - History's verdict
  - Foreign policy
    - Allies
      - Pre-1972 election
  - Settlement
    - Timing
      - 1972 election
        - Polls

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[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 03/11/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.*]  
[Personal Returnable]



[789-006-w008]

[Duration: 11m 16s]

### Polling

- Gallup results
  - President's opinion
  - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's opinion
    - Wire for Sunday newspapers
    - Timing
  - John Davies
  - Compared to Harris, Sindlinger, Yankelovich
    - Accuracy
    - President's opinion
  - Spread points
- Potential reaction of George S. McGovern staff
  - Dorothy Cory poll
  - California results
    - Compared to 1968 election results
- Popular vote
  - Estimated popular vote turnout
  - President's goal of landmark national vote turnout
    - Compared to vote turnout for Lyndon B. Johnson
- Electoral vote for President
  - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's strategy
  - Compared to Lyndon B. Johnson
  - Compared to Franklin D. Roosevelt's vote
    - Goal of surpassing vote
  - President's opinion
    - West Virginia
    - Oregon
    - Rhode Island
    - Wisconsin
  - Elliot L. Richardson
    - Previous conversation with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
      - Potential of victory for President in Rhode Island
  - Charles W. Colson estimation
  - Massachusetts
    - John F. Becker poll
    - Two congressional districts



- Potential of victory for President
  - Elliot L. Richardson's opinion
- Catholic blue-collar voters
- President's opinion
  - West Virginia
  - Washington
  - Wisconsin
  - Minnesota
  - Michigan
    - George L. Grassmuck's opinion
    - Busing
    - Involvement of unions
    - Problems with Democratic Party rank and file
- George L. Grassmuck
  - Compared to Robert H. Finch
  - Liberal suburbs

Alexander Butterfield entered at 11:45 a.m.

- Edward C Nixon's schedule
  - Afternoon of September 30, 1972
  - Time

- Julie Nixon Eisenhower's schedule
  - Weather

Edward C. Nixon

Alexander Butterfield left at 11:46 a.m.

- 1972 election
  - Poll figures
    - Gallup polls
    - White House staff excitement
  - Importance
  - Concern
    - Comparison to President's 1962 campaign for California governor
    - Comparison to the President's 1960 presidential campaign
    - Comparison to the President's 1968 presidential campaign



- Movement
- Gallup polls
  - Accuracy
  - Compared to Harris polls
- Albert E. Sindlinger
  - The President's opinion
    - Honesty
    - Sanity
- Harris polls
  - Point breakdown by age groups
    - 18 to 24 year-olds
    - 25 to 50 year-olds
    - 50 year-olds and over
  - Accuracy of figures
    - President's opinion
- Gallup polls
  - The President's opinion
    - Accuracy
    - Shifts
  - Republican voter shifts
  - Democratic voter shifts
  - Independent voter shifts
- George H. Gallup
  - President's opinion
  - Theory
    - Suburbs
    - Jews
  - Jewish voters
  - Use of polls by George S. McGovern staff and columnists
    - To indicate a surge by George S. McGovern
- Harris polls
  - Narrowing of gap between President and George S McGovern
- Gallup polls
  - Similarity to Harris polls
    - Hedging
- George S. McGovern campaign
  - Concern
    - Sindlinger polls
    - Yankelovich polls



- President's polls
- Polls of individual states

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The President's forthcoming radio speeches

- Raymond K. Price's, Jr.
  - Schedule
- John D. Ehrlichman
  - Domestic themes
- Kissinger
- Price
  - Foreign policy speech
- Issues
  - Environment
  - Youth
  - Future
  - Foreign policy and national defense
    - The President's September 27, 1972 speech in San Francisco
    - National security
  - Economy
  - Reform
- Price's schedule
  - [Camp David]
- Ehrlichman's schedule
  - Camp David
  - Family
    - Jeanne (Fisher) Ehrlichman's schedule
    - Campaigning

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 11:46 am and 11:52 am.

[Conversation No. 789-6A]

[See Conversation No. 30-35]

[End of telephone conversation]



The President's speeches

- Price's schedule
  - Camp David
    - Work
      - Image with staff
      - Companion

The President's schedule]

- Camp David
  - Edward C. Nixon
    - Birch Lodge
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower's schedule
    - Aspen Lodge

Polls

Administration activities

- Media coverage
  - Tone
    - Daily analysis

Haldeman talked with Price between 11:52 am and 11:54 am.

[Conversation No. 789-6B]

[See Conversation No. 30-36]

[End of telephone conversation]

Price's schedule

- Staff
  - Helicopter
    - Edward Nixon

1972 election

- Radio speeches
  - The President's forthcoming conversation with Price
  - Importance



- Supporters, record
- John Foster Dulles

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:54 am.

Colson's schedule

Weather

- Timing of Camp David trip
- Helicopter

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:00 pm.

Haldeman's schedule

- Kenneth W. Clawson
- Ft. Wayne report

The President left at an unknown time after 11:54 am.

The President entered at an unknown time before 12:00 pm.

Ft. Wayne report

- Kenneth W. Clawson
- Record

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 03/13/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Privacy]

[789-006-w009]

[Duration: 52s]

-George S. McGovern

- Allegations of illegitimate daughter
- Comparison to allegations against Grover Cleveland
- Potential to backfire against President
- Daughter's lack of awareness of allegations





- Decision not to publicize allegations
  - Personal grounds
- H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman’s conversation with New York
- Newsletter
- Difference between personal and political grounds
- Potential to backfire against President
  - Because of daughter

\*\*\*\*\*

1972 election  
-Use

Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:54 am.

Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon’s schedule

Helicopter

Colson's schedule

Haldeman’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:00 pm.

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[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 03/11/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[789-006-w010]

[Duration: 1m 6s]

1972 election  
-Polls

- Gallup polls
  - Weighting figures



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- Use of computers
  - Sample size
- Time it takes for President's campaign to obtain
- Gallup polls
  - Compared to Opinion Research Corporation [ORC] polls
  - President's standing
    - President's estimation
    - Compared to Louis Harris polls
    - Compared to 1964 polls for Lyndon B. Johnson

\*\*\*\*\*

Request for follow-up

Haldeman left at 12:00 pm.

[Conversation No. 789-007](#)

Date: September 30, 1972  
Time: 12:00 pm - 12:20 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

The President's schedule

- Camp David
- Radio speeches
- Raymond K. Price, Jr.

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 12:00 pm and 12:05 pm.

[Conversation No. 789-7A]



[See Conversation No. 30-37]

[End of telephone conversation]

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Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[789-007-w001]

[Duration: 8m 57s]

1972 election

- Campaign surrogates for President
  - September 29 and 30, 1972
  - Elliot L. Richardson
    - Attacks on George S. McGovern
    - Credibility of George S. McGovern
- James D. Hodgson story
  - Letter from George S. McGovern to grain lobby
  - Memorandum from grain cartel
- Support for President from professional sports figures
  - Merlin Olson
    - Campaigning in California
    - President's description of campaign style
    - Desire to debate R. Sargent Shriver
    - Economics master's degree
    - Potentially debate R. Sargent Shriver on issue of the working poor
      - George S. McGovern welfare plan
  - Favorability for President
- Other possible campaign surrogates
  - Coaches
  - Woody Hayes
  - Miami sportscaster
    - September 30 1972 conversation with Charles W. Colson
    - On-air editorials for President
  - Nick Buonconti
    - President's opinion



- Howard Twilley
- Bob Sheridan
- Merlin Olson
- Player for Cleveland Browns
- President's opinion on useful football team surrogates
  - Washington team
  - Cincinnati Bengals
  - Chicago Bears
    - George Halas
  - Pittsburgh Steelers
  - Philadelphia Eagles
  - Pittsburgh Steelers
  - Los Angeles Rams
  - San Francisco 49ers
    - Joe Morgan
  - Minnesota Vikings
    - Previous gift to the President
- Usefulness of sports figures as surrogates
  - Douglas L. Hallett
    - September 30 conversation with Charles W. Colson
    - Weekly report
    - Debate between football players and George S. McGovern
    - Roommate from Nebraska
  - Popularity
  - Similarity to Thomas E. Dewey's statement
    - Engineer
- R. Sargent Shriver's previous statement
  - Describing football players
  - John B. Connally's reaction
    - As a former football lineman
  - News coverage
  - Myles J. Ambrose's reaction September 28
    - Effect on R. Sargent Shriver
- George S. McGovern's schedule
  - October 2 1972 debate with Spiro T Agnew
  - October 1 1972 speech to United Press International [UPI] editors
- Spiro T. Agnew's schedule
  - October 1 1972 speech
  - Patrick J. Buchanan



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- Listening to George S. McGovern speech
- Come up with counterpoints for Spiro T. Agnew to use
- October 2 debate between George S. McGovern and Spiro T. Agnew
  - Handling
  - Herbert G. Klein
    - Proposal that President debate George S. McGovern
  - Advantages of Spiro T. Agnew
- Spiro T. Agnew
  - Campaign style
    - Opinion of Charles W. Colson
  - Media comparison to R. Sargent Shriver
    - President's opinion
      - Richard Pierce
      - Wall Street Journal*
      - Los Angeles Times*
- R. Sargent Shriver
  - President's opinion
    - Comparison to Harry S Truman in 1948
    - Contrasts to Harry S Truman in 1948
    - Comparison to Spiro T. Agnew
      - Dignity
      - Class
- Gay Liberation event
  - Flyer sent from President to Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo
  - Washington D.C. area
  - Flyer sent from President to Robert Abplanalp
  - Wire news service coverage
  - News coverage of controversy
  - Problem for George S. McGovern
    - Disavow support for LGBT community
  - LGBT supporters of President
    - Closeted
  - Reaction from organized labor
    - Symbol
      - Compared to Pledge of Allegiance
    - Reaction to LGBT community
    - Reaction from Vito Marzullo
- R. Sargent Shriver
  - Media coverage



- Douglas L. Hallett
  - Visit to Ingman Square, Cambridge
    - Bar
    - Blue collar area
    - Law school
  - Archie Bunker
  - Area's attitude towards 1972 election
    - Dislike for George S. McGovern
    - Support for President

\*\*\*\*\*

The President talked with Charles E. ("Chip") Bohlen between 12:05 pm and 12:11 pm.

[Conversation No. 789-7B]

[See Conversation No. 30-38]

[End of telephone conversation]

Bohlen

- Relationship with the President
  - George S. McGovern
  - Eastern Establishment
  - Liberalism
  - Anti-ballistic Missile [ABM] assistance to the President
- The President's recent telephone call
  - Publicity
  - State Department

William P. Rogers's forthcoming attendance at *Washington Post* building dedication

- H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman's invitation
- White House staff attendance
  - Possible firings
- Cabinet attendance
  - Alexander P. Butterfield's forthcoming telephone calls
- Rogers



- Former representation of the *Washington Post*
- Washington Post*
  - Treatment
    - John N. Mitchell
    - Watergate
    - The President
- New York Times*
  - White House staff cooperation
  - Possible firings
- Invitations
  - Colson
  - Haldeman
- Building demolition

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[Personal Returnable]

[789-007-w002]

[Duration: 59s]

1972 election

- H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman’s conversation with President
  - Gallup polls
    - Poll standings
    - Mechanics of poll
- Polls
  - October 1, 1972
  - Breakdown of numbers
  - Potential of a shift
    - Opinion of Charles W. Colson

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Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 12:11 pm.



The President's schedule

- Republican Congressional leadership meeting, October 2, 1972
  - Frank T. Bow
  - John W. Byrnes

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:20 pm.

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 03/11/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[789-007-w003]

[Duration: 4m 29s]

1972 election

- Poll standings
  - Potential shift
    - Opinion of Charles W. Colson
  - Comparison to Harris poll
  - California
  - George S. McGovern standings
    - Opinion of Charles W. Colson
  - Undecided voters
    - Estimation of Sindlinger results
  - Gallup and Harris polls
    - Narrative of pollings
    - President's opinion
  - Louis Harris
    - Skepticism of own poll numbers
    - Weighting youth voters
    - Presence in the field
      - October 3-5, 1972
      - October 6, 1972 meeting with Charles W. Colson
    - Comparison to Sindlinger
  - Albert E. Sindlinger
    - Age
    - Sanity





- Honesty
  - President's opinion
- Volatility of polls
  - Conversation with Charles W. Colson in 1971
  - Charles W. Colson's conversation with Douglas L. Hallett
- Lack of change in poll numbers
  - Buffalo, New York
- George C. Wallace
  - Gallup polls
    - President's estimation of numbers
    - Two-way race
    - Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 election standings
- George S. McGovern
  - Staffers
  - Possibility of recovering in polls
  - Harris profile polls
    - Voter perceptions
    - Opinion of American public
    - Effect on voters
- President's reaction to certain polls
  - Effect on campaign strategy
    - Appearances
    - Radio talks

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Issues

- Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT] agreement
- Trade agreement
- Maritime agreement
- US-Soviet trade deal
  - Timing
  - Jewish reaction
  - Jobs

The President and Colson left at 12:20 pm.