Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: 8:26 am - 8:27 am  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Marjorie P. Acker.

Vietnam War
   -The President’s forthcoming radio and television speech, “Look to the Future”
   -[Raymond K. Price, Jr.]
     -Henry A. Kissinger

Acker left at 8:27 am.

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Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: 8:55 am - 8:56 am  
Location: Executive Office Building

Raymond K. Price, Jr. talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 32-105]

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Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: 9:00 a.m.  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-106]
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Mar.-08)

Conversation No. 379-4

Date: November 1, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:00 am and 9:02 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-107]

Conversation No. 379-5

Date: November 1, 1972
Time: 9:02 am - 9:03 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Raymond K. Price, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 32-108]

Conversation No. 379-6

Date: November 1, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:03 am and 9:09 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-109]
Date: November 1, 1972
Time: 9:09 am - 9:10 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Raymond K. Price, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 32-110]

Date: November 1, 1972
Time: 9:15 am - 9:17 am
Location: Executive Office Building

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

[See Conversation No. 32-111]

Date: November 1, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:17 am and 9:26 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Majorie P. Acker [?].

The President’s forthcoming radio and television speech, “Look to the Future” [?] -Draft [?]

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Patrick J. Buchanan
- Timing

Acker [?] let at an unknown time before 9:26 am.
The President met with Patrick J. Buchanan.

1972 election campaign
- Time remaining until election
- Opposition’s actions
  - Exploitation
    - The President's conversation with Charles W. Colson
    - Demonstrators in Boston
    - 1960 election
      - Reason for defeat
        - Texas Congressman Bruce R. Alger
- Participants
  - Number
  - Use of obscenities
    - Boston Globe coverage
  - Handling
- The President's forthcoming trip to Rhode Island
  - Brown University
- Busing issue
  - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
  - Democrats
  - Louise Day Hicks
- Possible telephone calls
  - Tricia Nixon Cox
  - Wisconsin
  - Julia Nixon Eisenhower
- Possible telephone calls
  - Demands of McGovern
    - Insults to Mrs. Nixon
    - Use of obscenities against Tricia Nixon Cox and Julie Nixon Eisenhower
Responsibility
-Condemnation
-Violence
-San Francisco, Phoenix, Republican National Convention
-McGovern's response

-Double standard
-Ronald L. Ziegler
-Repudiation
-The President’s trip to Liberty Island, New York, September 26, 1972
-The President’s appearance at Westchester-Nassau rally, October 23, 1972
-Organization
-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
-First Family
-The President’s campaign
-Compared to McGovern’s

-Press relations
-Double standard
-Lack of questioning of conduct
-Free speech issue
-Violence, use of obscenities

-Repudiation
-Demands of McGovern
-Wires
-McGovern campaign
-Tone

-Possible statement from administration
-Ziegler
-John B. Connally

-Media coverage
-Boston newspapers
-Effect on McGovern
-Democrats
-Demonstrators
-McGovern supporters
-Physical appearance and behavior
-Democratic National Convention

Smears against the President
-R. Sargent Shriver
-The President’s previous campaigns
-Focus on record
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Mar.-08)

Conversation No. 379-10 (cont’d)

-Helen Gahagan Douglas
-Agnew statements
  -1968
    -“Fat Jap” comment, “Polack” remark, “Soft on communism” charge
    -Apologies
    -Compared with Shriver
-McGovern
-Press relations
  -Double standard
  -Demonstrators
  -Editorials
  -Mary McGrory
  -Response
    -Editors
    -White House
    -Op-ed article
    -Unknown publisher [Post-Review?]
  -The President
    -Compared to Abraham Lincoln
-Agnew

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-Counter attack
  -Nicholos P. Thimmesch
  -Public statement, mailing
  -Honest spokesman
  -Kevin P. Phillips
  -[Unintelligible name]
  -Jeffrey Hart
  -Barry M. Goldwater
    -1964 election
  -McGovern’s troubles
    -Establishment press hypocrisy
      -Blaming McGovern
      -Public repudiation of their ideas
      -Withdrawal from Vietnam
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Mar.-08)

Conversation No. 379-10 (cont’d)

-New lifestyles
-Marijuana
-Permissiveness
-Welfare
-Busing
-Public repudiation

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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-New York Times
-Washington Post
-Times
-Newsweek
-Networks

Press relations
-1970 campaign
 -Press assessments
 -Problems
   -Television
 -Successes despite obstacles
   -Recession
   -Minority party
 -Rewriting history
 -The President's plans
 -Suppression
 -Denial of access
   -New York Times
   -Washington Post
   -Time
   -Newsweek
   -Networks
   -Self-defense
 -Access for friends
   -Garnett D. (“Jack”) Horner
   -Intelligence
     -Washington Star
   -Jerry Greene
-New York
-\textit{Chicago Tribun}
-\textit{Los Angeles Times}
-\textquote{Georgetown set}

1972 campaign
- Polls
  - 1964 election
    - Goldwater
    - Gallup and Harris

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- Outcome
  - Percentages
- State issues
  - Massachusetts
  - Michigan
  - Wisconsin
  - Massachusetts
  - New York
    - Polls
    - Number of votes

Press relations
- Left-wing opinion makers
  - Liberal establishment
  - Support for McGovern
  - The President’s counterattacks
  - Fear of the President
    - Reasons
      - Repudiation of ideas

1972 campaign
- McGovern
  - \textit{Washington Post}
  - Canada
    - Elections
-Conservative Party
-James B. ("Scotty") Reston
  -Left
  -Pierre E. Trudeau
  -Willy Brandt
-Trudeau
  -Polls
-Press
  -Regrettable statements
    -Vietnam
    -Charles W. Colson
    -Willard Edwards
    -Clark R. Mollenhoff
-Cultivation of the President’s supporters
-McGovern’s troubles
  -Blaming McGovern
  -Repudiation of the press’ views
  -Blaming Thomas F. Eagleton
  -Management, style versus views
-Liberal attacks
  -Reasons
    -Repudiation of views
    -Vietnam withdrawal
    -Busing
    -Marijuana
    -Permissiveness
    -Welfare
-Networks
  -Attacks on administration
    -Columbia Broadcasting system [CBS]
  -Impact on polls
-Voter turnout
  -Analogy with football game
    -Atlanta Falcons versus San Francisco Forty-Niners
  -Empty bleachers
-Campaign excitement
  -McGovern
  -1964 election
  -1968 election
  -Goldwater, Lyndon B. Johnson
Amnesty
   -The President's policies
     -Rationale
     -Forgiveness
     -Analogy to prison sentence
   -McGovern

Vietnam War
   -Settlement agreement
     -Likelihood
     -Ziegler's statement, October 31, 1972
     -Tone
     -Effect on right
     -McGovern
     -Diversion of attention
     -1972 election
   -The President’s forthcoming radio and television speech, “Look to the Future”
     -1972 election
     -Imposition of Communist government on South Vietnam
-1968 settlement
  -Collapse
  -Tone
  -Likelihood
-1972 election
  -Concessions to North Vietnamese
  -US public opinion

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign
  -Theodore H. (“Teddy) White
    -Possible conversation with Buchanan
    -Conversation with the President
    -Watergate
      -John D. Ehrlichman
  -Press Statements
    -Buchanan’s role
    -Eastern establishment
      -Decline
        -Lack of morality and honesty
      -Double standard
        -Attack on McGovern
    -Repudiation of views
    -Agnew
    -Role of government
  -Timing
    -Busing issue
    -Left issue
-Busing issue
  -Agnew
  -Attacks on McGovern
-Demonstrators
  -Demands on McGovern
  -Apology

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*****************************************************************
Buchanan left at 9:59 am.

Date: November 1, 1972
Time: 10:04 am - 10:43 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Raymond K. Price, Jr.

Greetings

The President’s schedule
   - Request for Price to wait
   - Completion of work

[Pause]

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign
   - The President’s speeches
     - Busing
     - Television [TV]
     - Vermont Royster
       - Concern
         - Need for major speeches

[End of segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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1972 campaign
   - Hecklers
Conversation No. 379-11 (cont’d)

-George S. McGovern
-Compared to Britain
  - Shouting questions at rostrum
  - Tone
- Organized attempts to shout speakers down
- The President’s appearance at Westchester - Nassau rally, October 23, 1972
  - Speech
  - Reasons for not delivering
  - Microphones

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-Rallies
  - Disadvantages
  - Agnew
  - Size of crowds
    - McCormick Place
    - Astrodome
-Radio speeches
  - Advantages
    - Larger audience
  - Live speeches
    - Economics, love, war
  - Disadvantages
    - Impersonality
    - Importance
-Rally
  - Obsolescence
  - Selective audiences
    - Opinion-makers
  - College campuses
    - Hecklers
    - McGovern
-Radio speeches
  - Format characterized
    - Record of administration
- Hecklers
  - Objections
The President’s forthcoming radio and television speech, “Look to the Future”
- Length
- Henry A. Kissinger's memorandum
- Vietnam War
  - Introduction
  - Revisions
- Peace with honor
  - Compared to peace with surrender
- Public support
  - 1972 election
- World leaders
  - Kremlin, Peking, Hanoi
- Settlement agreement
  - 1972 election
  - Deadline
  - Concessions
- Conditions
  - Prisoners of War [POWs]
  - Cease-fire
  - South Vietnam self-determination
    - Imposition of communist or coalition government
- Status
- Remaining problems
  - Details
  - Importance

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift ]
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Conversation No. 379-11 (cont’d)

-1968 Bombing halt
  -Collapse of settlement
  -Permanence
    -Peace
      -Compared to armistice
  -1972 election
    -Deadline
  -Permanence
    -Peace
      -Compared to armistice
  -Progress
  -Timing
    -December 1, 1972
  -Public expectations
  -Prospects for success
    -Peace with honor
  -Remaining problems
    -Continuation of war
  -Request for public support
    -Peace with honor
      -Compared to peace with surrender
  -1972 election
    -Deadline
  -World leaders
    -Hanoi
  -Revisions
  -World politics
    -Kissinger
      -Memorandum
    -Importance
    -Settlement agreement
    -Nguyen Van Thieu
      -Reassurance
  -Domestic politics
    -Settlement agreement
  -Settlement agreement
    -Timing
      -1972 election
    -Progress
    -Details
Conversation No. 379-11 (cont’d)

- Importance
  - Temporary peace
    - Laotian settlement of 1962
    - 1968 bombing halt
  - 1972 election
  - World leaders
    - Hanoi
    - Saigon
  - Permanence
  - Fairness
  - Imposition of communist or coalition government on South Vietnam
    - South Vietnam self-determination
  - Peace with honor
    - Compared to peace with surrender
  - US public support

- Revisions by Price
- Vietnam War
  - Appeal for public support
    - Price’s forthcoming conversation with Charles W. Colson
    - Albert E. Sindlinger
    - Louis P. Harris
  - 1972 election
  - Emphasis
    - Six states
  - Negotiations
    - Status
  - Inflation
    - Soviet Union
  - Effect
  - Inflation
  - Ending
  - Number of words
    - Vietnam War
  - Revisions by the President
    - Delivery of draft
      - Timing
        - The President’s forthcoming meeting with John Cardinal Krol
  - Price’s forthcoming meeting with Kissinger
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Tape Subject Log
(rev. Mar.-08)

Conversation No. 379-11 (cont’d)

Radio address on foreign policy, November 4, 1972
- The President’s schedule
  - The President’s forthcoming speech, “Look to the Future”
    - Delivery
      - Timing

- John D. Ehrlichman
  - Goals
    - Ehrlichman’s materials
  - Wrap-up
  - Delivery
    - Timing
      - Ziegler’s view
      - November 4, 1972 radio
      - November 5, 1972 newspapers

Radio address on foreign policy
- Timing
  - Health policy
    - November 3, 1972
  - The President’s previous statements on foreign policy
  - Health policy
  - The President’s schedule
    - Campaign tour

Domestic policy statements
- Health policy
  - November 3, 1972
  - Substance
    - Style
    - Importance
- Environment
  - John C. Whitaker
- Foreign policy
  - Kissinger
- Health policy
  - Story
    - November 3, 1972
Radio address on foreign policy
- The President’s previous statements on foreign policy
  - PRC, Soviet Union
- Originality
  - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
- Draft completion
  - Choice

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Price
- The President’s forthcoming speech, “Look to the Future”
  - Delivery
  - Preparation
    - White House library
    - Reading
- Radio address on foreign policy
- Timing
  - November 5 and 6, 1972
    - California
  - Price’s schedule
    - Secretary

Price left at 10:43 am.

Date: November 1, 1972
Time: 10:44 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-112]
Date: November 1, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:44 am and 10:45 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-113]

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Date: November 1, 1972
Time: 10:45 am - 10:46 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with John A. Scali.

[See Conversation No. 32-114]

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Date: November 1, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:46 am and 11:15 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

The President's forthcoming radio and television speech, “Look to the Future”

- Vietnam, negotiations
  - Status
    - Public relations [PR]
      - Ellsworth F. Bunker
      - George S. McGovern [?]  
    - Right
-Jay Lovestone

The President’s forthcoming speech, “Look to the Future”
- The President’s work with Raymond K. Price, Jr.
  - Vietnam War
    - Settlement agreement
    - 1972 election
    - Progress
    - Coalition government

- Completion
  - Timing
    - Kissinger’s forthcoming conversation with Price
    - The President’s role
    - Kissinger’s forthcoming conversation with Price
      - Kissinger’s memorandum
  - Final draft
    - The President’s work with Kissinger
  - Kissinger’s health
  - The President’s schedule
    - Domestic policy radio speeches
  - Vietnam War
    - Nguyen Van Thieu
    - William F. Buckley, Jr.

Kissinger’s schedule
- Dr. William O. Chase

[End of telephone conversation]

Charles W. Colson entered at an unknown time after 10:46 am.

1972 campaign
- Violent demonstrators
  - Demonstrators in Boston
    - McGovern
      - The President's recent conversation with Patrick J. Buchanan
      - Public relations [PR]

- PR
  - 1960 campaign
  - Press and media relations
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:46 am and 11:15 am.
[Conversation No. 379-15A]

[See Conversation No. 32-115]

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 campaign
  -Demonstrators in Boston
    -Participants
      -Number
      -Activities
        -Car burnings
    -Press coverage
      -Boston Globe
  -Effect on Boston
    -Compared to San Jose incident, October 29, 1970
      -Working class
    -Response
      -Clark MacGregor statement
        -Tone
      -Demands of McGovern
    -John B. Connally
      -Recent conversation with Colson
      -Forthcoming press conference
        -Washington, D.C., press corps
  -Effect
    -McGovern

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign
  -Polls
    -Point spread
      -Question
        -Wording
      -Outcome
    -Point spread
Colson talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:46 am and 11:15 am
1972 campaign
  -Hecklers in Boston
    -Public response
    -Irish Americans
      -Collins
    -Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
    -McGovern
      -Vulnerability

1972 campaign in Boston
  -Hecklers
    -Response
      -McGovern
      -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
        -Hecklers
        -Mrs. Nixon
          -McGovern
        -Car burnings
          -Press and media relations
          -Hugh W. Sloan, Jr.
            -Watergate
            -Leo Cherne

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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[End of segment reviewed under deed of gift]
The White House operator talked with Colson at an unknown time between 10:46 am and 11:15 am.

[Conversation No. 379 – 15C]

[Conversation No. 32-118]

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 campaign
-Demonstrators in Boston
 -Collins
 -Mrs. Nixon
 -Apology
 -Democrats for Nixon

The President’s schedule

[End of segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Colson left at 11:15 am.
Date: November 1, 1972
Time: 11:17 am - unknown before 11:20 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-119]

The President met with Manolo Sanchez at an unknown time after 11:17 am.

*************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Refreshment

[End of segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:20 am.

Date: November 1, 1972
Time: 11:20 am - 11:45 am
Location: Executive Office Building

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

Radio addresses
- Timing
  -[“The Birthright of an American Child”], November 5, 1972
  -November 6, 1972 newspapers
- Health policy
- Foreign policy, November 4, 1972
Conversation No. 379-17 (cont’d)

-November 5 and 6, 1972
  -Newspapers
  -Vietnam War

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Radio addresses
  -The President’s schedule

1972 election
  -Hecklers in Boston
    -Car burnings
    -George S. McGovern
    -Clark MacGregor
    -Radio coverage
    -Tricia Nixon Cox, Julie Nixon Eisenhower
      -Radio presentation
  -The President’s trips
    -North Carolina, New Mexico
    -Recommendations
    -Rhode Island
    -Oklahoma
      -Dewey F. Bartlett
    -Congressional elections
    -North Carolina
      -Raleigh
        -Airport
      -Asheville
    -Previous visits
      -Haldeman
      -Tricia Nixon Cox, Julie Nixon Eisenhower
        -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
    -Victory chances
    -New Mexico
      -Santa Fe
      -Albuquerque
        -Airport
          -Access problem
-Previous visit
  -Agnew
  -Demonstrations
  -Texas
    -El Paso
    -New Mexico State University
  -Farmers
  -Albuquerque
  -Las Cruces

-Prospects
-The President’s trips
  -North Carolina
    -Colleges
      -Greensboro, Charlotte
      -Chapel Hill
    -Problems
  -Raleigh
  -Greensboro
  -Demonstrators
  -Crowd size
    -Chicago

-Media coverage
  -Newspaper story
  -Television networks

-Television speech [“Look to the Future," November 2, 1972]
  -Staging
    -Library
      -Chair
      -Lighting
    -Chair
    -Books
    -Studio
    -Lighting

-Vietnam
-Staging
  -Chair
  -Library

-Press coverage
  -Adrian Lee
    -Foreign policy writer
Haldeman left at 11:45 am.

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**Conversation No. 379-18**

Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: 12:25 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-120]

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**Conversation No. 379-19**

Date: November 1, 1972  
Time: 12:26 pm - 12:40 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Charles W. Colson.
1972 election
- Demonstrators in Boston
  - Colson’s report
  - John F. Collins
    - Reaction
      - Public opinion
      - Local police
      - Boston Globe
      - Public’s support for the President
      - Nixon government victory
- McGovern
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- McGovern
- Agnew
  - Confrontation
- Demonstrators in Boston
  - Attack on First Lady [Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon]
    - Blue collar workers
    - Infuriation
  - Public attention
- Massachusetts
  - The President’s possible victory
    - Collins
    - McGovern
    - Margin
    - Collins
    - Demonstrators in Boston
      - Benefit
      - Irish
      - McGovern
- Demonstrators in Boston
  - Clark MacGregor
    - Statement
    - Democrats
    - McGovern
    - Collins
  - Support for the President
Colson left at 12:40 pm.