



## White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

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[Conversation No. 032-001](#)

Date: October 22, 1972  
Time: 3:06 pm - 3:10 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with White House operator.

Call from Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

The President talked with Haig.



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### Greetings

#### Vietnam

- Bombing halt
  - Haig's talk with Henry A. Kissinger
    - Kissinger's position on halt
      - Change
      - Haig's message
  - Conditions
    - Area
    - Time
    - Duration
    - Announcement
      - The President's view
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
    - Kissinger's plans
      - Haig's view
      - The President's view
      - Kissinger's request to be informed
  - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    - Possible meeting with the President
  - President Thieu
    - Reaction
  - Dobrynin
    - Haig's message
      - The President's instructions
      - Thieu's position
        - Hanoi's announcement
        - Joint agreement
- Negotiations
  - Coalition government
  - Dobrynin
    - The President's message
  - North Vietnamese leaks
    - Thieu
      - The President's view
  - Breakdown
    - 1972 election



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- 1972 election
  - Message to Dobrynin
- Kissinger's return to US
  - Meeting with Thieu
  - Timing
    - Meeting with the President
    - Time
    - Saigon time
  - The President's schedule
    - Campaigning in New York
  - Timing
    - The President's view
  - The President's location
  - Delay

[Conversation No. 032-002](#)

Date: October 22, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:10 pm and 7:28 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman

[Conversation No. 032-003](#)

Date: October 22, 1972

Time: 7:28 pm - 7:32 pm

Location: White House Telephone

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



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The President's schedule

- Meeting with George P. Shultz
  - Time
  - The President's attendance
    - The President's instructions
  - Announcement

Henry A. Kissinger's schedule

- Return to US
  - Time
  - Delay
    - The President's instructions for Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Meeting with the President

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 12/15/2017. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[032-003-w001]

[Duration: 2m 13s]

The President's campaign schedule

- Trip to Kentucky
  - Announcement
    - Timing
    - News stories
  - Amount of time
    - Travel time
  - Itinerary
    - School campaign event
    - Departure
- Trip to New York
  - Departure time
  - Small towns
    - Avoid stopping
    - The President's concern about speaking
    - Roll slow and wave



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- Handshakes
- Do not speak
- Bands

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[Conversation No. 032-004](#)

Date: October 22, 1972  
 Time: Unknown between 7:32 pm and 7:48 pm  
 Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

[Conversation No. 032-005](#)

Date: October 22, 1972  
 Time: 7:48 pm - 7:54 pm  
 Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Haig's possible meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

- Location
  - New car
  - Radio
  - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
- Yuli M. Vorontsov
  - Possible meeting
  - Location
- Haig's view
- The President's view
  - Message
- Forthcoming meeting with Haig



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### 1972 election

- George S. McGovern
  - Statements on Vietnam peace negotiations
    - The President's view
      - Allegations about Nguyen Van Thieu's future
    - The President's reaction
    - Possible response
      - Charles W. Colson
      - The President's view

### Vietnam

- Peace settlement
  - Importance of public relations
- Henry A. Kissinger's schedule
  - Return to US
    - Time
  - Talk with the President
  - Meeting with Haig
  - Return to Paris
    - Time
    - Day
    - North Vietnamese negotiators
      - Assurances from US
- Peace settlement
  - The President's view
  - US position
    - Cambodia, Laos, May 8, 1972 decision
    - Possible Kissinger trip to Hanoi and bombing halt
      - The President's view
  - North Vietnam's situation
    - Haig's view
  - Leaks from Hanoi
    - Dobrynin's forthcoming meeting with Haig
- William P. Rogers
  - Haig's briefing
    - Ellsworth F. Bunker's cables
  - Leaks from the State Department
    - The president's instructions



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- Cooperation
- Bombing halt
  - Rogers's view
- Kissinger

[Conversation No. 032-006](#)

Date: October 22, 1972  
Time: 7:54 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Requested for a call to George E. Allen

[Conversation No. 032-007](#)

Date: October 22, 1972  
Time: 7:54 pm - 8:09 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with George E. Allen.

Greetings

Previous Washington Redskins – Dallas Cowboys football game

- Celebrations of Redskins' victory
- The President's viewing
- Point spread
- Bad calls
- Half-time score
  - Chances of victory
- Redskins team





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- Team spirit
- Fans
  - Enthusiasm
  - Cheers
- Defense
- Cowboys
  - First scores
  - Redskins response
- Roy Jefferson
  - Super Bowl
- Dallas
  - Craig Morton, Roger Staubach
  - Mistake
- Redskins
  - Victory
  - Interceptions
  - Celebration
  - Larry Brown
    - Health
  - George Nock
  - Bill Malinchak
    - Health
    - Abilities
    - Replacement
      - Trading deadline
  - Special teams
    - Spirit
- Victory
  - Impact on city
  - Press
  - Clint Murchison
- Coverage of Cowboys
  - Statement
- National television
  - Blackout
  - Baltimore station
    - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
- First Family
  - Attendance at game



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- Mrs. George Allen
- 1972 election

New York Giants game

- Giants' record
- Norman Snead
  - Performance
  - Wake Forest University

Cowboys game

- Christian ("Sonny") Jurgenson
  - Duke University
  - Performance
- Brown
- Charles Harraway
  - Touchdown
  - Weight
  - Tackle
    - Cliff Harris
  - Touchdown
  - Brown
  - Reaction to victory
- Game ball
  - Jurgensen
  - Larry Brown
  - Leslie H. ("Speedy") Duncan
    - Interception
  - Lenny Hauss
    - Injury
    - Blocking
      - Field goal block
- Cowboys
  - Speed
- A play
  - Hill
  - Redskins defense
    - Myron Pattios
- Calvin Hill
  - Speed



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- Redskins victory
- Staubach

### Giants game

### Cowboys's schedule

- Detroit Lions
  - Greg Landry
  - Defense
- Cowboys
  - Quarterback
  - Staubach

### Redskins

- Morton
- Jurgensen
  - Sacks
  - Injury
  - Weight
  - Drinking
  - Attitude
- Billy Kilmer
  - Attitude
  - Abilities
- Trades
  - Cornerbacks
    - Green Bay Packers
  - Redskins
  - Cowboys
    - Personnel
    - Compared to Redskins
  - Redskins
    - Recruitment
    - Richard Petitbon
    - Experience
    - Cornerback
  - Baltimore Colts
    - Prohibitions on trade
  - Cornerback



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-Speed

Cowboys

- Bob Hayes
  - Pass reception
- Lance Allworth
  - Pass reception
- Pass receivers
  - Mike Sellers

Redskins – Cowboys game

- The President’s schedule
  - Telephone calls
- Celebration of victory
  - Crowd response
    - Comparison with Chicago Bears
    - Victory

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 12/19/2017. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-007-w001]

[Duration: 12s]

Campaign poster

- George Allen’s opinion
- Athletes for the President

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Giants

- Upcoming game
  - The President’s schedule



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[Conversation No. 032-008](#)

Date: October 22, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:09 pm and 8:23 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to William P. Rogers.

[Conversation No. 032-009](#)

Date: October 22, 1972

Time: 8:23 pm - 8:41 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with William P. Rogers.

Dinner

Vietnam

- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s previous talk with the President
- Haig's previous talk with Rogers
- Henry A. Kissinger
  - Return to US
    - Delay
      - The President's instructions
- Settlement
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
    - Response
  - Prisoners of war [POWs]
  - George S. McGovern's statements
    - The President's view
  - Bombing halt



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- Announcement
  - The President's view
    - 1968 precedent
- Negotiations
  - Moscow and Hanoi
  - Secrecy
- Settlement
  - Timing
    - 1972 election
    - Public relations problems
  - Thieu's response
    - Rogers's view
    - Pressure
    - Public relations
- Bombing
  - Continuation
  - Halt
    - Problems
- Settlement
  - Negotiations
    - Pham Van Dong
    - Interview
  - Thieu's position
  - North Vietnamese concessions
    - The President's views
  - Thieu's view
    - Ceasefire
    - South Vietnamese advantages
      - Territory
  - Option of continuing the war
    - The President's view
  - Thieu's position
    - The President's view
    - US response
    - McGovern's statement
  - Public impression of US efforts
  - Hanoi's position
    - Public statements
    - Arnaud de Borchgrave



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- 1972 victory for the President
- Negotiations
  - Kissinger meeting with South Vietnamese, North Vietnamese
  - Message of North Vietnamese
    - Kissinger's return to US
    - Reason of blown secrecy
  - Meetings with North Vietnamese
- 1972 election
  - Peace settlement
    - The President's terms
- Peace settlement
  - State Department
    - Knowledge
      - Ellsworth Bunker [?]
      - William H. Sullivan
- POWs
  - Possible problems with settlement
  - North Vietnamese positions
    - Possible strategy
      - North Vietnamese offer to return POWs
      - Thieu's possible rejection of settlement
  - Risks to settlement
    - Election victory
      - Compared with 1968 election
  - Possible approach with the President
- Settlement
  - Break-through
    - Reaction by the President and Rogers
    - Haig's meeting
  - Thieu's response
    - Park Chung Hee
    - Speech
      - Collaboration with Chiang Ching-Kuo, Thieu
      - Inconsistencies
        - Statements about Vietnam and Taiwan, Republic of China
- South Koreans
  - Cooperation with US in Vietnam
  - Resistance



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Strategy
- Risks
- US support for South Korea
- Korean War

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-012. Segment partially declassified with 3s cleared for release and 1s remain exempt as 032-009-w001 per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 10/11/2017. Archivist: AY]*

[National Security]  
 [032-009-w001]  
 [Duration: 1s]

SOUTH KOREA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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[National Security]  
 [032-009-w001]  
 [Duration: 3s]

South Korea  
 -Bargaining position

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South Korea  
 -Bargaining position  
 -The President's view  
 -William P. Rogers' view  
 -Reasons





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- US election
- The President's view
- Chiang Ching-Kuo
- Attitude
- Rogers's view
- Taiwan
- Rogers's view
- The President's view
- Sense of history
- Need for US support
- Thieu

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[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-008. Segment declassified on 12/08/2017. Archivist: AY]

[National Security]

[032-009-w002]

[Duration: 7s]

South Korea

- Bargaining position
- Chiang Ching-Kuo
- The President's view
- Taiwan
- South Korea

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South Korea

- Bargaining position
- Thieu
- Risks of removal
- Possible communist takeover
- US strategy
- US pressure for a settlement
- Timing with election



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- Rogers's view
- The President's view
- Basic interests
  - Comparison with US interests
    - Kissinger's view
    - US withdrawal
    - POWs
    - Thieu's stability
- Gen. Creighton B. Abrams, Jr.
  - Support
- Professional military people
  - Support
- Abrams
  - Europe
  - Inevitability of withdrawal
- Kissinger
  - Work on settlement
    - The president's view
    - Rogers's view
      - Exhaustion
  - Return to US
    - Forthcoming meeting
      - Rogers's request to be included
  - Delay
    - Timing with President's return from New York

World Affairs Council

- California
- Rogers's speech at meeting

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 12/19/2017. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-009-w004]

[Duration: 1m 29s]



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1972 Campaign

- Otis Chandler
  - Support for the President
    - Complimentary on foreign affairs
  - Los Angeles Times*
  - Conrad
- Political cartoonists
  - Rogers's opinion
  - Criticism of McGovern
- McGovern
  - Mistakes
  - Harris poll
    - Point spread
  - Gallup poll
    - Point spread
- The President's strategy

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Vietnam peace settlement

- Thieu's acceptance
  - Problems
    - 1972 election
      - McGovern's possible criticisms
  - US foreign policy
- Thieu's position

Washington Redskins-Dallas Cowboys game

- Adele (Langston) Rogers and William Rogers attendance
- The President's viewing
  - Baltimore television station
- First half
- Philadelphia Eagles
- Larry Brown
  - Performance
  - Pass receptions
- Calvin Hill
- First half



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-Pass interceptions

[Conversation No. 032-010](#)

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:05 am and 12:10 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to William P. Rogers.

[Conversation No. 032-011](#)

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: 12:10 am and 12:17 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with William P. Rogers.

The President's return from New York

-Previous meeting with Henry A. Kissinger

Vietnam

-Forthcoming meeting with Kissinger and Rogers

-Time

-Settlement

-Information from Kissinger and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

-Nguyen Van Thieu

-Paranoia

-1972 election

-Importance compared with US efforts in Vietnam

-Kissinger, Haig



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- US conditions
  - The President's view
    - 1972 election
- Kissinger
  - Attitude
- Thieu's response
  - Accusations
    - US conspiracy with the People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - The President's manipulation of the US press
    - William H. Sullivan's activities in Saigon
    - The President's view
  - US response
  - Meeting with Kissinger
  - Changes in terms
    - Submission to North Vietnam
- Negotiations
  - Meeting in Paris
- North Vietnamese message
- North Vietnamese position
  - Need for a settlement
  - North Vietnamese concessions
    - North Vietnamese prisoners of war [POWs]
    - Cambodia
    - Laos
- Sullivan
  - Knowledge
- US position
  - The President's view
  - Thieu
- Thieu's confidence in Ellsworth F. Bunker
- Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.'s efforts with Thieu
- Bunker's and Wendall Wyatt's view
  - North Vietnamese concession
    - May 8, 1972
  - US position

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 12/19/2017.

Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-011-w001]

[Duration: 1m 1s]

1972 Campaign

- New York trip
  - Motorcade
    - Size of crowd
  - Itinerary
    - Eastchester, White Plans
- Rallies
  - Nassau, Suffolk
- New York Daily News poll
  - Release
    - Nelson A. Rockefeller
- New York state figures
  - Point spread

\*\*\*\*\*

Vietnam

- Settlement
  - Thieu's position
    - Kissinger's response
- US position
  - Stakes
    - Viability of Thieu and South Vietnam
      - US sacrifice in Vietnam War
      - Possibility of communist takeover
- US foreign policy
  - South Korea
  - Thailand
  - Japan
  - Europe



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[Conversation No. 032-012](#)

Date: October 24, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:17 am and 12:18 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson.

[Conversation No. 032-013](#)

Date: October 24, 1972  
Time: 12:18 am - 12:29 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

Greetings

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 12/19/2017.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-013-w001]

[Duration: 1m 57s]

1972 Campaign

-New York trip

-Crowds

-The President's conversation with H.R. Haldeman

-Photo cars



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- Size
- Enthusiasm
- Rallies
  - Turnout
    - Nassau
    - Suffolk
- Television News Reports
  - Extent of major news network coverage
    - James Schurz
  - NBC
    - Motorcade coverage
  - CBS
    - Hecklers
      - Number
  - NBC
    - Crowd Shots
    - George S. McGovern signs

\*\*\*\*\*

- Campaign practices
  - George S. McGovern supporters
  - The President's tactics

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 12/19/2017.  
 Segment cleared for release.]  
 [Personal Returnable]  
 [032-013-w002]  
 [Duration: 3m 10s]

- 1972 Campaign
  - Daily News poll
    - Nelson A. Rockefeller
      - Advance
    - Edward O'Neill





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- Results in New York State
  - Release
  - Figures
    - Landslide
    - Changes
- CBS
  - Frank Stanton's call to Charles Colson
    - New Jersey
      - Results
      - Speech suggestions by Clark MacGregor
- New York State
  - Pennsylvania
  - New Jersey
  - Connecticut
  - Rhode Island
  - Massachusetts
- New Jersey
  - Poll results
    - Undecided
  - September poll
- Rhode Island
  - Becker poll
  - Poll results
    - Point spread
- New York trip
  - Crowds
    - Catholic schools
      - Nuns
    - High school bands
    - Hard hats
      - Don Rodgers
    - Workers
    - Demonstrators
      - Appearance
        - President's opinion
      - H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman crowd
      - Photos of crowd

\*\*\*\*\*



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Amnesty issue

- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's speech
  - Colson's view
- The President's speech in Uniondale, New York, October 23, 1972
  - Wreath laying
    - Hecklers
    - Appeal

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 12/19/2017. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[032-013-w003]

[Duration: 3m 17s]

1972 Campaign

- Surrogates
  - Elliot Richardson
    - Detroit economic club
    - Remarks on welfare
- McGovern
  - Pressure
  - Chances of victory
- Democrats
  - Lack of support
    - Poll results
      - Daily News
      - Nelson A. Rockefeller
- McGovern Constituency
  - Mary McGrory
  - Extent
    - Narrow
  - Left wing
- Results
  - Point spread



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- Mood of nation
- Ronald L. Ziegler
- The President's speeches
  - Rockefeller's opinion
    - Hecklers against Vietnam War
  - Handling hecklers
  - Rebuttal in writing
    - Jerry Green
- Press reports
  - John Scali

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-014](#)

Date: October 24, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 9:11 am and 9:15 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 806-6A]

Request for a call to John K. Andrews, Jr.

[Conversation No. 032-015](#)

Date: October 24, 1972  
Time: 9:15 am - 9:17 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with John K. Andrews, Jr.



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[See Conversation No. 806-6B]

The President's forthcoming farm speech

- Format
- Themes
  - Productivity increase of American farmers
  - Grain deals
    - The People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - World peace
  - Emphasis on American heartland rural communities
    - Morality and spirituality
- Draft
- Completion

[Conversation No. 032-016](#)

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: 1:34 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 373-2]

Request for a call to Joseph M. Margiotta

- Position as Nassau County Republican chairman
- Phone number
  - Dwight L. Chapin's office

[Conversation No. 032-017](#)

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:34 pm and 1:58 pm



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Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 373-6]

Joseph M. Margiotta

-Location

-Restaurant

-Telephone call

[Conversation No. 032-018](#)

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:58 pm and 3:50 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 373-10]

The President's schedule

-Call to Joseph M. Margiotta

-Postponement of return call

-Time

[Conversation No. 032-019](#)

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:58 pm and 3:50 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.



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[See Conversation No. 373-13]

Telephone calls to New York

[Conversation No. 032-020](#)

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:58 pm and 3:50 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 373-13]

Telephone call for Joseph M. Margiotta  
-Return call

[Conversation No. 032-021](#)

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: 3:52 pm - 3:54 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Joseph M. Margiotta.

[See Conversation No. 373-15]

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Segment cleared for release.*]



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[Personal Returnable]

[032-021-w001]

[Duration: 2m 19s]

1972 Campaign

- New York trip
  - Margiotta's work
- Polls
  - Straw poll
  - Nelson A. Rockefeller
    - Suburban areas
      - Support for the President
      - Eddie O'Neill
      - Numbers
      - Verification
      - Congressional district
        - Huntington, Oyster Bay
        - Angelo D. Roncallo
        - The President's support
  - Buffalo
  - New York trip
    - Rally
      - Margiotta's work
      - Hecklers
        - Interruptions
        - The Presidents view
- The President's call
  - Appreciation of campaign workers

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-022](#)

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:54 pm and 4:00 pm

Location: White House Telephone



The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 373-16]

Request for a call to Edwin G. Michaelian  
-Position as Westchester County, NY Executive  
-Phone number

[Conversation No. 032-023](#)

Date: October 24, 1972  
Time: 4:00 pm - 4:02 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Edwin G. Michaelian.

[See Conversation No. 373-17]

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 12/19/2017.  
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]  
[032-023-w001]  
[Duration: 1m 55s]

- 1972 Campaign
  - New York trip
    - Michaelian's work
    - Tour through Westchester
      - Staff in Yonkers, Eastchester
      - Praise
      - Appreciation
  - Length
  - Scheduling





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- Yonkers
- Certificates
- The President's appreciation
- The President's supporters
- New York state vote
- Plurality in Westchester

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-024](#)

Date: October 24, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 4:02 pm and 4:04 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation 373-18]

Request for a call to Edwin M. Schwenk  
-Phone number

[Conversation No. 032-025](#)

Date: October 24, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 4:04 pm and 4:16 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 373-20]

Edwin M. Schwenk  
-Location  
-Return to office



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-Return call

[Conversation No. 032-026](#)

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: Unknown between 7:04 pm and 7:31 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

[Conversation No. 032-027](#)

Date: October 24, 1972

Time: 7:31 pm - 7:33 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Vietnam

-Settlement

-The President's work with Haig

-Henry A. Kissinger

-Trip to Hanoi

-The President's view

-Impact

-Domestic front

-Conditions

-1972 election

-Settlement

-Instructions for Clark MacGregor

-Response to *Washington Star* article



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- Bombing
- Hardline
- Coalition government
- Kissinger
  - Trip to Hanoi
  - Meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  - Trip to Hanoi
  - The President's orders

[Conversation No. 032-028](#)

Date: October 25, 1972

Time: Unknown between 7:47 pm and 8:20 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 372-1]

Request for a call to Ronald L. Ziegler

[Conversation No. 032-029](#)

Date: October 25, 1972

Time: 8:20 pm - 8:22 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 372-2]

John Roosevelt ("Jackie") Robinson

-The President's article on baseball



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- Robinson's records
  - Football, track and basketball
- Associated Press [AP] coverage
- Public release
- Career
  - Significant points

Watergate

- News story on H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  - White House rebuttal
    - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] investigation
    - Disbursement of funds
    - Sources
    - Hugh W. Sloan, Jr.

Vietnam negotiations

- Briefing
- George S. McGovern statement
  - Ziegler statement
  - Counterattack
    - The President's view

[Conversation No. 032-030](#)

Date: October 25, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:22 pm and 9:05 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 372-4]

Request for a call to Edwin M. Schwenk



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[Conversation No. 032-031](#)

Date: October 25, 1972  
Time: 9:05 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 372-6]

Edwin M. Schwenk's location  
-Another call

[Conversation No. 032-032](#)

Date: October 25, 1972  
Time: 9:18 am - 9:19 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Edwin M. Schwenk.

[See Conversation No. 372-8]

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 12/19/2017.  
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]  
[032-032-w001]  
[Duration: 47s]

1972 Campaign  
-New York trip  
-Schwenk's work



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- Suffolk County
- The President's appreciation
- Suffolk County, Orange County
- Appreciation of volunteers making calls

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-033](#)

Date: October 25, 1972  
 Time: Unknown between 9:19 am and 10:09 am  
 Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 372-12]

Requested a call to Stephen B. Bull.

[Conversation No. 032-034](#)

Date: October 25, 1972  
 Time: 10:09 am - 10:10 am  
 Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation 372-13]

- The President's schedule
- Radio speech
  - Time
  - Location
  - Meeting with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman



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-Time  
-Call to Ronald L. Ziegler

[Conversation No. 032-035](#)

Date: October 25, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:10 am and 10:11 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The Presiden talked with the White House operator.

[[See Conversation 372-14](#)]

Request for a call to Ronald L. Ziegler.

[Conversation No. 032-036](#)

Date: October 25, 1972  
Time: 10:11 am - 10:14 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[[See Conversation No. 372-15](#)]

Ziegler's news briefing

- The President's meeting with John D. Ehrlichman
  - Discussion of legislation
- Farm speech
  - Scheduling
- Urban affairs speech
  - Taping
- The President's meeting with Henry A. Kissinger



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- Speculation on settlement
  - Ziegler response
  - Coalition government
    - The President's view
- Vietnam
  - Response to George S. McGovern
    - Differences between the President and McGovern
      - Wording
        - Ziegler's forthcoming talk with Kissinger
    - Possible rebuttals
    - McGovern's comments
      - Camparison with Hubert H. Humphrey and the President in 1968
      - Sabotage of settlement

[Conversation No. 032-037](#)

Date: October 25, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 2:30 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 372-29]

Request for a call to Alexander P. Butterfield.

[Conversation No. 032-038](#)

Date: October 25, 1972

Time: 2:30 pm - 2:32 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Alexander P. Butterfield.





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[See Conversation No. 372-30]

The President's forthcoming radio address on the American farmer, October 27

-Text

-Completion

The President's schedule

-Kentucky visit

-Changes

-Television films

-Gilroy Roberts

-Schedule

Butterfield conferred with an unknown woman at an unknown time between 2:30 and 2:32 pm.

[End of conferral]

The President's schedule

-Change

-Filming of a meeting with William M. Blount and J. Caleb Boggs

-Russell E. Train's staff

-Change

-Blount-Boggs meeting

-Radio talks

-Number

Butterfield conferred with an unknown woman at an unknown time between 2:30 pm and 2:32 pm.

-Haldeman's scheduling

-Forthcoming farm speech

-Text

-Date

-Urban speech

-Completion

-Radio speeches

-The President's review

-Completion



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-Raymond K. Price, Jr.

[Conversation No. 032-039](#)

Date: October 25, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:53 pm and 3:03 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 372-33]

Request for a call to Stephen B. Bull.

[Conversation No. 032-040](#)

Date: October 25, 1972

Time: 3:03 pm - 3:04 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 372-34]

The President's schedule

-Meeting with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman

[Conversation No. 032-041](#)

Date: October 25, 1972



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Time: Unknown between 3:04 pm and 3:05 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 372-35]

Request for a call to John K. Andrews, Jr.

[Conversation No. 032-042](#)

Date: October 25, 1972

Time: 3:05 pm - 3:06 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with John K. Andrews, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 372-36]

The President's forthcoming farm speech, October 27, 1972

- The President's revisions

- Revitalization of rural America theme

  - Inclusion in speech

    - Rural revenue sharing

    - John C. Whitaker and Earl L. Butz's staff members

    - Objections

- The President's view

[Conversation No. 032-043](#)

Date: October 25, 1972

Time: Unknown between 4:40 pm and 5:25 pm

Location: White House Telephone



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Charles W. Colson talked with the White House operator.

[Conversation No. 32-43A]

[See conversation No. 374-3B]

Request for a call to Colson's office

Colson talked with an unknown woman at an unknown time between 4:40 pm and 5:25 pm.

[Conversation No. 32-43B]

[See conversation No. 374-3C]

- Call to Albert E. Sindlinger
- Poll on Watergate
- Results
- Presidential candidate supporters

[Conversation 032-171](#)

Date: October 25, 1972  
 Time: 6:25 pm – 6:26 pm  
 Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 01/02/2018.]*

[Unintelligible]  
 [032-171-w001]  
 [Duration: 15s]



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[Dead Air]

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-044](#)

Date: October 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:01 am and 11:04 am  
Location: White House Telephone

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman talked with the White House operator.

[Conversation No. 32-44A]

[See Conversation No. 375-5A]

Request for a call to Dwight L. Chapin

Haldeman talked with an unknown woman from Chapin's office at an unknown time between 10:01 am and 11:04 am.

[Conversation No. 32-44B]

[See Conversation No. 375-5I]

Chapin's location  
-Charles W. Colson's office

[Conversation No. 032-045](#)

Date: October 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:01 am and 12:16 pm  
Location: White House Telephone



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H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 375-5J]

Dwight L. Chapin's location  
-Charles W. Colson's office  
-Return call

[Conversation No. 032-046](#)

Date: October 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:01 am and 11:04 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 375-5B]

Request for a call to Dwight L. Chapin.  
-Chapin's location

[Conversation No. 032-047](#)

Date: October 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:01 am and 11:04 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman talked with Dwight L. Chapin.

[See Conversation No. 375-5C]



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[Personal Returnable]

[032-047-w001]

[Duration: 1m 21s]

The President's campaign schedule

-Trip to West Virginia

-Governor Arch Moore's presence

-Departure from airport in Huntington

-Location

-Ashland, Kentucky

-Moore

-The President's plane

-Meeting with the President

-Comparison with meeting with John Tower

-Suffolk

The President conferred with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman at an unknown time between 10:01 a.m. and 12:16 p.m.

Band

The President's schedule

-Crowd size in West Virginia

-Comparison to Suffolk

-Television coverage

-Moore

-Clark MacGregor call

-H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman's view

-Chapin's opinion

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-048](#)



Date: October 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:01 am and 11:04 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Dwight L. Chapin.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/02/2018.  
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]  
[032-048-w001]  
[Duration: 1m 49s]

Haldeman talked with Chapin at an unknown time between 10:01 am and 12:16 pm.

The President's campaign schedule

Trip to West Virginia  
-Governor Arch Moore  
-Helicopter  
-The President's plane

[End of conferral]

H.R. Haldeman talked with Chapin at an unknown time between 10:01 am and 12:16 pm.

[See conversation No. 375-5D]

The President's trip to West Virginia  
-Airport in Huntington  
-Distance from Ashland, Kentucky

Chapin conferred with Ronald L. Ziegler at an unknown time between 10:01 am and 12:16 pm

Press plane





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[End of conferral]

The President's trip to West Virginia  
-Takeoff from West Virginia  
-Call to Governor Moore  
-Presence in Huntington  
-Send a chopper

The President conferred with H.R. Haldeman at an unknown time between 10:01 am and 12:16 pm

Clark MacGregor

[End of conferral]

The President's trip to West Virginia  
-MacGregor's call to Moore

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-049](#)

Date: October 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:01 am and 12:16 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Dwight L. Chapin.

[See Conversation No. 375-5E]

Haldeman talked with Chapin at an unknown time between 10:01 am and 12:16 pm.

[See Conversation No. 375-5E]



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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/02/2018. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-049-w001]

[Duration: 34s]

The President's campaign schedule

- Trip to West Virginia
  - Contact with Governor Moore
  - Press conference
  - MacGregor's note to Moore
    - Ashland, Kentucky
    - West Virginia airport
    - Appearance at Huntington
- Moore's return call

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-050](#)

Date: October 26, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:01 am and 12:16 pm

Location: White House Telephone

Dwight L. Chapin talked with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

[See Conversation No. 375-5F]

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/02/2018. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-050-w001]



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[Duration: 2m 1s]

The President's campaign schedule

- Trip to West Virginia
  - Governor Arch Moore's presence in Huntington
    - Absence
    - Emotional state
    - Debate in Morgantown
      - Time
      - Q & A
      - Commitment
      - Press

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman conferred with the President at an unknown time between 10:01 am and 12:16 pm

The President's trip to West Virginia

- Moore's schedule
  - Appearance in Morgantown
    - Q&A
    - Commitment
    - Time
- Meeting with the President

[End of conferral]

The President's trip to West Virginia

- Arrangements
  - Chopper
- Moore's presence
  - Problems
    - Appearance
    - Crowd
    - Impact in Kentucky and West Virginia

\*\*\*\*\*



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[Conversation No. 032-051](#)

Date: October 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:01 am and 12:16 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

Dwight L. Chapin talked with H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

[See Conversation No. 375-5G]

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/11/2018. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[032-051-w001]

[Duration: 3m 48s]

- The President's trip to West Virginia
  - Governor Moore
    - Meeting with the President
      - Place
        - Airport
        - Time
    - Meeting in Morgantown
      - Transportation
        - Chopper
        - Cessna
          - Speed
  - Rally
    - Crowd at Ashland airport
      - Relocation of meeting at other airport
    - Meeting with Moore
      - Place
      - Time

H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman conferred with the President at an unknown time between 10:01 am and 12:16 pm



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The President's trip to West Virginia

- Meeting with Moore
  - Problem with meeting location
  - Meeting in Morgantown
    - Transportation
    - Distance of Huntington
    - Transportation
      - Needs a plane
  - Amount of time
  - Crowd at Ashland airport
- Rally in Huntington
  - Arrival crowd

[End of conferral]

The President's trip to West Virginia

- Airports
- Announcement
  - President's arrival in Huntington
  - Departure time
- Meeting with Moore
  - Moore's arrival time
- Departure time
- Meeting with Moore
  - Arrangements
    - Greetings
      - President greet Moore at bottom
    - Work the crowd
    - Board plane
    - Handshakes
    - The President's speech
      - Low key basis
      - Give Moore a plug
        - Speech at Ashland
  - Airplane meeting
    - Length
  - Moore's departure
    - Wave goodbye



-Length

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-052](#)

Date: October 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:01 am and 12:36 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 375-9]

Request for a call to John K. Andrews, Jr.

[Conversation No. 032-053](#)

Date: October 26, 1972  
Time: 12:36 pm - 12:38 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with John K. Andrews, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 375-10]

The President's defense radio speech  
-The President's remarks in San Francisco  
-H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman  
-Nuclear deterrent  
-Great powers  
-Effect on small powers  
-Andre Malraux  
-Quotation  
-Power of US



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- Use of US power
  - US intentions
- Malraux
  - Quotation
- American Legion speech
- San Francisco speech
- US power
  - Position in world
  - Small powers
    - Israel
    - Syria
  - Sixth Fleet
  - Naval superiority
    - Importance
- Draft
  - Submission

[Conversation No. 032-054](#)

Date: October 26, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:29 pm and 2:40 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 375-15]

Request for a call to Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

[Conversation No. 032-055](#)

Date: October 26, 1972

Time: 2:40 pm - 2:41 pm



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Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 375-17]

Henry A. Kissinger's briefing  
-John A. Scali  
-Time  
-Meeting with the President

[Conversation No. 032-056](#)

Date: October 26, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:41 pm and 2:50 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 375-18]

Request for a call to Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

[Conversation No. 032-057](#)

Date: October 26, 1972

Time: 2:50 pm - 2:51 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 375-19]





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- Henry A. Kissinger's briefing
  - The President's suggestion
    - 1972 election
      - Audience at briefing
      - US interest in lasting peace
      - Laos settlement
  - Laos settlement
    - The President's view
    - Lasting peace
  - The President's goals in Vietnam

[Conversation No. 032-058](#)

Date: October 26, 1972  
Time: 3:13 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 375-20]

- The President's request for a meeting with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  - Executive Office Building

[Conversation No. 032-059](#)

Date: October 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 3:13 pm and 3:28 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 375-21A]



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Request for a call to Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

[Conversation No. 032-060](#)

Date: October 26, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:13 pm and 3:28 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 375-21B]

Alexander M. Haig's location

-Ronald L. Ziegler's office

-Return call

[Conversation No. 032-061](#)

Date: October 26, 1972

Time: 3:28 pm - 3:29 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 375-24C]

Vietnam

-Henry A. Kissinger's briefing

-The President's note

-Report to journalists

-Influence of 1972 election on settlement



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[Conversation No. 032-062](#)

Date: October 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 11:37 pm and 11:44 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Henry A. Kissinger.

[Conversation No. 032-063](#)

Date: October 26, 1972  
Time: 11:44 pm - 11:53 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam

- Network news reports
  - Charles W. Colson's talk with Kissinger
- George S. McGovern
  - Chances of victory
    - Colson's analysis
- Peace settlement
  - The President's statements in West Virginia and Kentucky
    - Response
  - US terms
    - Return of Prisoners of War [POWs]
    - Cease-fire
    - South Vietnamese self-determination
  - Credit for the President
  - Timing



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- North Vietnam
  - Meeting in Paris
    - Delays
    - Effect
  - 1968 bombing halt
    - Nguyen Van Thieu's handling
  - North Vietnam agreement
    - US confirmation
    - The President's statement
    - Differences
      - Resolution
  - Public reaction
- Kissinger's briefing
  - News coverage
    - Extent
    - Colson
    - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's opinion
    - Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Questions
    - Kissinger's response
- Peace settlement
  - Thieu's response
  - Kissinger's view

### Phone call

### Vietnam

- Kissinger's briefing
  - Nelson A. Rockefeller's reaction
  - McGeorge Bundy, James B. ("Scotty") Reston, Carl Moore
    - Response
  - Moore
    - Unknown law firm
    - Marriage
      - Luce family
  - Response
    - Taft Schreiber
- Advantages
  - The President's absence



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- Political advantage
- Peace settlement
  - Final terms
- The President's authority
  - Second term
- Edward M. Kennedy
  - Statements about Thieu
  - Corruption
- Kissinger's briefing
  - Colson's call
  - James L. Buckley
  - Congratulations
- Criticism
- Peace settlement
  - Issue in 1972 election
  - Problems
    - Nelson A. Rockefeller's concern
    - Domestic agenda
    - Winston S. Churchill's election defeat
    - Comparison

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/11/2018. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[032-063-w001]

[Duration: 29s]

The President's trip to Kentucky

- Success
- West Virginia drop by
- Crowds
  - Size
  - Shouting "Peace with Honor"
- Support for the President
  - President's opinion of margin of victory



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[Conversation No. 032-064](#)

Date: October 26, 1972  
Time: 11:53 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson.

[Conversation No. 032-065](#)

Date: October 26, 1972  
Time: 11:53 pm - 12:21 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

Vietnam

- Peace settlement publicity
  - The President's previous trip to Kentucky and West Virginia
- Henry A. Kissinger's briefing
  - Colson's analysis
- Effect on Watergate news story
- Peace settlement
  - Public hopes
  - Remaining differences
    - Nguyen Van Thieu
    - North Vietnam
    - Resolution
  - North Vietnamese release
  - The President's position



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- Advantages
- George S. McGovern's response
  - Colson's view
- Responses
  - George P. Shultz
  - Boston
  - Chicago
  - David E. Bradshaw
  - Public reaction
- Watergate
  - Impact
    - The President's view
    - Affected groups
  - Public reaction
- Kissinger's briefing
  - Television coverage
    - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
      - Length
      - Panel
        - Martin Z. Agronsky
        - Hugh S. Sidey
        - Carl T. Rowan
        - David Kraslow
          - Washington Star*
- Sidey's comments
- Rowan and Agronsky
- Peter Lisagor
  - Comments
- Rowan
  - Comments on McGovern
- The President's comments in Kentucky
  - Wording
  - Crowd response
  - Television news coverage
    - Huntington, West Virginia
    - Arch A. Moore
  - Crowd response
  - Rally
    - Size



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- Reaction in Ohio and Chicago
- Possible forthcoming criticism
- Public response
- Kissinger's briefing
  - May 8, 1972
  - Colson's view
  - Television news coverage
  - John A. Scali
- Possible prisoners of war [POW's] release
  - Response
- Public responses
- Press responses
  - Sidey
    - Comments
- Impact on McGovern
  - Colson's view

### 1972 election

- McGovern
  - Watergate issue
- Peace settlement
  - Public reaction
    - Chicago
      - Shultz's report
      - Edward Hirsch Levi's reaction to Democratic criticism
        - University of Chicago
    - Editor of *Barron's*
      - Article on Democrats
- Wall Street Journal*
  - Editorial
    - Criticism of Democrats
- Watergate
  - H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
    - Media coverage
      - The President's view
      - Robert J. Dole
        - Publicity compared with Vietnam settlement news
        - Timing of McGovern's statement with network news
          - Washington Post* article





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- McGovern
  - Dole criticism
  - Newspaper stories
  - Washington Post* stories
    - Stories on Haldeman
      - Possible discovery of memoranda
  - Future strategy
    - Domestic economy
    - Advertisements
- The President's campaign
  - The President's view
    - Negative advertisements
  - Radio advertisements
    - Defense cuts
      - California
    - Colson's fund-raising
  - Criticism of McGovern
    - Relentlessness
  - The President's popularity
- Vietnam settlement
  - Kissinger's role
    - John B. Connally
    - Compared with the President's role
      - Letter
    - Announcement
      - Public reception
        - Kissinger's image
  - Briefing
    - Network coverage
    - Credit
    - Call from James L. Buckley
      - Kissinger's call to William F. Buckley, Jr.
- Organized labor
  - Frank E. Fitzsimmons
  - Paul Hall
    - Work in San Francisco
  - Issue of a coalition government
  - POWs
  - Reaction



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- POWs
- Support for the President
  - Fitzsimmons
- George Meany
  - Jay Lovestone
    - Alexander M. Haig, Jr. contact
- Louis P. Harris
  - Kissinger's briefing
    - October 8, 1972
      - Delivery of October 6, 1972 poll results to Kissinger
  - Reaction to settlement
    - Impact on election
  - Call to Colson
    - Optimism

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/11/2018. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-065-w003]

[Duration: 8m]

1972 Campaign

-Polls

- Raw data
- Field
- Results
  - Release
    - Conditions on publishing
    - Closing of gap
    - The President's opinion on data

-Polls

- Albert Sindlinger
  - Effect of Watergate issue
    - Significance
- Richard Scammon
  - Precinct sampling



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Results
- No movement
- Star* article by Samuel Lubell
  - Ceasefire provisions
  - Apprehensions
  - Working class
    - Support for the President eroding
- Scammon
  - Reaction to Vietnam honorable settlement
  - The President's credibility
  - Public reaction
- Lubell poll
- Gallup poll
- Harris
- Gallup
  - Significant shift
    - Manual workers
      - Possibly black workers
    - Working class reactions
- Scammon
  - Quality of Gallup sample
  - Women and men
  - Stronger with men
- West
  - The President's lead
- Midwest
  - The President's lead
- Organized labor
  - Paul Hall
  - Peter Brennan
    - Labor leaders
    - Albert Shanker
    - Support of the President
- David Bradshaw
  - The President's campaign
  - Polls
    - Sun-Times*
      - The President's lead
      - Democratic areas



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- Support for the President
- Straw polls
- Chicago
  - Peter Hanrahan
    - Problems
    - Daley's organization
    - Acquittal
  - David Bradshaw
    - Analysis of the President's support
    - Strong feelings
- The President's campaign
  - Support for the President
    - Workers
      - Erosion
      - Effect of McGovern's negative ads
      - Food prices
    - Vietnam
      - Support for the President
  - Polls
    - Lou Harris, Robert Teeter
- McGovern
  - Gains
  - Gallup poll
  - Lubell poll
    - Labor force
- Support for the President
  - Union vote according to polls
    - Change since 1968
    - Contributions

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Parochial school aid statement

- News accounts
  - Los Angeles
    - Hispanic Catholics
      - Polls
- Rev. C. Albert Koob's statement



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Foreign policy issues

- John Cardinal Krol
  - Trip to Poland
  - Meeting with the President
    - William P. Rogers's attendance
- Vietnam
  - Cardinal Krol's efforts
    - Conflicts with Council of Bishops
      - Press conference

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/12/2018. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-065-w004]

[Duration: 1m 4s]

1972 Campaign

- Sam Yorty
  - Statement of support
    - Support in Los Angeles
      - Henry Salvatori
        - Call to Colson
        - Statement
        - Attack on McGovern
          - Defense and foreign policy issues
            - Communism
- Democrats for Nixon
  - Discussion with Connally
  - Support for the President
    - Press releases

\*\*\*\*\*

- Democrats for Nixon



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- Briefing for Connally
  - Television appearance
- George E. Christian
  - Call from Colson
- Connally
  - Call from Henry A. Kissinger
    - Haldeman
    - The President's instructions
- Christian
  - Call from Colson
- Vietnam settlement
  - News coverage
    - Interpretation
    - Colson's view

[Conversation No. 032-066](#)

Date: October 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:45 am and 9:03 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 374-8]

Request for a call to Stephen B. Bull.

[Conversation No. 032-067](#)

Date: October 27, 1972

Time: 9:03 am - 9:04 am

Location: White House Telephone



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The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 374-9]

The President's schedule

- Ethnic press reception
  - Alexander P. Butterfield
  - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
  - Hostess
- Bull's message

[Conversation No. 032-068](#)

Date: October 27, 1972

Time: 9:06 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 374-10]

Request for a meeting with Patrick J. Buchanan

- Executive office Building [EOB]

[Conversation No. 032-069](#)

Date: October 27, 1972

Time: 9:52 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 374-13]



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Request for a meeting with Charles W. Colson  
-Executive Office building [EOB]

[Conversation No. 032-070](#)

Date: October 27, 1972  
Time: 9:52 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation no. 374-14]

Request for a call to Dwight L. Chapin

[Conversation No. 032-071](#)

Date: October 27, 1972  
Time: 9:52 am - 9:54 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Dwight L. Chapin.

[See Conversation No. 374-15]

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[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/12/2018.  
Segment cleared for release.*]  
[Personal Returnable]  
[032-071-w001]





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[Duration: 2m]

The President's schedule

-Motorcade in Cleveland

-Start time

-Arrival time in airport

-Start time

-The President's lunch preference

-Box lunches

-Lunch logistics

-Location

-Holiday Inn

-Motel stopover

-Time

-Location

-Announcement

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-072](#)

Date: October 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 9:55 am and 11:05 am

Location: White House Telephone

Charles W. Colson talked with the White House operator. The President can be heard in the background.

Request for a call to office

Colson talked with an unknown woman at an unknown time between 9:55 am and 11:05 am.

Call to W Richard ("Dick") Howard

Colson talked with Howard at an unknown time between 9:55 and 11:05 am.



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1972 election

-Polls

-Albert E. Sindlinger

-Call from Howard

-Public reactions

-Vietnam peace settlements

Colson talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 9:55 am and 11:05 am.

Request for a call to office

Colson talked with an unknown woman at an unknown time between 9:55 am and 11:05 am.

Call to Louis P. Harris

-Meeting with Colson

-Delivery of poll results

[Conversation No. 032-074](#)

Date: October 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:59 am and 1:01 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 808-8A]

Request for a call to Earl L. Butz.

[Conversation No. 032-075](#)

Date: October 27, 1972



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Time: 1:01 pm -1:04 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Earl L. Butz.

[See Conversation No. 808-8B]

The President's farm radio speech

- Butz's view
- References to Butz
- Butz's meeting with Committee to Reelect the President [CRP], Farm Committee leader, Clayton Yeutter
  - Response to speech
  - Distribution of speech
  - Central Valley of California
  - Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin
- 1972 election
  - Watergate
  - Reactions in Western states

[Conversation No. 032-076](#)

Date: October 27, 1972

Time: 7:24 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for meeting with Manolo Sanchez

- Lincoln Sitting Room

[Conversation No. 032-077](#)



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Date: October 27, 1972  
Time: Unknown time between 7:24 pm and 9:30 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

Manolo Sanchez's location

[Conversation No. 032-078](#)

Date: October 28, 1972  
Time: 9:24 am - 9:27 am  
Location: White House Telephone

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 809-2A]

Ziegler's call

The President's schedule

- Changes
  - Defense speech and "One America" speech
  - Defense speech
    - Announcement
    - Editing
    - Postponement
    - Announcement
  - Today's speech
  - Defense speech
  - Postponement
    - Reasons
  - Gerald L. Warren



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[Conversation No. 032-079](#)

Date: October 28, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 9:22 pm and 9:34 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson.

[Conversation No. 032-080](#)

Date: October 28, 1972  
Time: 9:34 pm - 9:53 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/12/2018.  
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[032-080-w001]

[Duration: 56s]

1972 Campaign

-The President's trip to Ohio and Michigan

-Weather

-Television coverage

-CBS

-Cleveland

-Footage

-Reporting



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-Dan Rather

-Crowd

-Size

-Warren, Ohio

-Total crowd size

-Saginaw, Michigan

-Crowd

-Senator Robert Griffin

\*\*\*\*\*

Amnesty issue

-The President's remarks in Mantana Corners, Ohio,  
October 28, 1972

-Radio coverage

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/12/2018.  
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[032-080-w002]

[Duration: 41s]

The President's trip to Ohio and Michigan

-Television and press coverage

-Success of campaigning

-Dan Rather

-Enthusiasm of crowds

-Footage at airport

-CBS

-William E. Minshall

\*\*\*\*\*

George S. McGovern



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- Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] report on remarks
  - Problems for McGovern
- Response to loss of election
  - The President, Barry M. Goldwater
  - Public reaction
- Roger H. Mudd

Vietnam

- Nguyen Van Thieu
  - Complaints
    - Washington Star* reports
- Peace settlement
  - Albert E. Sindlinger poll
    - Support for the President
  - McGovern criticism
  - Possible perception of political motivations
  - Thieu's response
    - News reports and speculation
      - CBS
      - French radio
  - Public reaction
- William P. Rogers
- Henry A. Kissinger
  - Previous conversation with Colson
  - Briefing of surrogates
    - Rogers and the President
  - Role in campaign

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/12/2018. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[032-080-w004]

[Duration: 4m 45s]

1972 Election

-Polls



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- Harris
- Daily News*
  - New York State results
    - Point spread
    - Undecided
  - The President's reaction
  - Sample size
  - Base
  - New York City
    - The President's lead
    - Calvin Coolidge
  - Point-Spread
    - Suburbs
    - Upstate
  - McGovern
    - Source of strength
      - Jews and intellectuals
  - Catholics
    - Support for the President
  - Parochial school issue
    - Campaign benefits
    - Timing
- Vietnam
  - Peace settlement
  - Support for the President
- Polls
  - Daily News*
    - Results
    - Kenneth Clawson
    - Accuracy
      - Sample size
      - Point-spread
- CBS report
  - Survey in Wisconsin bar
  - Cudahy
    - Milwaukee suburb
  - Interviewed Democrats
  - Initial interviews
    - Divided among Democratic candidates





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- Hubert H. Humphrey, Muskie, McGovern
- Latest interviews
  - Support for the President
  - Blue collar workers
  - Polish
  - Catholic
  - Archie Bunker types
  - Intelligence
- Opposition to McGovern
  - Cutting defenses; making promises
  - Devastating report
  - Significance
  - Strength for the President

\*\*\*\*\*

1972 election

- Support for the President
  - McGovern's statement
    - Need for emphasis
      - Packet for Burroughs
  - The President's example in 1960
    - Cardinal Richard Cushing's statement
    - Illinois election
      - Refusal to contest vote count
  - The President's "One America" speech
    - Theme
    - Contrast with McGovern's statement
    - Replay on radio
      - The President's conversation with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
    - Possible interpretation by the press
- The President's radio address on the Philosophy of Government, October 21, 1972
  - "New Majority"

Watergate

- Colson's suit
  - Advice
  - Rogers



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- Deposition to Edward Bennett Williams
  - Haldeman
  - Sworn testimony
  - Relationship with E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
- Williams
  - Washington Post*
- Benjamin C. Bradlee
  - Charge against Colson
- Proof of malice by *Washington Post*
  - Washington Post's* motives
  - Proof of damage

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/12/2018. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-080-w005]

[Duration: 34s]

1972 election

- Polls
  - New York
  - Harris
  - Daily News*
- Outcome
  - Colson's conversation with Henry Kissinger
  - Momentum by the President
    - Forward movement
    - Cataclysmic event to change

\*\*\*\*\*

Vietnam

- Peace settlement
  - Thieu's position
  - North Vietnamese position



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- Kissinger
- Poll data

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/12/2018. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[032-080-w007]

[Duration: 2m 8s]

1972 election

- Public opinion
- McGovern
  - Commercials
    - Negative
    - Public reaction
- The President's negative commercials
  - Target areas
  - Key states
- Outcome
  - Certainty
- Polls
  - Harris
    - 1964 election Gallup poll
      - Comparison with 1972 election
      - CBS episode
      - Colson's conversation with William S. Paley
        - Jim Schurz

\*\*\*\*\*

CBS

- White House position
  - Future communication
- Clay T. ("Tom") Whitehead
  - Calls from CBS officials about re-runs



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-Colson's view

1972 campaign  
-Surrogates

[Conversation No. 032-081](#)

Date: October 29, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 7:26 am and 9:34 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 377-9]

Request for a call to Tricia Nixon Cox.

[Conversation No. 032-082](#)

Date: October 29, 1972  
Time: 9:34 am - 9:35 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox.

[See Conversation No. 377-9]

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/12/2018.  
Segment cleared for release.]  
[Personal Returnable]



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[032-082-w001]

[Duration: 1m 12s]

The President's Schedule

- Campaign Surrogates meeting
  - Alexander M. Haig, John Ehrlichman, Clark MacGregor
  - Edward F. Cox, Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - The President and Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
- Tricia Nixon Cox's schedule
- Wisconsin

Tricia Nixon Cox conferred with Edward F. Cox at an unknown time between 9:34 and 9:35 a.m.

Julie Nixon Eisenhower's schedule

- Syracuse, New York

Edward F. Cox's schedule

- North Carolina

[End of conferral]

Campaign schedule

The President's Schedule

- Executive Office Building
- Camp David departure
- Timing

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-083](#)

Date: October 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 9:35 am and 9:39 am

Location: White House Telephone



The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 377-11A]

Request for a call to Tricia Nixon Cox.

[Conversation No. 032-084](#)

Date: October 29, 1972  
Time: 9:39 am - 9:40 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox.

[See Conversation No. 377-11B]

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/12/2018.  
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]  
[032-084-w001]  
[Duration: 38s]

The President's schedule

- Campaign surrogates meeting
  - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon and other family members
- The President's broadcast
- The President and Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
  - Camp David
  - Timing

\*\*\*\*\*



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[Conversation No. 032-085](#)

Date: October 29, 1972  
Time: 10:03 am - 10:07 am  
Location: White House Telephone

Henry A. Kissinger talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 377-13]

Greetings

Kissinger's health

Kissinger's location

Vietnam

- The President's forthcoming briefing of surrogates
  - The President's conversation with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Arrangements
  - Kissinger's absence
- Negotiations
  - Chance of North Vietnamese walk-out
    - Kissinger's view
    - The President's view
  - Kissinger's role

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/23/2018. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[032-085-w003]

[Duration: 54s]

1972 election  
-Polls



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*-Daily News*

- Rockefeller report to Kissinger
  - New York State
    - Point spread
  - Accuracy
  - Brooklyn
    - Significance
    - Comparison to Dwight D. Eisenhower
  - Point spread

\*\*\*\*\*

Vietnam

- Peace settlement
  - Nelson A. Rockefeller's reaction
  - Press interpretation
    - Coalition government
      - The President's intention
      - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
      - James L. Buckley
      - Criticism from right wing
        - William F. Buckley, Jr.
        - Joseph W. Alsop
        - Richard ("Dick") Wilson
      - The President's view
    - Conditions
      - Cease-fire
      - Supervision of elections
      - Police, courts, army
    - North Vietnamese proposals
      - Haig's forthcoming clarification
  - Press reports
    - Public impact
      - The President's view
    - Joseph C. Kraft
  - North Vietnamese response
    - US reaction
  - Paris talks





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- Meetings
  - Press coverage
    - Andrews Air Force Base
- Implementation

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/23/2018. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-085-w005]

[Duration: 31s]

1972 election

- The President's trip to Ohio and Michigan
  - Television reports
  - Crowds
    - Size
    - Television reports
      - Estimates
      - Happy crowds

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-086](#)

Date: October 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:20 am and 10:55 am

Location: White House Telephone

Charles W. Colson talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to John W. Dean, III



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[Conversation No. 032-087](#)

Date: October 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:20 am and 10:55 am

Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with Charles W. Colson.

John W. Dean, III

-Location

-Arrival at office

-Colson's return call

[Conversation No. 032-088](#)

Date: October 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:20 am and 10:55 am

Location: White House Telephone

Charles W. Colson talked with the White House operator.

Call to John W. Dean, III

Colson's return call

-Dean's location

[Conversation No. 032-089](#)

Date: October 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:20 am and 12:24 pm

Location: White House Telephone



The President talked with the White House operator.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/23/2018. Segment will remain closed.]*

[Personal returnable]

[032-089-w001]

[Duration: 9s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-090](#)

Date: October 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:20 am and 12:24 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/23/2018. Segment will remain closed.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[032-090-w001]

[Duration: 2s]



END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-091](#)

Date: October 30, 1972  
Time: 8:14 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

[Conversation No. 032-092](#)

Date: October 30, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:14 pm and 8:15 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman's location  
-Camp David  
-Return call

Request for call to Charles W. Colson

[Conversation No. 032-093](#)



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Date: October 30, 1972

Time: 8:15 pm - 8:37 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

1972 Campaign

- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
  - Appearances
    - Radio talk
    - Television program
    - Radio talk
      - News coverage
      - Text
    - Television appearance
      - American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
      - Time
    - Statement
      - Colson's view
      - McGovern's statement about not supporting the President
      - Vietnam peace settlement
        - Sabotage of negotiations
  - George S. McGovern
    - Statement on Vietnam
    - Meet the Press* appearance
      - John W. Chancellor
        - Call to Charles W. Colson
        - Question on peace settlement
          - McGovern's response
          - Ted Van Dyke, Frank F. Mankiewicz
        - Follow-up position
  - Vietnam
    - The President's line
      - Negotiations
      - Coalition government
      - Comments
      - Conditions for negotiations
        - 1972 election



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- William P. Rogers
  - Statement
    - Conditions
    - Henry A. Kissinger
  - Possible *Today* show appearance
    - Rebuttal to McGovern
    - Date
  - Possible television appearance by John B. Connally
  - Melvin R. Laird
    - Criticism of McGovern
  - Hawk line
- Watergate
  - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] report
- Issues
  - CBS series
    - Democrats for Nixon advertisement on defense
      - Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.
      - H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman's call to Colson
      - Colson's call to William S. Paley

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/23/2018.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-093-w001]

[Duration: 3m 36s]

1972 campaign

- The President's conversation with Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago
- Daley
  - Meeting with McGovern
    - Cancellation
  - Meeting with the President
    - Problems with rushing visit
  - Chicago train accident
    - News coverage
    - Distraction from election



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- Polls
  - Impact on public attitudes
    - Creating momentum
    - Daniel Yankelovitch
    - George Gallup
      - Publicity
    - Lou Harris
      - Release
      - Comments
  - Support for the President
    - Attrition
    - Attacks
  - The President's lead
- Television reports
  - Calls to Colson
    - Howard K. Smith
    - John Chancellor
    - Smith
      - Comments on polls
      - State reports
        - Analysis
        - The President's victories

\*\*\*\*\*

Vietnam

- Peace settlement
  - Problems with North Vietnamese
  - The President's position
    - Refusal of a coalition government
  - Influence of 1972 election on negotiations
    - North Vietnamese role
      - The President's opposition
- Media
  - Distortions of the President's position
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
- US public attitudes
  - Optimism



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- Louis P. Harris
- North Vietnamese attitude
- US response
  - McGovern's statement
    - The President's view
    - Chancellor's conversation with Colson
      - Agnew
      - Agnew's rebuttal
      - Transcript publicity
  - Clark MacGregor rebuttal
  - Congressional rebuttals

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/23/2018.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-093-w003]

[Duration: 8m 20s]

1972 Campaign

- The President's trip to Chicago
  - Cancellation
    - Necessity
    - Vietnam
    - Public attitudes
  - Motorcade
    - Value
      - Not meaningful
- The President's schedule
  - Weekend
  - The President's statements
    - Thursday, November 2, 1972
    - Radio talk
      - Friday, November 3, 1972
    - California
      - Saturday, November 4, 1972
    - Election eve





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- Public attitudes
  - Overdose of politics
- Polls
  - Albert Sindlinger
    - The President's lead
      - Margin
    - Figures
      - Point spread
      - Decline
        - Attrition
        - Corruption issue
      - Peace in Vietnam
      - Corruption issue
      - Last week's figure
  - Yankelovitch
    - Completion
    - Figures
      - The President's lead
      - Big states
    - Harris poll
      - Results
      - The President's margin
        - Growth
          - The President's concern
        - Optimal margin
        - Change
          - Factors
            - Watergate
            - Dwight Chapin
  - Richard M. Scammon
    - Reports
  - Colson's analysis
    - Massachusetts
    - Rhode Island
    - New York
- New York
  - Union endorsements
  - Support
  - Jewish intellectuals



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- Support for the President
- Newspaper editorials
  - Positive
- Surrogates
- McGovern
  - Attacks
    - Agnew
    - Nelson A. Rockefeller
    - John B. Connally
      - Today Show*
      - Press conference

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-094](#)

Date: October 31, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:05 pm and 1:13 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 378-9]

Request for a call to Stephen B. Bull

[Conversation No. 032-095](#)

Date: October 31, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:05 pm and 1:13 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked the White House operator.



[See Conversation No. 378-16]

Request for a call to Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

[Conversation No. 032-096](#)

Date: October 31, 1972  
Time: 1:13 pm - 1:14 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President with Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon.

[See Conversation No. 378-11]

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/23/2018.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-096-w001]

[Duration: 51s]

1972 Campaign

The President's schedule

-Rhode Island

-Chicago

-Reschedule

-Oklahoma, North Carolina, New Mexico

-Announcement

\*\*\*\*\*



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[Conversation No. 032-097](#)

Date: October 31, 1972  
Time: 1:14 pm - 1:15 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 378-12]

The President's schedule  
-Signing ceremony  
-Photograph session  
-Time

[Conversation No. 032-098](#)

Date: October 31, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 5:59 pm and 6:59 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Ronald L. Ziegler.

[Conversation No. 032-099](#)

Date: October 31, 1972  
Time: 6:59 pm - 7:02 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.



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\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/23/2018. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-099-w001]

[Duration: 50s]

1972 Campaign

The President's schedule

- Announcement
- Release
  - Three states
  - Friday, November 3, 1972
- Value of state
  - Wire stories
    - Timing
  - Poll standings
- Oklahoma
- Rhode Island
- The President's visit

\*\*\*\*\*

1972 campaign

- The President's strategy
  - Coverage
    - American Broadcasting Company [ABC]

Vietnam

- Hanoi's statement on October 31, 1972 deadline
  - Ziegler's response
    - News reports
- Nelson A. Rockefeller statement
  - Network coverage
    - ABC
    - National Broadcasting Company [NBC]



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-Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/23/2018. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-099-w002]

[Duration: 1m 23s]

1972 campaign

- Visits to states
  - Comparison to McGovern
  - Illinois
  - Michigan
  - Number of states
  - North Carolina
  - Oklahoma
  - Rhode Island
  - New Mexico
- Television spots
- Radio spots
- Chicago
  - Cancellation
- The President's campaign
  - Finale
  - Plans
  - Chicago addition

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-100](#)

Date: October 31, 1972

Time: Unknown between 7:02 pm and 7:03 pm



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Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson.

[Conversation No. 032-101](#)

Date: October 31, 1972

Time: 7:03 pm - 7:13 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/23/2018.*

*Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[032-101-w001]

[Duration: 52s]

1972 campaign

-Polls

-Albert Sindlinger data

-Distribution at political meeting

-Clark MacGregor

-Robert Dole

-H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman

-John B. Connally

-Publicity

-Necessity

-Connally's role in campaign

\*\*\*\*\*



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Foreign policy themes

- Vote of confidence in the President
  - Vietnam
    - The President's goals
  - Relations with Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Importance
- Impact of vote on negotiations with Soviet Union and PRC
- Use in advertisement

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/23/2018. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-101-w003]

[Duration: 2m 10s]

The President's campaign strategy

- Clark MacGregor
- Negative Ads
- Colson's call to H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- Local schedules
- Funding
- Momentum
  - Slippage
- The President's conversation with Ronald Ziegler
- Six-state visit finale
  - Radio spots
  - Television spots
  - Comparison to George S. McGovern's visits
  - Ronald Ziegler
  - Timing
    - Latest poll

\*\*\*\*\*





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The President's schedule

- Picture-taking ceremony
- House Resolution 1 signing
  - Publicity
    - Senior citizens
    - New York Times*
    - Networks
- Radio speech on aging, October 30, 1972
  - Publicity
- Radio talks
  - Reruns
    - Instructions for H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
    - Value
    - Effectiveness

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/23/2018. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[032-101-w004]

[Duration: 4m 26s]

Polls

- Lou Harris
  - Calls from political reporters
  - Election victory
  - Point spread
- Richard Scammon
  - Chicago Sun-Times* straw poll
    - Consistency
    - Scope
    - Results in Illinois
      - Significance
    - National total
- Illinois results
  - Significance



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- California
  - Massachusetts
  - Michigan
  - Pennsylvania
    - NBC survey
      - Douglas Kiker
      - In favor of President
      - I.W. Abel's neutrality
        - Western Pennsylvania
        - Nixon Country
        - Eastern part of state
    - Mayor Frank Rizzo's support
    - Philadelphia
      - Low registration
      - Blacks
      - Sindlinger's prediction
    - Black voters
      - Predicted turnout
      - Possibly lower
    - Apathy
  - McGovern
    - Reaction to Harris poll
    - NBC ABC coverage
    - Accuracy of information
    - Polls
    - Harris's reaction
- Return call to the President
- CBS coverage

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-102](#)

Date: October 31, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 7:13 pm and 7:18 pm  
Location: White House Telephone



The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Tricia Nixon Cox.

[Conversation No. 032-103](#)

Date: October 31, 1972  
Time: 7:18 pm - 7:19 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/23/2018.  
Segment will remain closed.]  
[Personal Returnable]  
[032-103-w001]  
[Duration: 23s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-104](#)

Date: October 31, 1972  
Time: 7:19 pm - 7:20 pm



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Location: White House Telephone

Tricia Nixon Cox talked with the President.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 02/07/2018. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[032-104-w001]

[Duration: 13s]

White House Projectionist Paul Fisher

-Film prepared

-Patrick J. Buchanan and Shelley A. (Scarney) Buchanan

-Timing

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-105](#)

Date: November 1, 1972

Time: 8:55 am - 8:56 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Raymond K. Price, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 379-2]

Vietnam

-The President's forthcoming television speech

-Material from Henry A. Kissinger

-Call to Kissinger

-The President's forthcoming meeting with John Cardinal Krol

-Preparation



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-Length  
-Call to Kissinger

[Conversation No. 032-106](#)

Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: 9:00 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 379-3]

Request for a call to Christian A. ("Sonny") Jurgenson  
-Location  
-Georgetown Hospital

[Conversation No. 032-107](#)

Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 9:00 am and 9:02 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 379-4]

Request for a call to Raymond K. Price, Jr.



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[Conversation No. 032-108](#)

Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: 9:02 am - 9:03 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Raymond K. Price, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 379-5]

Vietnam

- The President's forthcoming television speech
- Material from Henry A. Kissinger
  - Residence
- Price's meeting with Ronald L. Ziegler
  - The President's previous meeting with Ziegler
- Price's work
  - Help from Ziegler
- Return call
- Price's forthcoming meeting with the President
  - The President's schedule
  - John Cardinal Krol

[Conversation No. 032-109](#)

Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 9:03 am and 9:09 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 379-6]

Request for a call to Raymond K. Price, Jr.



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[Conversation No. 032-110](#)

Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: 9:09 am - 9:10 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Raymond K. Price, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 379-7]

- The President's schedule
  - Meeting with John Cardinal Krol
  - Meeting with Price
    - Time
    - The President's forthcoming television speech
      - Preparation
        - Help from Ronald L. Ziegler
        - Henry A. Kissinger
      - Notes
    - Time

[Conversation No. 032-111](#)

Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: 9:15 am - 9:17 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Christian A. ("Sonny") Jurgenson.

[See Conversation No. 379-8]

- Jurgenson's location
- Jurgenson's career



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- Possible retirement
  - Newspaper reports
    - Washington Post* or *Washington Star*
  - The President's advice
    - Earl Morrall
    - Injuries
    - Talent
    - Return to football

Washington Redskins-Dallas Cowboys game

- Outcome
- Jurgenson's injury

Jurgenson's career

- Duke University

[Conversation No. 032-112](#)

Date: November 1, 1972

Time: 10:44 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 379-12]

Request for a meeting with Charles W. Colson

[Conversation No. 032-113](#)

Date: November 1, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:44 am and 10:45 am

Location: White House Telephone





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The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 379-13]

Request for a call to John A. Scali

[Conversation No. 032-114](#)

Date: November 1, 1972

Time: 10:45 am - 10:46 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with John A. Scali.

[See Conversation No. 379-14]

The President's recent call to Christian A. ("Sonny") Jurgenson

- Attitude
- The President's encouragement
- Release of information
- The President's instructions

[Conversation No. 032-115](#)

Date: November 1, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:46 am and 11:15 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 379-15A]



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Request for a call to John F. Collins [former mayor of Boston]  
-Charles W. Colson

[Conversation No. 032-116](#)

Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:46 am and 11:15 am  
Location: White House Telephone

Charles W. Colson talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 379-15B]

Call to John F. Collins  
-Convenience

Request for a call to Joseph L. Tauro

Call to Collins

Call to Tauro  
-Location  
-Boston  
-US Attorney's office

[Conversation No. 032-117](#)

Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:46 am and 11:15 am  
Location: White House Telephone

Charles W. Colson talked with the White House operator.



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Request for a call to Joseph L. Tauro.

[Conversation No. 032-118](#)

Date: November 1, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:46 am and 11:15 am

Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with Charles W. Colson.

Call to John F. Collins

-Return call

-Colson's location

[Conversation No. 032-119](#)

Date: November 1, 1972

Time: 11:17 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 379-16]

Request for a meeting with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman

-Executive Office Building

[Conversation No. 032-120](#)

Date: November 1, 1972



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Time: 12:25 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 379-18]

Request for a meeting with Charles W. Colson  
-Executive Office Building

[Conversation No. 032-121](#)

Date: November 1, 1972

Time: 4:23 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 391-8B]

Request for a meeting with Charles W. Colson

[Conversation No. 032-122](#)

Date: November 1, 1972

Time: 4:32 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 391-9A]

Request for a call to Ronald L. Ziegler.



[Conversation No. 032-123](#)

Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 4:32 pm and 5:47 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon.

[Conversation No. 032-124](#)

Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: 5:47 pm - 5:48 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon.

[See Conversation No. 391-10E]

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/23/2018.  
Segment will remain closed.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-124-w001]

[Duration: 53s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1



\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-125](#)

Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: 7:38 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Thomas A. Pappas.

[Conversation No. 032-126](#)

Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 7:38 pm and 7:42 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

Call to Thomas A. Pappas  
-Return call

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

[Conversation No. 032-127](#)

Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 7:42 pm and 8:08 pm



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Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

1972 election

- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's speech in San Diego
  - Hecklers
  - George S. McGovern supporters
  - Committee to Reelect the President [CRP] headquarters
  - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] coverage
    - Hecklers
      - McGovern supporters
  - Agnew's response to hecklers
  - Supporters
    - Compared with Peter J. Brennan
    - Assault on hecklers
  - Public reaction
  - Colson's view

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/23/2018.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-127-w001]

[Duration: 57s]

1972 campaign

- McGovern
  - Visit to New York
    - Audience
  - [Arnold] Eric Sevareid comments
  - Polls
  - Visit to New York garment district
    - Size of crowd
  - Appearance



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Vietnam peace settlement

- Public reaction
  - Nguyen Van Thieu's statement
- Hawks
  - Fear of McGovern
- Public mood
  - CBS coverage
- Walter L. Cronkite, Jr. comments
  - New York Times*
    - Publicity
      - Henry A. Kissinger's efforts
  - Albert E. Sindlinger
- The President's strategy
- Negotiations
  - Public confusion
    - Kissinger's build-up

Campaign practices

- Hecklers in Boston
  - Clark MacGregor's statement
    - Wire services
    - Networks
    - Publicity
    - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
- Boston
  - Local reaction
  - Police chief
  - John F. Collins advertisement
  - John F. Becker
    - Polling
- Public reaction
  - Joseph L. Tauro
    - Public reaction
- Public reaction
  - MacGregor statement
  - Today Show* coverage





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- [Patricia Colson]
- Agnew's speech in San Diego
- Heckling of McGovern
  - Colson's view
- McGovern's campaign
  - Colson's view
  - Fund violations
    - Robert J. Dole
  - News summary
  - Self-righteousness and rhetoric
    - Statements
      - Extremism
        - Philadelphia Inquirer* editorial
          - Vietnam
          - Corruption

### Vietnam

- The President's strategy
- Impact
  - New York Daily News* poll
  - Louis P. Harris poll
- Changes in public attitudes
- North Vietnamese action
  - Possibility
  - Possible impact
- Public mood
- Colson's talk with Kissinger
- Impact of election
- McGovern's statements
  - Thieu
    - R. Sargent Shriver statements
- CBS comments
  - Tone
  - The President's view
  - Colson letter to William S. Paley

### CBS

- Possible International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) strike



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1972 election issues

- Vietnam settlement
  - Impact
    - McGovern's campaign
    - Corruption issue
- Vote of confidence for the President
  - John B. Connally's forthcoming appearance
  - Troop withdrawals
  - Dealings with Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China [PRC]

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/23/2018. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-127-w003]

[Duration: 1m 44s]

Polls

- Daily News
  - Impact
- Harris poll
  - Sevareid comments
  - McGovern
  - Publicity
- The President's campaign strategy
  - House races
    - Associated Press reporter Neil Gilbert's piece
      - Governors
    - Florida race
      - Democratic candidate in Orlando
      - State Senator
      - Protest to fair campaign practices committee
      - Formal complaint
      - Party loyalty

\*\*\*\*\*



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Wholesale prices

- Latest reports
  - Wage and price controls
  - Timing

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/24/2018. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]  
 [032-127-w004]  
 [Duration: 3m 32s]

1972 campaign

- Visit to New Hampshire
  - Wesley Powell
    - Rose Mary Woods
    - Chances of success
    - Louis Wyman
    - Show appreciation
    - Chances of success
  - The President's chances in New Hampshire
    - Comparison to Lyndon Johnson, Barry Goldwater 1964
    - Coattails for Powell
    - Impact on Democrat
      - Mobilize
  - Wesley Powell
- Rhode Island
  - Charles Colson's conversation with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  - Airport visit
- New England
  - Massachusetts
  - Senate seats
  - Rhode Island
  - Virginia
  - New Hampshire
- Visits



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- Virginia
- Alabama and Louisiana
- Idaho
- Montana
- North Dakota
- The President's campaign
  - Ronald Ziegler's announcement
  - Amount of visits
    - Additions
    - Disadvantages
    - Schedule
- The President's call to Powell
- Call recommendations
- Call to Christian A. "Sonny" Jurgenson
  - Publicity
- Call to Wesley Powell
- Time

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-128](#)

Date: November 1, 1972  
 Time: 9:13 pm - 9:19 pm  
 Location: White House Telephone

Julie Nixon Eisenhower talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 376-6]

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/24/2018.  
 Segment cleared for release.]*  
 [Personal Returnable]  
 [032-128-w001]



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[Duration: 5m 51s]

Julie Nixon Eisenhower's schedule

- Congressman Les Arends
  - Geneva, Aurora, Battavia, Illinois
  - Freshman Congressman
  - The President's view of Les Arends
    - Indispensable leader in Congress
    - Positions on national defense and peace with honor
    - Keeping America strong
- Congressman Gerald R. Ford
  - Chairman of Republican Convention 1968
  - 1972 Republican Convention
  - Grand Rapids
    - Anecdote
  - The President's view of Gerald R. Ford
    - Betty Ford
    - Political and personal friends
    - Top leaders
      - Republican leader of the House
      - Comparison to Les Arends
      - Whip
- Loyalty

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-129](#)

Date: November 1, 1972

Time: Unknown between 9:19 pm and 10:10 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 376-7]

Request for a call to Stephen B. Bull.



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[Conversation No. 032-130](#)

Date: November 2, 1972

Time: Unknown between 7:55 am and 7:57 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation no. 376-8]

Request for a call to Rose Mary Woods.

[Conversation No. 032-131](#)

Date: November 2, 1972

Time: 7:57 am - 7:59 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 376-9]

The President's schedule

- Taping of campaign message

- Time

- Arrangements

- Appointment with Dr. W Kenneth Riland

- Barber

- Taping session

- Time



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[Conversation No. 032-132](#)

Date: November 2, 1972

Time: Unknown between 7:58 am and 9:30 am

Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

Rose Mary Woods

Talk with Marjorie P. Acker

[Conversation No. 032-133](#)

Date: November 2, 1972

Time: Unknown between 9:21 am and 9:38 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation no. 376-17]

Request for a call to Raymond K. Price, Jr.

[Conversation No. 032-134](#)

Date: November 2, 1972

Time: 9:38 am - 9:45 am

Location: White House Telephone



The President talked with Raymond K. Price, Jr.

[See Conversation no. 376-18]

The President's speech on foreign policy

- Taping session
- Scheduling

The President's schedule

- Speech on goals
- Taping
- Release

The President's speech on foreign policy

- Vietnam
- Quality of material
  - Cuts in quantity
  - Pages
- Text
- Deletions
- Defense
  - Public reaction
- Reductions in text
- Audience
  - Rebuttal to George S. McGovern
- International peace
- Support for the President
- Length
- A documentary
- Length
  - Word count
  - Price's talk with William D. Carruthers
- Time
- Appeal for support
- The President's conversation with John Cardinal Krol
  - Krol's speech at Auschwitz

International relations





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- Jews and Arabs
- Pakistanis and Indians
- Germans and French
- Comments
  - Deletions
- Economic points
- The President's changes
  - Henry A. Kissinger's recommendations
    - Vietnam
    - Forthcoming meeting with Price

[Conversation No. 032-135](#)

Date: November 2, 1972  
Time: 10:21 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 376-19]

Request for a meeting with Raymond K. Price, Jr.  
-Executive Office Building

[Conversation No. 032-136](#)

Date: November 2, 1972  
Time: 10:49 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 376-21]

Request for a meeting with Charles W. Colson



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-Executive Office Building

[Conversation No. 032-137](#)

Date: November 2, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:49 am and 10:50 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation no. 376-23]

Request for a call to Raymond K. Price, Jr.

[Conversation No. 032-138](#)

Date: November 2, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:49 am and 10:50 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Raymond K. Price, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 376-24]

The President's schedule

-Speeches

-Text

-Time

-Preparation

-Talking points



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[Conversation No. 032-139](#)

Date: November 2, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:50 am and 10:55 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 376-26A]

Request for a call to Thomas A. Pappas.

[Conversation No. 032-140](#)

Date: November 2, 1972  
Time: 10:55 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 376-26B]

Thomas A. Pappas  
-Location  
-Return call

[Conversation No. 032-141](#)

Date: November 2, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:55 am and 11:22 am  
Location: White House Telephone

Charles W. Colson talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 376-26C]



Request for a call to Colson's office.

Colson conferred with the President at an unknown time between 10:55 am and 11:22 am

[End of conferral]

Colson talked with Holly Holm at an unknown time between 10:55 am and 11:22 am.

Call to W. Richard ("Dick") Howard

Colson conferred with the President at an unknown time between 10:55 am and 11:22 am.

Colson talked with Richard Howard at an unknown time between 10:55 am and 11:22 am.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/24/2018.  
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[032-141-w001]

[Duration: 14s]

- 1972 campaign
  - Albert Sindlinger
  - Call from Howard
  - Moving average
  - Return call

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-142](#)

Date: November 2, 1972  
Time: 11:23 am  
Location: White House Telephone



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The President talked with the White House operator.

[See conversation No. 376-27]

Request for a call to Stephen B. Bull.

[Conversation No. 032-143](#)

Date: November 2, 1972

Time: 11:23 am - 11:24 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 376-28]

The President's schedule

-Appointment with barber

-Time

-Meeting with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman

[Conversation No. 032-144](#)

Date: November 2, 1972

Time: 11:28 am - 11:29 am

Location: White House Telephone

Alexander P. Butterfield talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 376-30]

The President's meeting with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman



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-Haldeman's location

[Conversation No. 032-145](#)

Date: November 2, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:29 am and 11:30 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 376-31]

Request for a call to Stephen B. Bull

[Conversation No. 032-146](#)

Date: November 2, 1972

Time: 11:30 am - 11:31 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 376-32]

The President's schedule

-Appointment with barber

-Return call

[Conversation No. 032-147](#)



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Date: November 2, 1972  
Time: 11:32 am - 11:33 am  
Location: White House Telephone

Stephen B. Bull talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 376-33]

The President's schedule  
-Barber  
-Arrival  
-Appointment

[Conversation No. 032-148](#)

Date: November 2, 1972  
Time: 12:07 pm - 12:09 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Thomas A. Pappas.

[See Conversation No. 390-1A]

1972 campaign  
-Dinner by Pappas  
-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's assessment  
-Rally  
-Location  
-Boston

Campaign practices  
-Demonstrators  
-Appearance  
-Violence

Pappas's work on the campaign



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[Conversation No. 032-149](#)

Date: November 2, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:09 pm and 2:28 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 390-7]

Request for a call to Stephen B. Bull.

[Conversation No. 032-150](#)

Date: November 2, 1972  
Time: 2:28 pm - 2:29 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 390-9]

The President's schedule  
-The President's message  
-Time  
-Change  
-Make-up session  
-Location  
-Time  
-Arrangements  
-William H. Carruthers  
-Time  
-Suit  
-Republican National Convention





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[Conversation No. 032-151](#)

Date: November 2, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 5:09 pm and 5:29 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 390-12A]

Request for a call to Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon.

[Conversation No. 032-152](#)

Date: November 2, 1972  
Time: 5:29 pm - 5:31 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon.

[See Conversation No. 390-12B]

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/24/2018. 13s segment cleared for release. 1m 59s remain closed as 032-152-w001.]*

[Personal Returnable]  
[032-152-w001]  
[Duration: 13s]

- The President's schedule
  - Forthcoming speech on health
  - Forthcoming television broadcast



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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable]

[032-152-w001]

[Duration: 1m 59s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-153](#)

Date: November 2, 1972

Time: Unknown between 5:35 pm and 6:38 pm

Location: White House Telephone

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman talked with the White House operator.

[Conversation No. 32-153A]

[See Conversation No. 390-14B]

Request for a call to Kenneth Cole, Jr.

[End of conversation]

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman talked with an unknown woman from Cole's office at an unknown time between 5:35 pm and 6:38 pm.

[Conversation No. 32-153B]

Cole

-Location



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- Georgia
- Phone number
- Call to John D. Ehrlichman

[Conversation No. 032-154](#)

Date: November 2, 1972  
Time: 6:00 pm - 6:04 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

[Conversation No. 32-154A]

[See Conversation No. 390-14C]

John D. Ehrlichman's return call

[End of conversation]

The President talked with Ehrlichman between 6:00 pm and 6:04 pm.

[Conversation No. 32-154B]

[See Conversation No. 390-14D]

The President's speech on health care

- Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
- Inclusions
  - Health maintenance organizations [HMO's]
  - The President's opposition
  - Elliot L. Richardson
- Deletions
- HMO's
  - Ehrlichman's opposition
  - Cole
- National health insurance



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- The President's program compared with George S. McGovern's
- The President's program
  - Scope
  - Private insurance
  - Value
    - The President's view
  - Revisions in legislation
- Doctors and socialists
  - Motives
    - The President's view
  - Competence
    - The President's view
- Administration review of topic
- Announcement
  - The President's commitment
    - Legislation before Congress
    - Revisions
      - Welfare reform

[Conversation No. 032-155](#)

Date: November 2, 1972

Time: 6:57 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 390-20]

Request for a call from [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II

-Executive Office Building

[Conversation No. 032-156](#)

Date: November 2, 1972



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Time: Unknown between 6:57 pm and 7:02 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 390-21A]

Request for a call to John K. Andrews, Jr.

[Conversation No. 032-157](#)

Date: November 2, 1972

Time: 7:02 pm - 7:04 pm

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with John K. Andrews, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 390-21B]

The President's forthcoming speech

- The President's previous conversation with Raymond K. Price, Jr.

- Speech on labor

  - Labor Day

    - Purchased time

- Number of speeches

- Review by the President

- Number in series

  - Release

    - John D. Ehrlichman

- Goals

  - Andrews's memorandum

[Conversation No. 032-158](#)

Date: November 2, 1972



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Time: 7:23 pm - 7:24 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II.

[See Conversation No. 390-22]

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/24/2018.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal returnable]

[032-158-w001]

[Duration: 53s]

Schedule

- David Eisenhower
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower

The President's campaign broadcasts

- Radio speeches
- Television
  - Broadcast time
  - Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
- The President's schedule

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-159](#)

Date: November 3, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:03 am and 8:42 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.



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[See Conversation No. 391-17]

Request for a call to Raymond K. Price, Jr.

[Conversation No. 032-160](#)

Date: November 3, 1972

Time: 8:42 am - 8:46 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Raymond K. Price, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 391-18A]

The President's speech on foreign policy

-The President's travels

-Addition

-Next term

-Future negotiations

-Negotiations

-The President's initiatives

-1972 election

-Impact on world leaders

-Completion

[Conversation No. 032-161](#)

Date: November 3, 1972

Time: Unknown between 9:00 am and 9:12 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 391-22]



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Calls

- Length
- Edward W. Brooke
  - Massachusetts
- Margaret Chase Smith
  - Maine
- Clifford P. Case
- Clifford P. Hansen
  - Wyoming
- Mark O. Hatfield
  - Oregon
- List

[Conversation No. 032-162](#)

Date: November 3, 1972  
 Time: 9:12 am - 9:16 am  
 Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Edward W. Brooke.

[See Conversation No. 391-23]

Greetings

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/25/2018.  
 Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]  
 [032-162-w001]  
 [Duration: 59s]

1972 election





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- Edward W. Brooke's strength in Massachusetts
  - Impact on the President's campaign
- The President's trips
  - State races for Senate
    - Massachusetts
- Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon's trip to Boston
  - Hecklers
  - Thomas A. Pappas
  - Leslie ("Bob") Hope
- The President's campaign

\*\*\*\*\*

Vietnam

- Break-through
- Previous briefing for Brooke
- Speculation on meetings
  - North Vietnam's delays
    - Timing with the election
- Possible breakdown
- Break-through
  - Brooke's statements
    - Ceasefire
    - Prisoners of war [POWs]
    - South Vietnam's self-determination
      - Coalition government
- Final meeting before signing
  - Agreement on details
    - 1968 bombing halt
  - Date
- North Vietnamese posture
  - The President's response
    - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

\*\*\*\*\*



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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/25/2018. Segment cleared for release.]  
[Personal Returnable]  
[032-162-w003]  
[Duration: 15s]

- 1972 election
  - Rhode Island vote
  - Influence in Massachusetts
  - Brooke's best wishes
  - Victory

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-163](#)

Date: November 3, 1972  
Time: 9:22 am - 9:24 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Clifford P. Case.

[See Conversation No. 391-24]

Greetings

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/25/2018. Segment cleared for release.]  
[Personal Returnable]  
[032-163-w001]  
[Duration: 53s]

- 1972 election
  - The President's trips



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- Senate race candidates
- New Jersey senate race
  - Clifford P. Case's prospects
  - Polls
  - Landslide
- The President's campaign

\*\*\*\*\*

Vietnam

- Negotiations
  - Break-through
    - The President's recent statement
  - Cases's possible future statements
  - North Vietnam commitment
    - Compared with previous bombing halt
  - Agreements
    - Prisoners of war [POWs]
    - Ceasefire
    - Electoral commission
  - Remaining differences

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/25/2018. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[032-163-w003]

[Duration: 26s]

1972 election

- Case's campaign
- The President's trips
  - Oklahoma
  - Close race
- Get out the vote



\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-164](#)

Date: November 3, 1972  
Time: 9:38 am – 9:42 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Mark O. Hatfield.

[See Conversation No. 391-26]

Greetings

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/25/2018. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal returnable]

[032-164-w001]

[Duration: 36s]

1972 election

- Hatfield's location
  - Oregon
- The President's visits
- Hatfield's race
  - The President's best wishes
  - Get out the vote

\*\*\*\*\*

Vietnam

- Vote of confidence



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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/25/2018. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-164-w002]

[Duration: 16s]

1972 election

- The President's campaign
- Support for the President
- Strength

\*\*\*\*\*

Vietnam

- Negotiations
- Break-through
- Hopes
- The President's recent statement

The President's forthcoming radio speech on foreign policy

- Release

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 12/12/2017. 1m 45s segment cleared for release with two segments of 10s and 16s remaining closed as 032-164-w003 and 032-164-w004 respectively.]

[Personal Returnable]

[032-164-w003]

[Duration: 1m 45s]

Antoinette Hatfield

- Portrait of Thelma C. ("Pat") (Ryan) Nixon
- President's opinion



- Ben Grant
  - US News & World Report*
- Painted by Elizabeth Grant
- Mark O. Hatfield's opinion

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3  
[Personal Returnable]  
[032-164-w003]  
[Duration: 10s]

The President talked with Mrs. Mark O. Hatfield at an unknown time between 9:38 and 9:42 am.

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

\*\*\*\*\*

The President talked with Mrs. Mark O. Hatfield at an unknown time between 9:38 and 9:42 am.

Greetings

Portrait of Thelma C. ("Pat") (Ryan) Nixon

1972 Election

- Hatfield's race
  - Latest reports
- The President's trips
  - Close senate races
  - Oregon is a cinch
- Get the vote out
- Turn-out
- Celebration of victory

\*\*\*\*\*



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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4  
[Personal Returnable]  
[032-164-w004]  
[Duration: 16s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

\*\*\*\*\*

Appreciation for telephone call

Portrait of Thelma C. ("Pat") (Ryan) Nixon  
-Antoinette Hatfield's opinion  
-Elizabeth Grant

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-165](#)

Date: November 3, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 9:42 am and 9:44 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 391-27]

Request for a call to Stephen B. Bull.

[Conversation No. 032-166](#)

Date: November 3, 1972  
Time: 9:44 am - 9:45 am  
Location: White House Telephone



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The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 391-28]

The President's schedule

- Meeting with [Anatoliy F. Dobrynin]
- Delay
- Bull's call
- Length
- Time
- Next meeting
- [Beatrice ("Bettie") Willard]

[Conversation No. 032-167](#)

Date: November 3, 1972

Time: 9:45 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 391-29]

Request for a meeting with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman

- Executive Office Building [EOB]

[Conversation No. 032-168](#)

Date: November 3, 1972

Time: 9:46 am

Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.





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[See Conversation No. 391-30]

Request for a meeting with Charles W. Colson

[Conversation No. 032-169](#)

Date: November 3, 1972  
Time: 10:01 am - 10:04 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Jack R. Miller.

[See Conversation No. 391-31A]

Purpose of call

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/25/2018.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]  
[032-169-w001]  
[Duration: 20s]

- 1972 election
  - The President's tour of five states
    - Closeness of races
    - Illinois
  - Jack R Miller's campaign
    - The President's support
    - Remarks

\*\*\*\*\*



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Next administration

- The President's call and previous letter
- Importance of votes
  - Domestic policy
  - Foreign policy
  - Chance for peace
- The President's call

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 01/25/2018. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal returnable]

[032-169-w002]

[Duration: 1m 2s]

The President's campaign Itinerary

- Iowa
  - Previous trips to Iowa
    - Ottumwa
  - The President's chances
- Miller's race
  - Level of campaigning
    - Mean race
    - Dirtiest campaign
    - Chances of winning
      - Point spread
- Best wishes
  - Mrs. Miller, Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 032-170](#)

Date: November 3, 1972

Time: 10:08 am - 10:10 am

Location: White House Telephone



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The President talked with William L. Scott.

[See Conversation No. 391-31B]

Greetings

1972 election

- The President's previous letter
- Virginia
  - The President's itinerary
  - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's visit
    - Richmond
  - National defense
  - The President's call
  - Scott's chances
  - The President's chances