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

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

White House grounds
   - Flowers
   - Trees

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

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

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

********************************************************************************

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

Page | 1
Weather
-Rain

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

******************************************************************************

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

******************************************************************************

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 03/07/2019. Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[789-002-w002]
[Duration: 9m 36s]

1972 election
  - President’s thoughts
    - Political meetings
-Scheduling
-Clark MacGregor
-Forthcoming conversation with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

-Scheduling
- Massachusetts
- West Virginia
- Minnesota
- Washington

-Clark MacGregor
- Feelings
- Need for H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman to be sensitive
- Job performance
- Compared to Robert H. Finch
- September 29 conversation with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
- September 29 radio report
- Wire service interview

-Campaign appearances by President
- H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman’s trip to Ohio
- Outlook for President

-Indiana
- Likelihood of President winning

-Illinois
- West Virginia
- Compared to Indiana
- Importance
- Wheeling

-Indiana
- Indianapolis
- Campaign after Republican National Convention [RNC]
- Jennings County

-Ohio
- New York
- Buffalo
- Length of trip
- Rally
- Nassau County
- Potential campaign rally
- Westchester County
- Use of motorcade
- Nassau County
  - Visit to and dedication of Veterans Affairs [VA] hospital
  - Night rally
  - Issue of fundraising speech
  - Facilities
  - October 23 1972 Veterans Day event
  - Cancellation of Houston rally
  - Importance of having a rally
    - Opinion of H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - President’s opinion of New York campaign appearance
    - Use of Nelson A. Rockefeller’s house
    - Westchester location
    - Impact of rally on presence of President’s northeastern chairman
  - Chicago
    - Presence of Midwestern chairman
  - Denver

- Spiro T. Agnew
  - Campaign schedule
  - Press
  - Hecklers
    - Mentioned in President’s news summary
  - Campaign event with Francis A. Sinatra
    - Italian-American event
    - Moved from New York to Michigan
    - Cobo Hall
    - Italian-American population in Michigan
    - Polish-American community in Michigan
    - Commonality of Polish and Italian Americans
    - Potential participation of Polish American community

- Massachusetts campaign event
  - Participation of Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon
  - Participation of Spiro T. Agnew
  - Previous cancellation of Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon appearance
    - President’s previous appearance in Boston
  - Potential participation of Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon
    - Rescheduling appearance
  - Thomas A. Pappas
  - Potential participation of Spiro T. Agnew
    - Opinion of H.R. Haldeman
- Desirability of participation
- Issue concerning Governor of Massachusetts
  - Francis W. Sargent
- Suitability of Thelma C. Ryan (“Pat”) Nixon
- Event scheduling
  - Assistance of H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Dwight L. Chapin
  - New Mexico
  - Trip to three different cities in one day
    - President’s opinion
    - Compared to Illinois

- Changes in strategy
- Campaign appearances by President
  - New York
    - Rally
- Campaign appearances by Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon
  - Indianapolis
    - October 4, 1972

*****************************************************************************

Magazine publishing
- The President’s meeting with Burt SerVaas and Cory Jane SerVaas, September, 29, 1972
  - Indianapolis
  - Haldeman’s schedule
    - Indianapolis
  - Background
  - Saturday Evening Post
    - Profitability
  - Holiday magazine
    - Profitability
  - Jack and Jill magazine
    - Profitability
  - Steel plants
  - Richard G. Lugar
  - Circulation
    - Costs
-Newsstand, mailing
-Advertising agencies
  -J. Walter Thompson
-Media buyers
  -Left orientation
  -Congress
    -Postal rates
-Post-1972 election plans
  -J. Walter Thompson
-E.I. Lilly
  -Indianapolis
  -Advertising in Saturday Evening Post
-New York advertising agency [Geer DuBois]
  -Circulation argument
  -Rates
    -Readers' Digest
  -Building the Saturday Evening Post
    -Advertising investment
-Holiday Inn
  -Kenneth Wilson
    -William F. (“Billy”) Graham
      -Saturday Evening Post
-New York
-Networks
-Post-1972 election action

Press and media relations
-Catherine Mackin
  -Charles W. Colson
-Advertisers
  -Post-1972 election action
    -Agencies
      -Congress
        -The President
          -Saturday Evening Post
  -William Randolph Hearst newspapers
  -New York Daily News
  -George Putnam
  -List of conservative media
"New Establishment"
- New commentators
  - Herbert G. Klein
  - R. Sargent Shriver
  - John Pierson [of Wall Street Journal]
  - Los Angeles Times
  - Vermont C. Royster
  - Conversation with Haldeman
  - Access to White House staff
  - Ehrlichman
  - Henry A. Kissinger
- U.S. News & World Report
  - Howard Morton
  - John P. ("Jack") Sutherland
  - View of administration
- Kissinger's previous lunch with Time-Life
  - Effectiveness

Kissinger entered at 10:00 am.

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

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

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

Page | 8
Bull left at an unknown time before 10:06 am.

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

Forthcoming SALT signing ceremony

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

Date: September 30, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:06 am and 10:16 am
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [United States Secret Service agents] met.

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

[Conversation No. 789-3A]

******************************************************************
The President’s schedule

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

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

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

National Defense policy
-The President’s meeting with Sir Alexander F. (“Alec”) Douglas-Home
 -Nuclear weapons
   -Bilateral reduction
     -Soviet Union
   -Multilateral reduction
     -Europe
       -Netherlands
       -Belgium
       -Denmark
     -Conventional forces
   -The President's San Francisco speech, September 27, 1972
-Massive retaliation
  -Naval, air forces, army
  -Small nations

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

National Defense policy
- The President’s San Francisco speech, September 27, 1972
  -Massive retaliation
    -Small nations
      -Israel

National Defense policy
- The President’s San Francisco speech, September 27, 1972
  -Massive retaliation
    -Jordan crisis
      -Mobilization
        -Sixth Fleet
        -Airplanes
          -West Germany
    -Soviets
      -Syria
    -Soviet Union
      -Israel
    -Credibility
      -Europe
National Defense policy
   -The President’s San Francisco speech, September 27, 1972
      -Massive retaliation
      -Credibility
         -Europe
         -Israel
         -South Korea
         -Thailand

******************************

National Defense policy
   -The President’s San Francisco speech, September 27, 1972
      -Massive retaliation
      -Credibility
         -Israel
         -Europe
      -Soviet Naval Buildup
      -Forward Bases
      -Conventional forces
         -US public opinion
         -Soviet buildup
         -Pace
            -Navy, air power
            -Yugoslavia
      -Troops cuts
         -Defense appropriations subcommittee
            -Europe
         -Forthcoming talks on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR]
            -Congressional awareness
         -Defense supporters
John L. McClellan
-European responsibility
-Previous resolution for pullback, 1967

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

Refreshments

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

National Defense
-Resolution for force pullback 1967
  -Michael J. Mansfield
-Consequences of vote
-Strategic Arms limitation Treaty [SALT] debate
  -Nuclear warheads
    -Number
    -Equality, deliverability
-North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
-William Proxmire
  -Tactical nuclear weapons compared to strategic nuclear weapons
-Arms Control and Disarmament Agency [ACDA] involvement
  -J. William Fulbright
  -Gerard L. Smith
  -Jackson Amendment
  -Hugh Scott
  -Plans
    -Appropriations
    -Transfers
-Soviet Union
-Raymond L. Garthoff
  -Helsinki cable
  -Soviets
    -Arms control jargon
    -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
      -Conversation with Kissinger
-Position
  -Foreign Service
    -Uganda
-Possible firing
  -Timing
    -1972 election
    -Leaks
-John Finney
  -New York Times
- Discussions with Soviets
  -Garthoff’s background
    -Russian language skills
  -Wife
  -US fallback position
-Smith
-Secor D. Browne
  -Possible involvement in administration
- Civil Aeronautical Board [CAB] chairman
- Previous position at Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT]
  -Aeronautical engineering
- Soviet negotiations
  -Russian language skills
- Weapons system expert
- ACDA
- State Department
- Soviet negotiations
- Consultant to industry
- Commercial aviation expertise
- Conventional weapons knowledge
- MBFR
- ACDA
  -Negotiations
    -Role of administrator
      - MBFR
      - SALT II
        - Unilateral Disarmament
          - Mutual disarmament
- SALT
  - Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
    - Knowledge
      - Jackson’s questioning
        - Air Force Chief of Staff
-Gen. John D. Ryan
  -Antiballistic missiles [ABM]
  -Capitals defense plan
  -State Department
  -ACDA
  -JCS
  -Interests
  -Weapons system

Personnel management
- Lt. Gen. Edward Rowny
  -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  -Background
    -Army
      -Supreme Headquarters, Allied Power Europe [SHAPE]
        -Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster
  -Replacement [for Ryan]
  -Promotion
  -Johns Hopkins University
  -US Military Academy at West Point
  -Development of air mobile concept
  -Yale University
    -Engineering
    -Political science
  -Doctorate [Ph.D.]
  -Haig
  -Scholar
  -Corps commander

-JCS
  -Views
    -Compared to the President’s
  -State Department
  -ACDA
  -Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
  -JCS
    -ABM
      -Capitals defense plan
      -The President’s view
  -Rowny
Jackson's forthcoming work with Kissinger

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

Kissinger and Jackson left at 10:34 am.

Date: September 30, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:35 am and 10:56 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
- Recent meeting with Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
- Interruptions

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

[Signing documents]

Marjorie P. Acker entered at 10:36 am.

Edward C. Nixon's schedule
- The President's forthcoming trip to Camp David

Acker left at 10:37 am.

The President's schedule
- Forthcoming telephone call to Charles E. (“Chip”) Bohlen
  - Bohlen’s health
  - Avis Howard (Thayer) Bohlen
  - Timing

Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:37 am.
- Camp David
  - Weather

Butterfield left at 10:39 am.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conversation No. 789-006
- Jews
- Vietcong [VC] flags
- Hard hat action
  - Plans
    - International Brotherhood of Teamsters
    - Charles W. Colson
- Donald Kalish
  - University of California, Los Angeles [UCLA]
  - Alleged Communism
- Vietnam casualties
  - Killed in Action [KIA]
- Possible publication
- *U.S. News and World Report*
- Film

*****************************************************************

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 03/07/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*
*[Personal Returnable]*
*[789-006-w001]*
*[Duration: 4m 20s]*

1972 election
  - Clark MacGregor
    - Get-out-the-vote effort
      - Southern states
      - Safe states
      - National margin
      - Issue of voter mandate
      - Volunteer effort
        - Not targeting Republican voters
    - Radio advertising
      - Southern states
      - Nonpartisan advertising
        - Safe states
      - Radio advertising
        - Use of country music
-Follow-up from H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  -Get-out-the-vote efforts
    -Safe states
    -Heartland states
-Albert E. Sindlinger poll
  -Percentage of voters tending to vote
    -Impact on mandate
    -Importance of getting out the vote
-Observation of Charles W. Colson
  -Originally made by Louis Harris
    -Split-ticket voters
      -Possibility of becoming party-line voters
      -Dependent on chances of preferred candidate
      -Application to Barry M. Goldwater
      -Application to George S. McGovern
-Barry M. Goldwater supporters
  -Compared to supporters of George S. McGovern
    -Supporters’ belief in candidate’s potential victory
-Black voters and poor voters
  -Likelihood of voting Republican
-Black vote
  -Apathy
    -Opinion of H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
-Associated Press [AP] coverage
-General view of election
  -Favorability to President
  -Likelihood of voting in election
-Difficulty of getting out the vote
  -Opinion of H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
-Opinion of President
  -Party organization as mechanism to get out the vote
  -Cities
    -Strength for George S. McGovern
-Youth vote
  -Apathy
  -Voting as a duty
    -Tendency of Republican voters
    -Responsible voters
- Opinion of President
  - Young voters
  - Black voters
  - Fringe voters

-Voter apathy
  - Beneficial to President
  - Winning in close states
  - Size of vote
  - Size of margin
  - Effect on turnout

*****************************************************************

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

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

Page | 21
-[Malcolm Richard Wilkey]
- Reappointment
- Compared to [Murray I. Gurfein] of New York
  - Background
    - Jewish identity
  - Thomas E. Dewey

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

Return of three Prisoners of War [POWs]
- News summary
  - Cora Weiss and David Dellinger
    - Barry M. Goldwater
    - McGovern
  - Maj. Edward K. Elias
- Wife
  - Quote about reincarnation claim
- Weiss
  - Manner
  - Compared to Bella S. Abzug
- Lt. Norris A. Charles
- Lt. Markham L. Gartley
  - Parents
- Elias
  - Administration handling
  - Elias
    - Military hospital
  - Wife
- Defense Department Handling
  - Brig. Gen. Daniel ("Chappie") James, Jr.
  - Skill as a spokesman
- North Vietnam propaganda
  - Value
  - Elias
  - POW wives
    - Point about tour
  - Treatment by captors
  - Quality
    - Compared to unreleased pre-1067 POWs
  - Value

******************************************************************************

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 03/11/2019. Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[789-006-w003]
[Duration: 9m 8s]

1972 election
  - George S. McGovern’s schedule
  - Pulaski Day
  - Christopher Columbus Day

Page | 23
-Youth dinner
  -New York
-The President's schedule
  -Philadelphia
    -Two events in New York
      -Compared to Philadelphia
        -Pulaski Day event
  -Buffalo
-George S. McGovern’s schedule
  -Baltimore City Fair
    -Speech
      -September 30, 1972
  -Meeting with labor leaders
  -Buffalo
    -October 4, 1972
  -Cleveland
    -City clerk forum
  -St. Louis
-Debate among staff
  -Targeting of liberal suburbs
    -Versus targeting of ethnic voters
  -Compared to the President's campaign strategy
    -Raymond K. Price Jr.
      -Importance of targeting speeches at ethnic voters
        -As opposed to liberal suburban voters
-Campaign schedule October 7 1972
  -St. Louis
  -Washington University
  -Labor union
  -Harry S Truman Day Dinner
    -Award for Thomas F. Eagleton
      -Speech
-Campaign schedule October 8 1972
  -Washington, D.C.
-Campaign schedule October 9 1972
  -Rochester, New York
-R. Sargent Shriver
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower
-George S. McGovern’s schedule October 6 1972
-Washington D.C.
- R. Sargent Shriver's schedule
  -Week of October 1-7 1972
    -California
  -September 30 1972
    -Not campaigning
-Campaigning
  -Importance of television
    -President’s opinion
-George S. McGovern’s schedule September 30 1972
-Motorcade
  -Cedar Point, Maryland to Baltimore
  -Afternoon rally
    -Land Rover
    -Inner Harbor
-Departure from Friendship Airport
  -Kamono, New Jersey
-Early evening Industrial Union Council speech
  -Atlantic City
-Congress of Industrial Organizations [CIO]
-Departure for La Guardia Airport
-Evening dinner speech
  -Testimonial for Bronx borough president Robert Abrams
    -At New York Hilton
-Evening departure for La Guardia Airport
-Arrival at Friendship Airport
  -Maryland
-Airport appearances
  -Potential difficulties
  -Car
  -Indiana
  -Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon
    -Objections
      -President’s opinion
        -Embarrassment
-Handling airport appearances
-Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon
  -Accompanying President
  -Motorcade
- Crowds
  - When to have them
    - Depending on motorcade use
- Usefulness of telephone calls for campaign
  - Based on President’s standing in polls
  - Possible assignment for Charles W. Colson
  - Use of labor leaders
- Hypothetical call from President to Henry E. Ford II
- Letters as opposed to telephone calls
  - Certificates
    - Sent to deputy campaign chairs
- Clark MacGregor
  - List of people to call
    - Campaign chairmen
- Get out the vote efforts
  - Telephone calls
    - From President the week of October 30-November 3, 1972
  - Telephone calls to Democrats, campaign surrogates, labor leaders
  - Importance of telephone calls and those to call
  - Similarity to a visit to campaign headquarters
    - Telephone calls to workers at campaign headquarters
- Way for President to reach the South
  - Ability to reach major Southern cities
  - Telephone calls to best headquarters in cities in the South
  - News-making potential
  - Compared to Cost of Living Council
- H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Plan for President
- White House operators
  - Opinion of President
  - Impact on people receiving telephone calls
  - Importance

******************************************************************************

Public relations
  - Polls
    - Timing
-US-Soviet Union trade deal
  -Wheat deal
  -Announcement
  -Kissinger

-Press briefings
  -The President’s recent talk with Kissinger
    -Ronald L. Ziegler
  -SALT II
    -Kissinger’s schedule
    -Vietnam
  -Focus on one subject at a time
    -Previous Vietnam briefing
    -Impact on Soviet Union briefing
  -Ziegler
  -Kissinger
    -Kissinger’s Soviet Union briefing
    -News impact
    -Compared to Vietnam briefing

-Use of Kissinger

William P. Rogers’s forthcoming attendance at Washington Post dedication
- Washington Post’s treatment of the President
  -The President
  -Rogers
  -Mitchell
  -White House staff
  -Watergate
    -Attention by other newspapers
-Orders to Cabinet
-Handling
  -Possible phone calls from Alexander P. Butterfield

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

**************************************************************

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

Page | 27
Edward C. Nixon

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

1972 election
  - Gallup poll
    - Candidate standings
    - Number of interviews
    - John Davies
      - George S. McGovern
      - Narrowing gap
    - Four point shift
    - Comparison to Harris poll

***********************************************************************

Kissinger entered at 11:13 am.

The President’s meeting with Andrei A. Gromyko, October 2, 1972
  - Talking points
  - Rogers
    - Vietnam peace plans
    - Nuclear missile treaty [SALT II]
  - Duration
  - Statements
    - Nuclear missile treaty [SALT II]
    - Vietnam War
      - Tone
    - Vietnam War
      - Concessions
      - 1972 election
        - Military solution
        - Restraints
Gromyko's schedule
- Camp David
- Rogers
- Return to the White House
  - Kissinger's schedule
    - Breakfast
  - SALT signing ceremony
    - Weather
    - Rogers
    - Breakfast
    - The President's schedule
- Kissinger's schedule
  - Camp David dinner
    - Rogers's schedule
      - The President's schedule
- Escort for Gromyko
  - Rogers
    - The President's schedule
    - Helicopter
  - Dinner group
    - Helicopter
  - The President's schedule
- Rogers's schedule
  - Administration group
  - Soviet Group
- Breakfast
- Breakfast
  - Nuclear weapons, Vietnam
  - The President's schedule
    - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, Kissinger
- Map room
  - Ceremony
  - Map Room
  - Embassy
- Ceremony
  - Arrival
- Camp David
  - Rogers
  - The President's schedule
- Oval Office meeting
- Camp David
  - Kissinger and Soviet group
  - Rogers and State Department group
- Dinner
  - Helicopter
  - Aspen Lodge
- Return to White House
  - Rogers
  - Gromyko
  - Dobrynin
  - Kissinger
  - Second helicopter

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

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

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

The President’s forthcoming meeting with Gromyko
  - Rogers
  - Vietnam
    - US stance
      - Military solution
    - The President’s previous talk with Schumann
      - Diplomatic solution

Vietnam War
  - Settlement
    - North Vietnamese
      - 10-year involvement
      - Losses
    - Prospects
    - Progress
      - Current document
        - Thieu’s tenure
    - Thieu’s tenure
      - Administration image
      - History’s verdict
      - Public
- 1972 election
- History’s verdict
- US allies
- South Vietnam government’s status
  - North Vietnamese strategy
  - Thieu's tenure
- Possibility of agreement
- Military solution
- US civilian and military leadership
  - Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
  - Arms Control and Disarmament Agency [ACDA] [Raymond L. Garthoff] [sic]
- Hard liners
  - Defense Department
- JCS
  - Paul H. Nitze
- Vietnamization
  - Ground war
  - South Vietnam's Air Force
  - Compared to North Vietnam
  - Navy Operations
    - Carriers
  - Air Cover
- Korea
  - US Aircraft
  - Plans
- Negotiations
- Prospects
- North Vietnamese leadership
  - Leonid I. Brezhnev
  - Chou En-Lai
- US Strategy
  - Record
  - Thieu’s tenure
    - Imposition of communist government
  - Military action
    - Attrition
    - Duration
February 1973
- Dry season
- Effectiveness
- Bombing

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

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

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

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

Kissinger left at 11:36 am.

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

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

*****************************************************************************

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

-Gallup results
- President’s opinion
- H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman’s opinion
  - Wire for Sunday newspapers
- Timing
- John Davies
- Compared to Harris, Sindlinger, Yankelovich
  - Accuracy
  - President’s opinion
- Spread points
- Potential reaction of George S. McGovern staff
  - Dorothy Cory poll
  - California results
  - Compared to 1968 election results
- Popular vote
  - Estimated popular vote turnout
  - President’s goal of landmark national vote turnout
  - Compared to vote turnout for Lyndon B. Johnson
- Electoral vote for President
  - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman’s strategy
  - Compared to Lyndon B. Johnson
  - Compared to Franklin D. Roosevelt’s vote
  - Goal of surpassing vote
- President’s opinion
  - West Virginia
  - Oregon
  - Rhode Island
  - Wisconsin
- Elliot L. Richardson
  - Previous conversation with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Potential of victory for President in Rhode Island
- Charles W. Colson estimation
- Massachusetts
  - John F. Becker poll
  - Two congressional districts
Potential of victory for President
  - Elliot L. Richardson’s opinion
  - Catholic blue-collar voters
  - President’s opinion
    - West Virginia
    - Washington
    - Wisconsin
    - Minnesota
    - Michigan
      - George L. Grassmuck’s opinion
      - Busing
      - Involvement of unions
      - Problems with Democratic Party rank and file
  - George L. Grassmuck
    - Compared to Robert H. Finch
    - Liberal suburbs

Alexander Butterfield entered at 11:45 a.m.

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

Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s schedule
  - Weather

Edward C. Nixon

Alexander Butterfield left at 11:46 a.m.

1972 election
  - Poll figures
    - Gallup polls
    - White House staff excitement
    - Importance
    - Concern
      - Comparison to President’s 1962 campaign for California governor
      - Comparison to the President’s 1960 presidential campaign
      - Comparison to the President’s 1968 presidential campaign
-Movement
-Gallup polls
   -Accuracy
   -Compared to Harris polls
Albert E. Sindlinger
   -The President’s opinion
      -Honesty
      -Sanity
-Harris polls
   -Point breakdown by age groups
      -18 to 24 year-olds
      -25 to 50 year-olds
      -50 year-olds and over
   -Accuracy of figures
      -President’s opinion
-Gallup polls
   -The President’s opinion
      -Accuracy
      -Shifts
      -Republican voter shifts
      -Democratic voter shifts
      -Independent voter shifts
-George H. Gallup
   -President’s opinion
   -Theory
      -Suburbs
      -Jews
      -Jewish voters
   -Use of polls by George S. McGovern staff and columnists
      -To indicate a surge by George S. McGovern
-Harris polls
   -Narrowing of gap between President and George S McGovern
-Gallup polls
   -Similarity to Harris polls
      -Hedging
-George S. McGovern campaign
   -Concern
      -Sindlinger polls
      -Yankelovich polls
- President’s polls
- Polls of individual states

*******************************************************

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

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

[Conversation No. 789-6A]

[See Conversation No. 30-35]

[End of telephone conversation]
The President's speeches
  - Price's schedule
    - Camp David
    - Work
      - Image with staff
      - Companion

The President’s schedule]
  - Camp David
    - Edward C. Nixon
      - Birch Lodge
    - Julie Nixon Eisenhower's schedule
      - Aspen Lodge

Polls

  Administration activities
    - Media coverage
      - Tone
        - Daily analysis

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

[Conversation No. 789-6B]

[See Conversation No. 30-36]

[End of telephone conversation]

Price’s schedule
  - Staff
    - Helicopter
      - Edward Nixon

1972 election
  - Radio speeches
    - The President’s forthcoming conversation with Price
      - Importance
-Supporters, record
-John Foster Dulles

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

Colson's schedule

Weather
- Timing of Camp David trip
- Helicopter

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

Haldeman's schedule
-Kenneth W. Clawson
-Ft. Wayne report

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

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

Ft. Wayne report
-Kenneth W. Clawson
-Record

*****************************************************************
[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 03/13/2019. Segment cleared for release.]
[Privacy]
[789-006-w009]
[Duration: 52s]

-George S. McGovern
-Allegations of illegitimate daughter
-Comparison to allegations against Grover Cleveland
-Potential to backfire against President
-Daughter’s lack of awareness of allegations

Page | 40
- Decision not to publicize allegations
  - Personal grounds
  - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman’s conversation with New York Newsletter
  - Difference between personal and political grounds
  - Potential to backfire against President
    - Because of daughter

*****************************************************************

1972 election
  - Use

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

  Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon’s schedule

  Helicopter

  Colson’s schedule

  Haldeman’s schedule

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

*****************************************************************

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 03/11/2019. Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[789-006-w010]
[Duration: 1m 6s]

1972 election
  - Polls
    - Gallup polls
      - Weighting figures

Page | 41
Use of computers
- Sample size
- Time it takes for President’s campaign to obtain
- Gallup polls
  - Compared to Opinion Research Corporation [ORC] polls
  - President’s standing
    - President’s estimation
    - Compared to Louis Harris polls
    - Compared to 1964 polls for Lyndon B. Johnson

Request for follow-up

Haldeman left at 12:00 pm.

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

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

The President’s schedule
- Camp David
  - Radio speeches
    - Raymond K. Price, Jr.

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

[Conversation No. 789-7A]
[See Conversation No. 30-37]

[End of telephone conversation]

***************************************************

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

[Personal Returnable]

[789-007-w001]

[Duration: 8m 57s]

1972 election

-Campaign surrogates for President
  -September 29 and 30, 1972
  -Elliot L. Richardson
    -Attacks on George S. McGovern
      -Credibility of George S. McGovern
  -James D. Hodgson story
    -Letter from George S. McGovern to grain lobby
    -Memorandum from grain cartel
  -Support for President from professional sports figures
    -Merlin Olson
      -Campaigning in California
      -President’s description of campaign style
      -Desire to debate R. Sargent Shriver
      -Economics master’s degree
      -Potentially debate R. Sargent Shriver on issue of the working poor
        -George S. McGovern welfare plan
  -Favorability for President
  -Other possible campaign surrogates
    -Coaches
    -Woody Hayes
    -Miami sportscaster
      -September 30 1972 conversation with Charles W. Colson
      -On-air editorials for President
    -Nick Buonconti
      -President’s opinion
- Howard Twilley
- Bob Sheridan
- Merlin Olson
- Player for Cleveland Browns
- President’s opinion on useful football team surrogates
  - Washington team
  - Cincinnati Bengals
  - Chicago Bears
    - George Halas
  - Pittsburgh Steelers
  - Philadelphia Eagles
  - Pittsburgh Steelers
  - Los Angeles Rams
  - San Francisco 49ers
    - Joe Morgan
  - Minnesota Vikings
    - Previous gift to the President
  - Usefulness of sports figures as surrogates
    - Douglas L. Hallett
      - September 30 conversation with Charles W. Colson
      - Weekly report
      - Debate between football players and George S. McGovern
      - Roommate from Nebraska
  - Popularity
    - Similarity to Thomas E. Dewey's statement
    - Engineer
  - R. Sargent Shriver’s previous statement
    - Describing football players
    - John B. Connally's reaction
      - As a former football lineman
    - News coverage
      - Myles J. Ambrose’s reaction September 28
        - Effect on R. Sargent Shriver
  - George S. McGovern’s schedule
    - October 2 1972 debate with Spiro T. Agnew
    - October 1 1972 speech to United Press International [UPI] editors
  - Spiro T. Agnew’s schedule
    - October 1 1972 speech
    - Patrick J. Buchanan
-Listening to George S. McGovern speech
-Come up with counterpoints for Spiro T. Agnew to use
-October 2 debate between George S. McGovern and Spiro T. Agnew
  -Handling
  -Herbert G. Klein
  -Proposal that President debate George S. McGovern
  -Advantages of Spiro T. Agnew
-Spiro T. Agnew
  -Campaign style
  -Opinion of Charles W. Colson
  -Media comparison to R. Sargent Shriver
  -President’s opinion
  -Richard Pierce
  -Wall Street Journal
  -Los Angeles Times
-R. Sargent Shriver
  -President’s opinion
  -Comparison to Harry S Truman in 1948
  -Contrasts to Harry S Truman in 1948
  -Comparison to Spiro T. Agnew
  -Dignity
  -Class
-Gay Liberation event
  -Flyer sent from President to Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo
  -Washington D.C. area
  -Flyer sent from President to Robert Abplanalp
  -Wire news service coverage
  -News coverage of controversy
  -Problem for George S. McGovern
  -Disavow support for LGBT community
  -LGBT supporters of President
  -Closeted
  -Reaction from organized labor
  -Symbol
  -Compared to Pledge of Allegiance
  -Reaction to LGBT community
  -Reaction from Vito Marzullo
-R. Sargent Shriver
  -Media coverage
-Douglas L. Hallett
  -Visit to Inman Square, Cambridge
    -Bar
    -Blue collar area
    -Law school
  -Archie Bunker
  -Area’s attitude towards 1972 election
    -Dislike for George S. McGovern
    -Support for President

**********************************************************************

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

[Conversation No. 789-7B]

[See Conversation No. 30-38]

[End of telephone conversation]

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

William P. Rogers’s forthcoming attendance at Washington Post building dedication
  -H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman’s invitation
  -White House staff attendance
    -Possible firings
  -Cabinet attendance
    -Alexander P. Butterfield’s forthcoming telephone calls
  -Rogers

Page | 46
- Former representation of the Washington Post
  - Washington Post
    - Treatment
      - John N. Mitchell
      - Watergate
      - The President
  - New York Times
    - White House staff cooperation
      - Possible firings
    - Invitations
      - Colson
      - Haldeman
  - Building demolition

*****************************************************************
[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 03/11/2019. Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[789-007-w002]
[Duration: 59s]

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

*****************************************************************

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 12:11 pm.
The President's schedule
- Republican Congressional leadership meeting, October 2, 1972
  - Frank T. Bow
  - John W. Byrnes

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

------------------------------

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 03/11/2019. Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[789-007-w003]
[Duration: 4m 29s]

1972 election
- Poll standings
  - Potential shift
    - Opinion of Charles W. Colson
  - Comparison to Harris poll
  - California
  - George S. McGovern standings
    - Opinion of Charles W. Colson
  - Undecided voters
    - Estimation of Sindlinger results
  - Gallup and Harris polls
    - Narrative of pollings
      - President’s opinion
  - Louis Harris
    - Skepticism of own poll numbers
    - Weighting youth voters
  - Presence in the field
    - October 3-5, 1972
    - October 6, 1972 meeting with Charles W. Colson
  - Comparison to Sindlinger
  - Albert E. Sindlinger
    - Age
    - Sanity
- Honesty
  - President’s opinion
  - Volatility of polls
- Conversation with Charles W. Colson in 1971
- Charles W. Colson’s conversation with Douglas L. Hallett
- Lack of change in poll numbers
  - Buffalo, New York
- George C. Wallace
  - Gallup polls
    - President’s estimation of numbers
    - Two-way race
    - Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 election standings
- George S. McGovern
  - Staffers
  - Possibility of recovering in polls
  - Harris profile polls
    - Voter perceptions
    - Opinion of American public
    - Effect on voters
- President’s reaction to certain polls
  - Effect on campaign strategy
    - Appearances
    - Radio talks

******************************************************************************

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

The President and Colson left at 12:20 pm.