



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

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

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

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

[Conversation No. 789-001](#)

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

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

White House grounds
-Flowers
-Trees

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

[Conversation No. 789-002](#)

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

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

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



Weather

- Rain

1972 election

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



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

- 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



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



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



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

Magazine publishing

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



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

Press and media relations

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



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

Kissinger entered at 10:00 am.

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

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

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



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

Vietnam negotiations

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

Forthcoming SALT signing ceremony

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

[Conversation No. 789-003](#)

Date: September 30, 1972

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

Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [United States Secret Service agents] met.

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

[Conversation No. 789-3A]



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

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

Response

The President's schedule

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

[Conversation No. 789-004](#)

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

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

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



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

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

[National Security]

[789-004-w001]

[Duration: 3s]

National Defense policy

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

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



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

[National Security]

[789-004-w004]

[Duration: 14s]

National Defense policy

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

National Defense policy

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



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

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

Refreshments

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

National Defense

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



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



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

Personnel management

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



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

Jackson's forthcoming work with Kissinger

US-Soviet Union trade deal

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



Kissinger's schedule

Kissinger and Jackson left at 10:34 am.

[Conversation No. 789-005](#)

Date: September 30, 1972

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

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

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

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

[Signing documents]

Marjorie P. Acker entered at 10:36 am.

Edward C. Nixon's schedule

- The President's forthcoming trip to Camp David

Acker left at 10:37 am.

The President's schedule

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

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



- Camp David
- Weather

Butterfield left at 10:39 am.

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

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

[Conversation No. 789-006](#)

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

- 1972 election
 - Clark MacGregor
 - Get-out-the-vote effort
 - Southern states
 - Safe states
 - National margin
 - Issue of voter mandate
 - Volunteer effort
 - Not targeting Republican voters
 - Radio advertising
 - Southern states
 - Nonpartisan advertising
 - Safe states
 - Radio advertising
 - Use of country music



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



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

Defense contracts

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

Campaign spending law

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



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

Appointments

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

Return of three Prisoners of War [POWs]

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



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

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

[Personal Returnable]

[789-006-w003]

[Duration: 9m 8s]

1972 election

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



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



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- 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.*]



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

Edward C. Nixon

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

1972 election

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

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 Shumann
 - Diplomatic solution

Vietnam War

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



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



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

US foreign policy

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



- Press
 - Contact with Kissinger
 - New York Times*

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

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

Kissinger left at 11:36 am.

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

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

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



[789-006-w008]

[Duration: 11m 16s]

Polling

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



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

Alexander Butterfield entered at 11:45 a.m.

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

- Julie Nixon Eisenhower's schedule
 - Weather

Edward C. Nixon

Alexander Butterfield left at 11:46 a.m.

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



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



- President's polls
- Polls of individual states

The President's forthcoming radio speeches

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

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

[Conversation No. 789-6A]

[See Conversation No. 30-35]

[End of telephone conversation]



The President's speeches

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

The President's schedule]

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

Polls

Administration activities

- Media coverage
 - Tone
 - Daily analysis

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

[Conversation No. 789-6B]

[See Conversation No. 30-36]

[End of telephone conversation]

Price's schedule

- Staff
 - Helicopter
 - Edward Nixon

1972 election

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



- Supporters, record
- John Foster Dulles

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

Colson's schedule

Weather

- Timing of Camp David trip
- Helicopter

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

Haldeman's schedule

- Kenneth W. Clawson
- Ft. Wayne report

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

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

Ft. Wayne report

- Kenneth W. Clawson
- Record

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

[Privacy]

[789-006-w009]

[Duration: 52s]

-George S. McGovern

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



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

1972 election
-Use

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

Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon’s schedule

Helicopter

Colson's schedule

Haldeman’s schedule

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

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

[Personal Returnable]

[789-006-w010]

[Duration: 1m 6s]

1972 election
-Polls

- Gallup polls
 - Weighting figures



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

Request for follow-up

Haldeman left at 12:00 pm.

[Conversation No. 789-007](#)

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

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

The President's schedule

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

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

[Conversation No. 789-7A]



[See Conversation No. 30-37]

[End of telephone conversation]

[*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



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



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

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

[Conversation No. 789-7B]

[See Conversation No. 30-38]

[End of telephone conversation]

Bohlen

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

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

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



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

[*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.