Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

Conversation No. 374-1

Date: October 25, 1972

Time: Unknown between 4:20 pm and 4:40 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule
-Forthcoming meeting with Charles W. Colson

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:40 pm.

Conversation No. 374-2

Date: October 25, 1972

Time: Unknown between 4:20 pm and 4:40 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/16/2019.

Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable] [374-002-w001]

[Duration: 5m 18s]

1972 campaign

-John B. Connally

-Democrats

- -Control
- -Public role
- -New Jersey

Vietnam negotiations

- -Strategy
- -George Meany
 - -Charles W. Colson

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

```
1972 campaign
           -California strategy
              -Republicans
              -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
           -Polls
*************************
                                                            Conversation No. 374-3
Date: October 25, 1972
Time: 4:40 pm - 5:40 pm
Location: Executive Office Building
The President met with Charles W. Colson.
************************
[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/16/2019.
Segment cleared for release.
[Personal Returnable]
[374-003-w001]
[Duration: 4m 53s]
       1972 campaign
           -California
              -The President's conversation with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
              -Polls
                  -Standing with Catholics
                      -State compared to national
                      -Mexicans
                  -Standing with students
                  -Democrats
                      -George S. McGovern
                  -Labor
```

-Frank E. Fitzsimmons, Paul Hall

-Democratic control

-San Francisco

-Paul Hall

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb-24)

```
-Michael P. Balzano, Jr., Donald F. Rodgers
           -Michigan, Detroit News poll
           -George C. Wallace's supporters
               -California
                  -Use of manpower
                  -Press releases
                  -John G. Schmitz
                  -Charles W. Colson's conversation with Paul Hall
                  -Busing
                      -Compared to Massachusetts
                  -Busing
           -California
              -Telephone polls
                  -Shift in polls
                      -Meaning
************************
       Watergate
```

```
-George S. McGovern
    -Television [TV] appearance, October 25, 1972
        -H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
-Effect on 1972 election
    -Polls
        -Albert E. Sindlinger's view
            -Possible voting margins
            -Press release
                -Undecided
-Reaction to news stories
    -Washington Post
   -White House response
    -Ronald L. Ziegler
    -Haldeman-Dwight L. Chapin memorandum
        -Haldeman's view
        -George E. Christian rumor
    -John A. Scali
        -San Francisco
        -Vietnam
        -The President's view
    -Kenneth W. Clawson's view
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb-24)

```
-Nature of relationship
```

-Katherine L. Graham

-Henry A. Kissinger, White House staff

-The President's threat

-William P. Rogers

-Dedication of Washington Post building

-The New York Times and Washington Post

-White House strategy

-Richard Scaife, W. Clement Stone, John A. Mulcahy

-Influence

-Charles Percy, John Sherman Cooper, Marlow W. Cook, Robert T.

Stafford

-Graham

-Georgetown

-Influence of Washington Post

-Daniel L. Schorr, Carl Stern

-American Broadcasting Corporation [ABC]

-Chapin story news coverage

-The President's appearance before prisoners of war [POWs]

families group

-Administration strategy

-John B. Connally's advice

-Public opinion

-Watergate

-Ziegler's response

-Robert J. Dole, Clark MacGregor

-Possible libel suit

-Haldeman, Chapin

-Colson

-Possible testimony

-Neal B. Freeman

-Benjamin C. Bradlee

Policy toward the Press

-The President's view

-Compared to the President's handling of North Vietnam,

Cambodia, Laos

-May 8, 1972 decision

-Kissinger

-John D. Ehrlichman

-Washington Post

-Clawson's conversation with Kissinger

-Bradlee

-Philip L. Geyelin

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

-Influence

-Television stations owned by Washington Post

-WTOP

-Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]

-Miami

-Federal Communications Commission [FCC] action on license

renewal

-The President's view

Watergate

-Polls

-Albert E. Sindlinger

Use of radio and TV

-Administration strategy

-Haldeman

-1968 campaign

-Comparison

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:40 pm.

Colson talked with the White House operator at an unknown time after 4:40 pm.

[Conversation No. 374-3B]

[See Conversation No. 32-43A]

[End of conversation]

Washington Post, New York Times

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:16 pm.

Colson talked with an unknown woman at an unknown time before 5:16 pm.

[Conversation No. 374-3C]

[See conversation No. 32-43B]

[End of conversation]

Administration strategy and the press

-Clawson

-Scali's future plans in broadcast journalism

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

-The President's view
-Scali's previous work in journalism
-State Department
-Possible effect on network news
-Dan Rather

McGovern's forthcoming speech

-Views of Haldeman, Connally

-Possible return to California

-Possible response

Vietnam

-Colson's conversation with Jay Lovestone

- -Connally's TV appearance, October 20, 1972
- -War as issue

-Importance of attacking McGovern's stance

An unknown person entered and left at an unknown time before 5:16 pm.

-Lovestone's and George Meany's forthcoming briefing by Haig -Coalition government issue -Prisoners of war [POWs]

Watergate and campaign practices

- -Polls
 - -Sindlinger's view
 - -Effect on projected voting numbers
 - -The President's position
 - -Ziegler and MacGregor's response on Watergate
 - -Washington Post

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/16/2019. Segment cleared for release.

[Personal Returnable]

[374-003-w002] [Duration: 2m 9s]

1972 campaign's last two weeks

- -The President's possible margin
 - -Compared to Dwight D. Eisenhower's margin

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

```
-The President's assessment
-1960
-Harris poll on approval of the President
-Stable percentage
```

```
1972 campaign
    -McGovern's vacillation on issues
    -Corruption charges
        -Washington Post
        -McGovern's description of the President's administration
        -Compared with other campaign issues
            -1952 comparison
            -The Louis P. Harris poll
                 -The economy, relations with the People's
                  Republic of China [PRC], Soviet Union
        -Vietnam War
            -Current status of negotiations
                 -Harris poll numbers
                     -"Hawks"
                -Uncertainty
                     -Settlement
                          -Timing
                              -1972 election
                     -Public perceptions
                          -Progress
                 -Thieu
            -McGovern's stance
                 -Response by the President's surrogates
                     -Amnesty, POWs, surrender
                     -Harris
                     -Kissinger briefing
                     -Rogers
```

The President talked with Kissinger at an unknown time between 4:40 and 5:16 pm.

[Conversation No. 374-3A]

The President's request for attendance

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

[End of telephone conversation]

```
-Vietnam War and possible peace settlement
-Harris's analysis
-Kissinger
-McGovern's stance
-Possible attack by Rogers
-Haig's previous conversation with Colson
-Possible attack by Melvin R. Laird
-Laird's schedule
-Europe
-Sindlinger's view
```

Kissinger entered at 5:16 pm.

```
-Public perception of issue according to Harris, Sindlinger

-Timing of peace settlement compared with 1972 election
-Appearance of progress
-Haig's briefing of Meany
-Meany's attacks on McGovern
-Kissinger's conversation with Howard K. Smith
-McGovern
-May 8, 1972, bombing and mining of Haiphong Harbor
-Nature of cease-fire agreement
-Coalition government
-Ziegler
```

-Achievement of goals

-Settlement

-Timing

-1972 election

-Perception of agreement

-Kissinger's conversation with Max Frankel

-McGovern

-Kissinger's briefing

-Administration strategy

-Political considerations

-Timing of briefing

-Television network coverage

-Newspaper coverage

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

Vietnam peace settlement negotiations
-Cease-fire efforts
-Possible response from North Vietnamese
-North Vietnamese statements
-Nguyen Van Thieu

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-019. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 05/06/2019. Archivist: DR] [National Security]

[374-003-w004] [Duration: 48s]

INTELLIGENCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

Vietnam peace settlement negotiations
-Thieu's actions
-Timing of US response
-Compared to 1972 election

An unknown person entered and left at an unknown time before 5:40 pm.

- -Thieu's future as US ally
- -Dan Rather's recent conversation with Kissinger
 - -Timing compared to 1972 election
- -McGovern
 - -Administration strategy
- -Kissinger's meeting with Sir James Plimsoll
 - -Briefing for William McMahon
- -Incentives
 - -Halt to US bombing
- -Public perception of cease-fire agreement
 - -Conservatives

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

-William F. Buckley, Jr.

-Thieu

-Frequency of meetings with Ellsworth F. Bunker

-Political skills compared with military skills

-US political implication

-Smith's view

-Kissinger's view

-Coalition government

-Time article

-South Vietnamese actions

-Dispatches to Britain, Australia

-Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

-George R.S. Baring (The Earl of Cromer)

-Haig

-Negotiations

-1968

-Compared to 1972

-Hubert H. Humphrey

-Administration strategy

-Timing

-January 1, 1973, November 20, 1972

-Le Duc Tho possible meeting with Kissinger in Paris

-Settlement text

-Ellsworth F. Bunker

An unknown person entered and left at an unknown time before 5:40 pm.

-Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.

-Gen. William C. Westmoreland

-Haig

-North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam

-Economic assistance

Kissinger left at 5:40 pm.

Conversation No. 374-4

Date: October 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:08 am and 8:30 am

Location: Executive Office Building

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Dictabelts for private file

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:30 am.

Conversation No. 374-5

Date: October 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:08 am and 8:30 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

-Gilroy Roberts

-Oval Office

- -Harold Lee
- -Health Services Industry committee
- -John D. Ehrlichman
 - -House Resolution [HR] 1
- -Roberts, Lee
- -Haircut
- -Ehrlichman

Bull left at an unknown time before 8:30 am.

Conversation No. 374-6

Date: October 27, 1972 Time: 8:30 am - 8:45 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman.

House Resolution 1 [HR 1] legislation
-Taxpayers
-Social Security
-Tax increase

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb-24)

- -The President's previous statements
- -Compared to the President's philosophy
- -Outlays
 - -Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger
 - -George P. Shultz
- -Full employment balance
- -Congress
- -Social Security provisions
 - -Amount of increase
 - -Effect
 - -Disability payments
 - -Medicare
 - -Shultz
- -Welfare reform
 - -Proposals by the President's administration
 - -Congressional action
 - -Payroll tax increases
 - -Compared with social security tax increases
 - -Benefits for aged, disabled
 - -Washington Post letter to the editor
- -Shultz
 - -Treasury Department
 - -Forthcoming conversation with Ehrlichman
- -Budget
 - -Outlays
 - -Amounts
 - -Fiscal Year [FY] 1974
 - -Full employment
 - -Outlay ceiling
 - -FY 1973 compared with FY 1974 numbers
 - -FY 1974
 - -Full employment
 - -FY 1973 administration target
 - -FY 1974 full employment
 - -Weinberger
- -Bill signing
 - -Environmental legislation
 - -Possible statement
 - -Timing with Vietnam peace negotiations
 - -Legislative workload
 - -The President's schedule
 - -Henry A. Kissinger's trip to Saigon
 - -The President's schedule

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

-Reports on negotiations

Ehrlichman left at 8:45 am.

Conversation No. 374-7

Date: October 27, 1972

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

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger's schedule
-Forthcoming meeting

Conversation No. 374-8

Date: October 27, 1972

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

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-66]

Conversation No. 374-9

Date: October 27, 1972 Time: 9:03 am - 9:04 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 32-67]

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

Conversation No. 374-10

Date: October 27, 1972

Time: 9:06 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-68]

Conversation No. 374-11

Date: October 27, 1972 Time: 9:10-9:50 a.m.

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Patrick J. Buchanan.

White Paper on campaign practices

- -The President's instructions
- -For the record
- -Editor of *Barron's*
- -Subjects
 - -International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case
 - -The President's press conference
 - -Soviet Union grain deal
 - -The President's involvement
 - -Carpet industry gift charges
 - -Corruption
 - -American Federation of Teachers [AFT] support for McGovern
 - -Right to strike
 - -Campaign contributions
 - -Press coverage
 - -ITT, Watergate
 - -The Milk Fund
 - -Congress

-Wilbur D. Mills

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 9:14 am.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb-24)

White paper

- -Watergate cover up and campaign practices
 - -Reports on H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman involvement
 - -Washington Post article, October 27, 1972
 - -Democratic National Committee
 - -San Francisco
 - -Clean administration
 - -Sabotage
 - -Information on rallies
 - -Necessity
 - -News summary
 - -Barry M. Goldwater's campaign
 - -Democratic campaign tactics
 - -Action against Edward R.F. Cox
 - -Republican Phoenix headquarters
 - -Damage in San Francisco
 - -Los Angeles
 - -Republican National Convention
 - -McGovern supporters
 - -Damage
 - -Violence
 - -Lack of criticism
 - -Organization of demonstrators
 - -Rallies of the President, Thelma C. ("Pat")
 - Nixon, [Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Tricia
 - Nixon Cox
 - -Hecklers
 - -Free speech
 - -Lack of criticism
 - -Campaign finances
 - -Double standard
 - -Desperation tactics
 - -Reasons

McGovern and 1972 campaign

- -The President's view
- -McGovern's position on Vietnam
 - -White House attacks
 - -Settlement
 - -W[illiam] Averell Harriman's statement
 - -Communist government in South Vietnam
 - -Prisoners of war [POWs]
 - -Laos, Cambodia

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb-24)

- -Disarmament of South Vietnam
- -Unconditional withdrawal of US
- -"Peace with surrender"
- -"Peace with Honor"
- -White House attacks
 - -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- -Effect on negotiations
- -Thailand
- -McGovern settlement terms
 - -Cambodia
 - -Laos
 - -POWs
 - -Peter Lisagor's statement on coalition government
- -Administration achievement of peace terms
 - -Effect on critics

Press relations

- -Administration policy on returning calls to the press
 - -The president's orders
 - -Washington Post Watergate story
 - -Murrey Marder, Carroll Kilpatrick, Joseph C. Kraft
 - -New York Times
 - -Libel actions
 - -John M. Mitchell
 - -Maurice H. Stans
 - -Haldeman

McGovern and 1972 campaign

- -McGovern's position on Vietnam
- -Aid to Laos and Cambodia
- -Ramifications
 - -Communism Laos and Cambodia
 - -Thailand
 - -South Vietnam
 - -Peace with surrender
 - -Guarantees on POW's
 - -Good faith of enemy
- -White House attacks on McGovern criticism
 - -McGovern position
 - -Terms of agreement
 - -Ability to obtain same terms previously
 - -Charles W. Colson
 - -Response by the White House

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb-24)

- -Kissinger's previous trip to Paris
 - -R. Sargent Shriver's statement on the President's morality
 - -The president's order to response
 - -Administration use of trip
 - -Indira Gandhi
 - -Hanoi
 - -Reason for trip

Vietnam peace settlement

- -The press
 - -Ronald L. Ziegler's view
 - -The President's view
 - -Motivations
 - -Thieu
 - -POWs
 - -Laos, Cambodia
 - -Bombing and mining, May 8, 1972
 - -Summit meeting with Soviets, May 1972
 - -Mood
 - -Issue of the coalition government
 - -Le Duc Tho
 - -Thieu's strategy
 - -Opposition in South Vietnam
 - -Communists
 - -Cease-fire agreement
 - -Elections in Vietnam
 - -Prospects
- -The press
 - -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s conversation with Marder
 - -White House treatment of Washington Post
 - -White House attacks on McGovern, Shriver
 - -President's view
 - -Strategy
 - -McGovern's Vietnam position
 - -Thieu

Publication of White Paper by Barron's

- -Reprints
- -Release by an individual
 - -St. Louis Globe-Democrat
 - -Clark MacGregor
- -Reason for publication
 - -For campaign

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

-For the record

1972 campaign

- -Television [TV] program October 26, 1972
 - -Press coverage
 - -Networks

McGovern campaign tactics

- -Bombing
- -Violence
- -Hecklers
 - -Location
- -Treatment of McGovern, Shriver compared with the President

Vietnam peace settlement

- -1972 campaign
 - -Aggressive campaigning
 - -Agnew

-Cease-fire Agreement

-Secrecy

- -Administration campaign strategy
 - -McGovern attacks
 - -Delay of peace
 - -"Peace with honor"
 - -"Peace with surrender"
- -Hanoi's public release of settlement
 - -Content of agreement
- -1972 election
 - -Timing of settlement
 - -Prospects for peace

Buchanan left at 9:30 am.

Vietnam peace settlement

- -Administration campaign strategy
- -Political aspects
 - -Contrast with McGovern proposals
 - -Coalition government
 - -POWs
 - -Laos, Cambodia
 - -Defense of South Vietnam
 - -North Vietnam
 - -Thieu's position

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

- -Propaganda
 - -North Vietnam
 - -Signing of agreement
 - -Western propaganda
 - -US support for Thieu
- -Intelligence information
 - -North Vietnamese officials
 - -North Vietnamese strategy and 1972 election -October 26, 1972

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-019. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 05/06/2019. Archivist: DR] [National Security]

[374-011-w007] [Duration: 11s]

INTELLIGENCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

Vietnam peace settlement

- -Present situation
 - -Message to North Vietnamese
 - -Kissinger's schedule
- -Press relations
 - -Kissinger's press briefing, October 26, 1972
 - -The President's view
 - -Lisagor
 - -Bernard Kalb
 - -Killed in action [KIA] figures for previous week
 - -Media coverage
- -Type of settlement
 - -No surrender
 - -Desire of American public

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb-24)

-McGeorge Bundy's appearance on TV

Watergate

- -The New York Times
- -The Washington Post story on campaign charges
 - -White House response
 - -H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman and secret fund
 - -The President's view
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Nelson A. Rockefeller's campaign tactics
 - -Wiretaps
 - -Rockefeller's associates
 - -Watergate
- -Wiretapping
- -Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
- -Watergate break-in
 - -Democratic National Committee [DNC]
 - -Lawrence F. O'Brien, Jr.
 - -Responsibility
 - -Hubert H. Humphrey
 - -Edmund S. Muskie
 - -Kissinger's view

Campaign strategy

- -Attacks on McGovern
- -Vietnam as issue
- -Aggressive campaigning
 - -Barry M. Goldwater
- -McGovern attacks on Vietnam peace settlement
 - -Effect on peace settlement talks
 - -Effect on US

Vietnam peace settlement negotiations

- -North Vietnamese strategy
 - -Publication of settlement terms
 - -Possible White House strategies
 - -Thieu's actions
 - -Dispatching of ambassadors worldwide
 - -Referendum proposal
 - -Kissinger's conversation with Joseph W. Alsop
 - -William F. Buckley, Jr.'s possible visit with Thieu
 - -Catholicism
 - -Post-1972 election strategy

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb-24)

-Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.

-Kissinger's role

- -Thieu's position in light of US strategy
- -South Vietnamese government
 - -Administrative structure
- -1972 campaign
 - -John B. Connally
- -Haig's call to Connally
- -Reaction to timing of settlement
- -Kissinger's talk with Alsop
 - -Forthcoming article
- -Haig's forthcoming telephone call to Cardinal Cooke
- -Kissinger's forthcoming telephone cal to Ronald W. Reagan
 - -The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - -Coalition government
 - -Attack on McGovern
- -Haig's forthcoming telephone calls to Samuel W. Yorty,

George C. Wallace

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/16/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[374-011-w005] [Duration: 1m 40s]

1972 campaign

-Gallup polls

- -Percentages
- -Lyndon B. Johnson
- -Dwight D. Eisenhower
 - -1956 campaign
 - -Unemployment
 - -Public perception

-George S. McGovern

- -The President's opinion
- -Henry A. Kissinger's opinion of public perception
 - -George S. McGovern
 - -R. Sargent Shriver

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

Vietnam

- -Kissinger's forthcoming telephone call to Connally
 - -Colson's previous call to George E. Christian
 - -The President's May 8, 1972 decision
- -Agnew
 - -Haig's briefing
 - -The President's view
 - -The President's relationship with conservatives
 - -The President's November 3, 1969 speech
 - -Demonstrations
 - -Mining Haiphong, bombing North Vietnam
 - -Negotiations
- -Thieu
 - -US strategy
- -North Vietnam
 - -Strategy
 - -Message
- -North Vietnam position compared with US position
 - -Bombing halt
 - -Progress
 - -Timing

The President's schedule

- -Harold Lee
 - -Hong Kong

Kissinger's forthcoming telephone call to Connally
-Kissinger's forthcoming telephone call to the President

Kissinger left at 9:50 am.

Conversation No. 374-12

Date: October 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 9:50 am and 9:52 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

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

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:52 am.

Conversation No. 374-13

Date: October 27, 1972

Time: 9:52 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-69]

Conversation No. 374-14

Date: October 27, 1972

Time: 9:52 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 032-070]

Conversation No. 374-15

Date: October 27, 1972 Time: 9:52 am - 9:54 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Dwight L. Chapin.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/16/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

Conversation No. 374-16

Date: October 27, 1972 Time: 9:55 am - 11:08 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

The President's schedule
-H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
-Bills for signature, veto

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/16/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable] [374-016-w001]

[Duration: <u>12m 19s</u>]

Campaign polls

-Harris poll

-Percentages

- -Gallup
- -Iowa

-News reports

-National Broadcasting Company [NBC]

-George S. McGovern

- -Chicago Sun-Times poll
 - -Percentage
- -Chicago Tribune poll

-Percentage

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb-24)

- -New York Daily News
 - -Unpublished
 - -Timing of poll publications
- -Harris poll
 - -Percentages
- -Samuel Lubell
- -Voter shift
 - -Workers
- -Effect of press

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 9:56 am.

- 1972 campaign
 - -California shift in polls
 - -Union workers
 - -George S. McGovern gain
 - -Nature of California union
 - -Mexicans
 - -New York poll
 - -Union workers
 - -Percentages
 - -George S. McGovern gain
 - -Reason
 - -Personal interview poll, October 20-23, 1972
 - -Telephone poll
 - -Catholic
 - -Percentages
 - -Time frame of polls
 - -Shifts in polls
 - -Reasons
 - -Black voters
 - -Manhattan
 - -Bronx, Queens
 - -North Carolina
 - -Buffalo
 - -September polls
 - -Results
 - -Compared to present
 - -Nature of sample
 - -California
 - -Drop in the President's support in polls
 - -Catholics
 - -Election prospects

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb-24)

```
-New York
```

-Gain in polls

-Reasons

- -Blacks
- -Polls
- -The President's opinion on poll breakdowns
- -Harris poll
 - -Union workers
- -Administration action to offset losses in polls
 - -California
 - -Donald F. Rodgers, Frank E. Fitzsimmons, Paul Hall, and Michael P. Balzano, Jr.
 - -Catholics
 - -Los Angeles
 - -Bay Area
 - -Southern California
 - -San Francisco
 - -The President's opinion
 - -San Jose
 - -Santa Clara
- -Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1956
 - -Comparison to 1972
 - -California
 - -Ronald W. Reagan
 - -West showing compared with the East

1972 campaign

- -McGovern's position on Vietnam peace settlement
 - -News summary
 - -Patrick J. Buchanan, Henry A. Kissinger
 - -The President's orders to attack McGovern
 - -Possible attack on R. Sargent Shriver
 - -Prisoners of war [POWs]
 - -Disarmament of South Vietnam
 - -Coalition government
 - -Timing of US pullout
 - -Kissinger's public statements
 - -John A. Scali's view
 - -"Peace with honor" compared with "Peace with surrender"
 - -Electorate

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb-24)

-The President's view

-The White house and the press

-Joseph C. Kraft

-Communication with the Washington Post

-Murrey Marder's call to Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

-The President's orders for Kissinger

-New York Times

-William P. Rogers

-William H. Sullivan

-John B. Connally

-Haig

-Delegating authority

-Comparison to [Thomas] Woodrow Wilson

-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

Record of opponents' statements on issues

-Polls

-Efforts of Colson's staff

-Six Crises

-James B. ("Scotty") Reston

-William F. Knowland

-Kissinger

-Possible television [TV] special

-Testing of Dan Rather's predictions

-Timing

-1972 election

-Press coverage

-Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/16/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[374-016-w002]

[Duration: 11m 25s]

1972 campaign

- -The President's October 26, 1972 trip
 - -Countryside
 - -Housing
 - -Economic status of people

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb-24)

- -People described
- -Reception by people
- -Religious nature of people
 - -Candles
- -The President's speech on Vietnam
 - -Louie B. Nunn
 - -"Peace with honor"
 - -Reception by people
 - -"Peace with honor"
- -M. Gene Snyder and Tim Lee Carter
 - -Conservatives
 - -The President's opinion
- -John Sherman Cooper
- -Republican core
- -Volunteers
 - -West Virginia
- -Catholics
- -Chicago
 - -George P. Shultz
 - -Louis Harris, Frank E. Fitzsimmons, Albert E. Sindlinger

Campaign issues

- -Economy
- -Watergate
 - -Effect on electorate
 - -Democrat
 - -Catholics, intellectuals, ethnics
 - -Realities of politics for Democratic leaders
 - -Richard J. Daley and Robert P. Hanrahan
 - -Possible outcome of election
 - -Richard M. Scammon's survey on support for the President
 - -Demographics
 - -Abortion, amnesty
- -Campaign strategy
 - -Negative and positive ads, John B. Connally broadcast
 - -Radio spots
 - -George S. McGovern
 - -Massachusetts
 - -Clark Macgregor
 - -John B. Connally
 - -Prospects
 - -John B. Connally's television appearance
 - -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

-George S. McGovern

Vietnam and the 1972 election -McGovern -Sympathy appeal -Campaign strategy -Proposals for peace in Vietnam -Focus of White house response -Media coverage, October 26, 1972 -Possible public response -Ending the war in 1969 W[illiam] Averell Harriman -McGeorge Bundy -Kissinger -Watergate as issue -McGovern's statements -Credibility -Colson's view -Campaign strategy -Attacking Shriver -Buchanan's view -Robert J. Dole's statements -Administration strategy -Ziegler's view -The president's recent views -McGovern's recent remarks -US casualties

-Use of Agnew for White House response -Use of Rogers for press conference

-Support for the President

-Dole

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/16/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[374-016-w003] [Duration: 5m 8s]

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

1972 campaign -California

- -Organization
 - -Franklyn F. ("Lyn") Nofziger
 - -Republican voters
 - -Telegrams
 - -Appeal to Republican voters
 - -Democratic voter breakdown
 - -Door-to-door campaign
 - -Getting vote out
 - -Republican voters
- -Character of population
 - -Democrats' strategy
- -Democrats
 - -Billy Mills
 - -Program organizers
- -The President's schedule
- -John B. Connally [?]
- -November 3, 1972
 - -Strategy

1972 campaign

- -Vietnam War demonstrations
 - -Boston
 - -Federal building
- -McGovern's peace settlement proposals
 - -Withdrawal timetable

The President left after an unknown time after 9:56 am.

-Shriver

-Kissinger's trips

The President entered at an unknown time before 11:05 am.

- -Haldeman
 - -Newspaper story in Washington Post about 1962 activites
- -Donald F. Nixon
- -Albert E. Sindlinger's views

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

```
-Public opinion
    -Polls
        -Measure of success
        -Louis P. Harris, Sindlinger, Richard M. Scammon
        -Important factors
            -Busing, amnesty, abortion, foreign policy
              Vietnam
    -Press
    -McGovern
        -Opportunity to attack administration
        -Economic issues, Vietnam
    -Limitations on administration's popularity
        -Public perception of McGovern campaign
        -Vietnam
            -Moral issue
                 -Frank E. Fitzsimmons
                 -"Peace with honor"
            -Sindlinger
                 -Economy
            -The President's standing
                 -George H. Gallup
            -Kissinger
```

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/16/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[374-016-w004]

[Duration: 15m 23s]

End of campaign period

- -Change in polls
- -Hubert H. Humphrey surge
 - -Salt Lake City speech
- -Labor
- -Democrats for Nixon in 1968
- -Shift in polls
 - -Comparison between early and late October
 - -Salt Lake City speech
- -Comparison of Hubert H. Humphrey surge to current trend

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb-24)

- -Gallup poll
- -Barry M. Goldwater, Sr.
- -Spiro T. Agnew
- -George S. McGovern momentum
 - -Watergate as issue
- -Margin of error
- -Lyndon B. Johnson comparison, 1964
 - -Spread of polls
 - -Gallup poll
 - -Compared to Barry M. Goldwater, Sr.
 - -Retained favorable relationships with media and pollsters
 - -Democrat
 - -August poll
 - -October poll
 - -November polls
 - -Election
 - -Barry M. Goldwater, Sr.
- -Schedule
 - -California

1962 California gubernatorial campaign

- -Percentages
- -Cuban Missile Crisis
- -John F. Kennedy
 - -Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown
- -The President's view

1972 campaign

- -Vietnam
 - -Support
 - -Charles W. Colson's conversation with unknown man
- -The President's campaign appearance at Kentucky
 - -Albert B. ("Happy") Chandler
 - -Louis B. Nunn
 - -Leslie T. ("Bob") Hope comparison
 - -Jack Benny
 - -Comedic timing
 - -Richard A. Moore
 - -Paul Hall [?]
- -Motorcades
 - -Stopping
- -Campaign appearances
 - -Before election

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

-Grand finale

Terence Cardinal Cooke and John P. Cardinal Cody's request for peace prayers

Request for a telephone call to Kissinger

Haldeman talked with Kissinger at an unknown time between 11:05 and 11:08 am.

[Conversation No. 374-16A]

Vietnam update

- -Kissinger's call to Connally
- -Haig's briefing of George Meany

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam peace settlement -Connally's views

The President, Haldeman and Colson left at 11:08 am.

Conversation No. 374-17

Date: October 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:34 pm and 2:40 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

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

Schedule

Haldeman left at an unknown time before 2:40 pm.

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

Date: October 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:34 pm and 2:40 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/16/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[374-018-w001] [Duration: 55s]

Menu

-Steak [?] -Salad

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:40 pm.

Conversation No. 374-19

Date: October 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:30 pm and 2:40 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Request for a meeting with Charles W. Colson

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:40 pm.

Conversation No. 374-20

Date: October 27, 1972

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

Time: 2:40 pm - 2:50 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/16/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[374-020-w001] [Duration: 5m 28s]

- 1972 campaign
 - -First Monday insert
 - -Brochure about George S. McGovern
 - -Literature distribution
 - -Republicans
 - -Press
 - -Rias
 - -Editorial support for the President
 - -Strategy after election
 - -Press
 - -Other newspapers compared with Washington Post
 - -George S. McGovern
 - -Polls
 - -The President's lead
 - -Landslide
 - -Gallup poll
 - -Matthew Bailey's [?] opinion
 - -Methods
 - -Vietnam
 - -Support
 - -Harris poll and Sindlinger poll
 - -Percentages
 - -Editorial release of election prediction by Louis Harris
 - -October 30, 1972 release
 - -Syndicate rules
 - -Hawk
 - -Theodore H. ("Teddy") White

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

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1972 campaign
            -Poll results
                -Vietnam peace settlement
                -George S. McGovern
                    -Negativism
                -Economy
                -Foreign relations with Soviet Union and the People's
                Republic of China [PRC]
            -Election strategy
            -Louis P. Harris's report
                    -Prospects
                    -Vietnam and prisoners of war [POWs]
                        -South Vietnam elections
                    -The President compared with McGovern
                        -Speech potential
                        -South Vietnam elections
                        -William P. Rogers, Spiro T. Agnew, John B. Connally
                            -Possible television advertisement
                        -McGovern's Vietnam position
                            -Compared with the President's position
                            -Surrender
                            -POWs
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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/16/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[374-020-w002]
[Duration: 2m 10s]
        1972 campaign
            -Shift in polls
                -Reason
                    -George S. McGovern's strategy
                    -The President's strategy
                        -George P. Shultz
                -Louis Harris
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-The President's attacks

-Perception of George S. McGovern

Tape Subject Log (rev. Feb-24)

-John B. Connally [?]
-Harris poll
-Catholics
-Gallup poll, Lubell poll
-Shift in polls

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:40 pm.

The President's schedule
-Forthcoming Oval Office meeting with Robert J. Dole

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:50 pm.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/16/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[374-020-w003]

[Duration: 58s]

1972 campaign

-Robert J. Dole's forthcoming television appearances

-Three networks

-Louis Harris

The President and Colson left at 2:50 pm.