Conversation No. 388-1

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:54 am and 1:00 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

The President’s schedule
- Florida trip

Conversation No. 388-2

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:54 am and 1:00 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

[Conversation No. 388-2A]

California

[End of telephone conversation]

The President’s schedule
- Florida trip

[Aborted telephone call]
Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:54 am and 1:00 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person [Manolo Sanchez?].

Instruction

The President talked with the White House Operator at an unknown time between 12:54 am and 1:00 am.

[CONVERSATION NO. 388-3A]

Unknown person
- Another line
- The President’s forthcoming telephone call

[End of telephone call]

The unknown person [Sanchez?] left at an unknown time before 1:00 am.

[Pause]

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 12:54 am.

Inquiry

[Pause]

Sanchez talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 12:54 am and 1:00 am.

[Conversation No. 388-3B]

[See Conversation No. 33-53]

[End of telephone call]
An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 12:54 am.

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 12:54 am and 1:00 am.

[Conversation 388-3C]

[See Conversation No. 33-54]

[End of telephone call]

1972 election
  -Votes

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  -Arrival

1972 election
  -Sanchez and Fina Sanchez’s votes

Haldeman entered at an unknown time after 12:54 am.

Sanchez and the unknown person left at an unknown time before 1:00 am.

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 12:54 am and 1:00 am.

[Conversation No. 388-3D]

[See Conversation No. 33-55]

[End of telephone call]
Location: Executive Office Building

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

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

1972 election
    -Latest returns
        -Network coverage
        -California
        -Prediction
        -Minnesota
        -Rhode Island
        -Projection
            -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time.

[See Conversation No. 388-4A]

    -Request for phone calls
        -Rhode Island
        -Minnesota
        -CBS
            -Projections
        -Rhode Island
        -Delaware
            -Senate
                -Projection
        -Robert Teeter

[End of telephone conversation]

    -Teeter
    -Rhode Island
        -Projections
            -Wire services
            -Results
    -Delaware
The President talked with Frank L. Rizzo between 1:00 am and 1:10 am.

[Conversation No. 388-4B]

[See Conversation No. 33-56]

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 election
   - Democrats
   - Nelson A. Rockefeller’s call
     - Time
     - Return call

The President talked with the White House operator between 1:10 am and 1:12 am

[Conversation No. 388-4C]

[See Conversation No. 33-57]

1972 election
   - Rockefeller
     - Return call
   - Minnesota
     - Problems
       - Projection
         - [George S. McGovern]
   - Wisconsin
     - The President’s chances
   - Senate races
     - J. Caleb Boggs
     - Margaret Chase Smith
       - Possible loss
     - Jack R. Miller
       - Projection
       - Iowa
     - Smith
     - Seats gained
       - Pete V. Domenici
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 1:10 am and 1:12 am.

[Conversation No. 388-4D]

[See Conversation No. 33-58]

The President talked with Nelson A. Rockefeller between 1:12 am and 1:16 am.

[Conversation No. 388-4E]

[See Conversation No. 33-59]

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 election
- Minnesota
  - Projection
    - National Broadcasting Company [NBC]
Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 1:16 am and 1:28 am.

[Conversation No. 388-4F]

1972 election
   -New Hampshire
      -Thomas J. McIntyre

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 election
   -Results
      -New Hampshire
         -McIntyre
         -Figures
      -Nebraska
Haldeman talked with Ronald L. Ziegler at an unknown time between 1:16 am and 1:28 am.

[Conversation No. 388-4G]

1972 election
   -California
      -Call
         -Results
            -Wire services
            -Analysis
         -Projections
            -NBC
            -CBS

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 election
   -California
      -Projections
         -The President’s lead
- Voter turnout
  - Nation
  - Projections
  - California
    - Problems
    - Polls
  - Votes for the President
  - Comparison to Lyndon B. Johnson
  - Projections
  - Actual figures

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 1:16 am and 1:28 am.

[Conversation No. 388-4H]

1972 election
  - Percentages

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 election
  - Minnesota
    - Projections
      - American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
      - NBC
  - McGovern
    - Telegram from the President
    - Statement
      - Tone
    - The President’s telegram
      - Wording
        - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
        - Guidelines
          - 1972 campaign
          - Eleanor (Stegeberg) McGovern
          - Rest
          - Price’s speech drafts
            - Problems
            - Support
            - Peace
The White House operator talked with the President at an unknown time between 1:16 am and 1:28 am.

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger between 1:28 am and 1:30 am.

Charles Colson entered at 1:28 am.

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 election
-Telegram to McGovern
  -Buchanan

The President talked with Hubert H. Humphrey between 1:31 am and 1:35 am.

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 election
- Voter turnout
  -Computer output
    -Accuracy
  -CBS projection
    -McGovern
      -The President’s telegram
        -Wording
          -Rest
Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 1:35 am and 3:00 am.

[Conversation No. 388-4K]

1972 election
   -Rhode Island
   -Minnesota
   -California
   -Results

[End of telephone conversation]

- McGovern
  - The President’s view

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 1:35 am.

1972 election
   - McGovern’s concession statement
     - Tricia Nixon Cox
     - Sanchez’s opinion
       - Fina Sanchez
     - The President’s opinion
       - Ziegler’s opinion
     - Reaction of Tricia Nixon Cox and Julie Nixon Eisenhower

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:00 am.
- The President’s response
  - Price’s draft
    - The President’s criticism
  - The President’s wording
    - Tone
  - Robert H. Finch
    - Media relations
    - California
      - Unknown person
  - Effectiveness
    - Oval Office
    - Victory rally
      - Crowds
    - “God Bless America” quote
    - Personal appeal

- Congressional races
  - Criticism of the President
    - Media relations
    - Handling
      - Strategy
  - Smith race
    - Maine
    - Offer of the President’s help
      - Tricia Nixon Cox
  - Defeat
    - Reasons
      - Age

- Boggs
  - Age
- Miller
- Nunn
  - Defeat
- Smith
- North Carolina
  - Helms
- Scott
  - Margin of victory
    - Harry S. Dent
    - Comparison with the President’s margin
Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 1:35 am and 3:00 am.
[Conversation No. 388–4L]

1972 election
 -Kenneth W. Clawson
 -Telephone call to New York Daily News

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 election
 -The President’s recent telephone conversation with Connally
  -Idanell (“Nellie”) Connally
  -Family
  -Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
 -The President’s victory speech
  -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
  -Mrs. Nixon
  -Women
  -Youth
   -[Dwight] David Eisenhower II
    -Oval Office
 -McGovern
  -Statement
 -The President’s victory speech
  -Location
    -Desk
     -Flags
     -“God Bless America” quote
  -Public response
    -Iowa
  -Price’s draft
   -Use of Bible
 -Messages
 -Crowd response
  -Agnew
 -Timing
  -Contrast with McGovern
 -Media coverage
  -John W. Chancellor
  -Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.
Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 1:35 am and 3:00 am.

[Conversation No. 388-4M]

Instruction

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 election
- The President’s victory speeches
  - Democrats
  - Shoreham Hotel
    - Albert E. Singlinger
- Results
- Labor vote
  - Labor legislation
    - The President’s recent conversation with John D. Ehrlichman
- Administration’s work with George Meany
- Catholic vote
- Blue collar vote
  - Media analysis
    - NBC
    - CBS
    - Catholic vote
    - Roger H. Mudd
    - Michael Wallace
- Vietnam
-California
  -Projection
    -Los Angeles
    -Dr. Benjamin (MacLean) Spock
    -John G. Schmitz
  -Vote count
  -San Francisco Bay area
    -Projections
    -Key precincts
  -Congressional delegation
  -House of Representatives races
    -Republican gains
      -Gerald Ford
  -Media coverage
    -Congressional races
      -Republicans
      -Boggs
      -Miller
      -Maryland

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 6s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

1972 election
  -The President’s schedule
    -Dental appointment
  -Senate races
  -Results
    -Media coverage
      -Landslide
      -Chancellor
      -Comparison to 1968 election
      -Comparison to Johnson landslide
        -John F. Kennedy assassination
Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 1:35 am.

Breakfast
- Food orders
- White House mess

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:00 am.

1972 election
- Results
  - Support for the President
  - McGovern
    - Statements on peace
      - The President’s response
  - R. Sargeant Shriver
    - New York McGovern headquarters
      - Statement
        - Television coverage
  - Minnesota
    - Minneapolis report
    - The President’s chances

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 1:35 am and 3:00 am.
Conversation No. 388-4 (cont’d)

1972 election
  -Minnesota
    -Network projections
    -Clark MacGregor report

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 election
  -Massachusetts
    -Results
      -Paul W. Cronin
        -Defeat of John F. Kerry
    -Projections of networks
      -Alabama
      -Alaska
      -Arizona
      -Arkansas
      -California
      -Colorado
      -Connecticut
      -Delaware
      -Florida
      -Georgia
      -Hawaii
      -CBS
      -Idaho
      -Illinois
      -Indiana
      -Iowa
      -Kansas
      -Kentucky
      -Indiana
      -Maine
      -Maryland
      -Massachusetts
      -Michigan
      -Minnesota
      -Mississippi
      -Missouri
Conversation No. 388-4 (cont’d)

-Montana
-Nebraska
-Nevada
-New Hampshire
  -Powell’s race
  -McIntyre
-New Jersey
-New Mexico
-New York
-North Carolina
  -Helms
-North Dakota
-Ohio
-Oklahoma
  -Bartlett
-Oregon
-Pennsylvania
  -Pittsburgh
  -Heinz family
-Rhode Island
-South Carolina
-South Dakota
-Tennessee
-Texas
-Utah
-Vermont
-Virginia
-Washington state
-West Virginia
-Wisconsin
  -Milwaukee
-Wyoming
-Washington, DC
-Method of calculation
-Results
  -California
  -Mountain states
  -South
  -New York
    -Labor vote
Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 1:35 am and 3:00 am.

[Conversation No. 388-40]

1972 election
-Results

[End of telephone conversation]
Conversation No. 388-4 (cont’d)

- Value of visit
- The President’s margin
- TV

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 1:35 am.

Breakfast

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:00 am.

The President’s schedule

1972 election
- California
  - Nofziger
  - [First name unknown] Collins
  - Missouri
- Landslide
- Shoreham Hotel
- New York
- Minnesota
- California
- New York
  - Percentages
  - New York City
    - McGovern
    - Queens precincts
    - Michael J. O’Neill
    - Manhattan
    - Queens
    - Brooklyn
    - Bronx
    - Richmond
    - Suburbs
- State
- Suffolk County

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 1:35 am.

- Westchester County
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:00 am.

1972 election
-Results
  -Rockefeller’s reactions
- New York
  -The President’s margin
- New Hampshire
  -Powell
- Congratulations
  -Messages
    -Sammy Davis, Jr.
      -Telephone call
    -Altouise Davis
    -Shoreham Hotel
    -Howard [last name unknown]
      -Antique elephant
    -Judge Andrew Hauk
-McGovernites
-Edmund G. (“Pat”) Brown

-Ralph Cake
-Alice Roosevelt Longworth
-Greetings
-The President and First Family
-Radios, TVs
-Thomas E. Dewey

-Senate candidates
-Quality
-Colorado
-Allott
-Defeat
-Blame on the President
-The President’s visit
-Weather

-Miller
-Allott
-Alaska
-[William E. Egan]
-Ticket splitting

-Governors
-Daniel J. Evans
-Victory
-Washington state
-Pennsylvania
-Arch A. Moore, Jr.
-John D. Rockefeller, IV
-Herbert F. DeSimone
-James E. Holshouser
-Texas
-Republican
-Henry C. Grover
-Connally
-Dolph S. Briscoe
-Bircher

-Republican gains
-Missouri
-Christopher S. (“Kit”) Bond
Conversation No. 388-4 (cont’d)

-Grover
-Rhode Island
-Richard B. Ogilvie
-Indiana
-Russell W. Peterson
-Delaware
-Morris Kay
-Robert Docking
-Bond
-Missouri
-North Carolina
-Holshouser
-New Hampshire
-Meldrim Thomson, Jr.
-Number
-Republican losses
-Vermont
-DeSimone
-Grover
-Briscoe
-Utah
-Calvin L. Rampton
-Vermont
-Thomas P. Salmon
-Evans
-Moore
-Grover
-Connally’s view

-Allott
-Defeat
-Boggs
-Defeat
-Certainty
-Fletcher W. Thompson
-Defeat
-James A McClure
-Victory
-Charles H. Percy
-Victory
-Senate
Colson talked to an unknown person at an unknown time between 1:35 am and 3:00 am.

[Conversation No. 388-4P]

[See Conversation No. 33-65]

[End of telephone conversation]
The President’s schedule
- Meetings in the morning
- Time

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 1:35 am and 3:00 am.

[Conversation No. 388-4Q]

1972 election
- California
  - Telephone calls
    - Greenberg
      - Los Angeles Times

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 election
- California
  - Secretary of State
    - Democratic allegiance
  - Release of figures
    - Problems
      - Collins, Nofziger
  - Projections
    - Networks
  - Greenberg
    - Information
  - Press coverage
    - Commentary
      - Historic landslide
-1968 election
-1962 election
-Complaints
  -Congress
  -Press reports
  -“Penance vote” [ticket splitting]
-Low voter turnout
  -Polls
  -Republicans
-Colorado
  -The President’s margin
  -Allott
  -Advantages
    -The President’s support
      -TV, letter, telephone call
-Defeat
-Republican defeats
  -Smith
  -Allott
  -Miller
  -Reasons
    -White House
  -Smith
  -Boggs
  -Miller
  -Allott
  -Other gains
  -Net loss
  -Percent of vote
  -Miller
  -Smith
  -Boggs
  -Allott
-The President’s victory
  -Senate
    -House of Representatives

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Haldeman and Colson left at 3:00 a.m.

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:59 am and 2:00 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Robert H. Finch
- Location
- The President’s schedule
- Request for a telephone call from Finch

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 33-70]
The President talked with an unknown person.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
   -State by state report
   -Delivery

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

The President’s schedule
   -Dr. William O. Chase
     -The President’s recent trip to office
     -The President’s forthcoming trip to office
     -Timing

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: 2:05 pm- unknown before 3:28 pm
Location: Executive Office Building
1972 election
-Results
  -Percentages
  -Unreported count
  -Vote count
    -Majority
      -Compared to 1964 election
      -Barry M. Goldwater
      -Number of votes
    -Size
      -Compared to past elections
  -Percentages
    -Compared to 1964 election
    -Lyndon B. Johnson
  -Margin of victory
  -George S. McGovern’s vote
    -Percentage
  -Georgia
  -Connecticut
  -Colorado
  -California
    -Vots
    -Predictions
    -Margin
      -John G. Schmitz
  -Massachusetts
    -Peace vote
    -Watergate
    -Areas lost
An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 2:05 pm.

Possible statement by the President
- *US News and World Report*
- Frederic V. Malek
- Length
  - Raymond K. Price, Jr.

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 2:15 pm.

1972 election
- The President’s victory
  - Significance
  - Size of majority
  - Percentage lead
    - Johnson’s victory
- Third party candidate
- George C. Wallace
  - South
  - Social issue
- Republican National Committee
  - Complaints
    - Reform
      - Timing
- The President’s victory
  - Significance
- Republican Party
  - Complaints
    - Robert J. Dole
    - Peter H. Domenici
    - Robert C. (“Bob”) Wilson
- The President’s support for candidates
- Dwight D. Eisenhower’s efforts
  - Compared to the President’s efforts
- Problems
- Desmond J. Barker, Jr.’s view
  - Rocky Mountain states
  - Gordon L. Allott
    - Problems
    - New type of conservative
Conversation No. 388-8 (cont’d)

- Independence
- Midwest
- Colorado

- Robert H. Finch
  - Rally
- Jack Miller
  - Loss
    - Earl L. Butz
- J. Caleb Boggs
  - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew’s presence
  - Visit by the President
    - Wilmington
    - 1970 campaign
- The President’s support
  - Middle America
  - Old Eastern Establishment
    - Value system
    - Republican Party

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

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 2:15 P.M.

Mail
- Disposition
  - “FYIs”
  - The President’s schedule
    - Florida
- Telephone calls
  - Messages
  - The President’s workload

Winston S. Churchill
- Biography by Peter de Mendelssohn [The Age of Churchill]
  - Library of Congress
  - Delivery to the President in Florida

Edward R.G. Heath
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 2:15 pm and 2:18 pm.

[Conversation No. 388-8A]

[See Conversation No. 33-71]

[End of telephone conversation]

Butterfield left at 2:18 pm.

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

1972 election
- The President’s strategy
  - Visits to states
    - Value
      - House of Representatives
    - Senate
- Results
  - Mandate for President
  - New constituency
  - Significance
    - Comparison to Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932
    - Eastern Establishment
    - Congress
- [American Party] “Birchers”
  - Washington state
  - Utah
  - Oregon
  - California
  - Alaska
Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:18 pm.

Robert H. Finch
- Location
  - The President's forthcoming telephone call
- Office location
  - West Wing
- Meeting with the President
  - Timing

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:35 p.m.
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
-Ticket splitting
- Colson’s recent conversation with Elliot L. Richardson
- Massachusetts
- Providence, Rhode Island
- The President’s attendance at rally
- Herbert F. DeSimone
- John H. Chafee
- Crowd response
- New Majority
- Republican Senators
- Clifford P. Case
- Edward W. Brooke
- Percy
- New Majority

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 2:18 pm and 2:35 pm.

[Conversation No. 388-8B]

[See Conversation No. 33-72]

Heath
- Location
- Buckingham Palace
- The President's possible telephone call

World leaders
- Congratulations
- Publicity
- Ronald L. Ziegler
- Importance
1972 election
  - The President’s victory
    - McGovern
    - World leaders
    - Dole
    - Significance
    - Margin of victory
      - Number of states
      - Number of votes
      - Percentages
      - Compared to 1964 election
      - Compared to 1936 election
        - Roosevelt
      - Compared to 1964 election
        - Johnson
        - Number of states
    - Media commentary
      - McGovern
        - Collapse of Democratic Party Coalition
          - 1932 election
          - Desertions
            - Urban dwellers
            - Blue collar workers
            - Catholics
            - Remnants
              - Blacks
              - Jews
                - Interests
    - The President’s victory
      - Control of political machine
      - Institutionalization
      - Peace
      - Compared to 1936 election
        - Roosevelt
          - Congressional victories
    - Executive power
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Conversation No. 388-8 (cont’d)

-Conflict with Congress
  -Strict construction
-Republican Party
-House of Representatives races
  -Net gains
  -Wilson
  -Problems
    -Candidates
  -Final figures
    -1968 election
  -Problems
    -Candidates

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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Watergate
-Post 1972 election period
  -Edward M. Kennedy investigation
  -Congress
  -Possible public perception
  -Possible effect
    -Democratic Party

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
  -McGovern and R. Sargent Shriver
    -Message to the President
      -Response
        -Patrick J. Buchanan draft
        -Price’s draft
        -The President’s revision
          -Wording
            -Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
            -Eleanor (Stegeburg) McGovern
            -Rest
Cooperation
- The President’s victory
- Public confidence
- Press and media relations
  - Washington Post
  - Columbia Broadcast System [CBS]
- Contacts
  - CBS
    - Telephone calls
    - Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.
- Predictions
  - Mistakes
    - McGovern
- Issues
  - Watergate and peace
    - Massachusetts
    - Importance

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 2:18 pm.

The President’s schedule
  - Meeting with Finch

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 2:35 pm.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
  - Watergate issue
  - Economic issue
    - McGovern’s handling

Finch entered at 2:35 pm.
Greetings

1972 election
  - The President’s victory
    - Majority
      - Voter turnout
      - Size
      - Percentage
        - Compared to 1964 election
          - Johnson
          - American Party
            - “Bircher” [John G. Schmitz]
              - Votes in California
              - National vote
              - Utah
              - Washington state
              - Wisconsin
                - Joseph McCarthy
                - Montana
                - Louisiana
                - Idaho
                  - Radical right strength
    - Peace issue
      - McGovern’s handling
        - Massachusetts
          - Watergate
        - National impact
      - Finch’s assessment
        - California
      - Finch’s schedule
        - Television [TV]
      - Election night calls
        - John B. Connally
        - Frank L. Rizzo
          - Milton S. Shapp
        - Nelson A. Rockefeller
          - Mood
          - Sportsmanship
            - 1960, 1964, 1968 nominations
      - California
Conversation No. 388-8 (cont’d)

-Republican Party candidates
  -Finch’s assessment
-The President’s efforts
  -Fundraising dinners
  -Ontario
    -Endorsements
  -Ronald W. Reagan
    -Complaints
    -Organization
-State legislature
  -Problems
    -Charles Conrad
    -Voter registration
    -Democrats well organized
    -Reagan
    -Conrad
    -[First Name Unknown] Campell
    -Unknown person
    -San Diego seats
      -Unknown people
-Republican Party
  -Decline in apparatus
  -Pete Wilson
-Media relations
  -Networks
    -Herbert G. Klein
    -John A. Scali
    -Unknown TV commentator
-Republican losses
  -Complaints
  -California
  -The President’s assistance with fundraising
  -Bob Wilson
    -Replacement
  -Campaign expenditures in 1971
    -H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
    -Areas of expenditure
      -Publicity, research, policy committees
-Republican Party
  -National Chairman
The President’s conversation with C. Moley
-Name change
-South

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Colson
- Vacation plans
  - Family
    - Boston

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
- Massachusetts
  - Tricia Nixon Cox
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
    - Smith College
  - [Dwight] David Eisenhower II
    - Amherst College
  - Edward R.F. Cox
    - Harvard University

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9
[Deed of gift – Privacy]
[Duration: 3s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Second term reorganization
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Conversation No. 388-8 (cont’d)

-The President’s opponents
  -Harvard University
  -Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT]
    -Exception
      -John F. Collins

Colson’s schedule

Second term reorganization
  -Appointments
    -Ethnic groups
      -Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans
    -Department of Labor
      -Labor leader
        -Compared to Commerce Department
          -Businessman
        -James D. Hodgson
    -Agreement
      -George Meany
      -Frank E. Fitzsimmons
      -Paul Hall
      -Abraham A. Ribicoff
  -Requirement
    -Political ability
  -Hall
    -Indictment
      -The President’s view
      -Compared to Meany
        -Education
        -Personality

Press relations
  -Colson’s forthcoming speech to New England newspaper editors
    -Washington Post
  -1972 election
    -Washington Post
      -George S. McGovern
        -Washington, DC

Colson left at 2:50 pm.
1974 election
   -Republican Party
      -California
         -Finch’s political plans
            -Governorship
               -Senate
               -Decision
            -The President’s recommendations
               -Senate
                  -Alan Cranston
            -Governorship
               -Polls
                  -Cranston
                  -Reagan
               -Congressional delegation

1972 election
   -Press relations
      -Los Angeles Times

Norman Chandler
   -Health
      -Rose Mary Woods
      -Cancer
         -James S. Copley
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Conversation No. 388-8 (cont’d)

-Leukemia
-Effect on speaking ability
-1972 election
-Notes
-Possible telephone call from the President
-Gratitude for support

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
- California
  - The President’s supporters
  - Reaction
    - Republican Party
  - Reagan
    - Relations with the President
  - H. R. 1
    - Family Assistance Plan [FAP]
      - Reagan’s telephone call to John D. Ehrlichman
  - Intelligence
    - Henry Salvatori
  - 1976 primaries
    - Agnew

1976 campaign
- Connally
- Reagan
- Agnew
  - Compared to Reagan
  - Primaries
  - Percy
- Reagan
  - Salvatori
  - Senate
  - Age
  - Experience in foreign policy
    - Trips for the President
Finch’s political plans
- California
  - Timing
  - Fundraising
  - Edward W. Carter
  - David Packard
    - Sponsored dinner
    - Californians in the White House
      - Haldeman
      - Finch
      - Klein
      - The President’s role
  - Campaign organization
    - Polls
  - Klein
    - Shriver
    - Jack J. Valenti
    - James S. Copley
    - Gordon Luce
    - Valenti
  - Republican Party
  - Choice of office
    - Governorship
      - John V. Tunney
  - Democrats
    - Candidates
      - Divisions
        - Bob Moretti
        - Joseph Alioto
        - George Moscone
        - Jerome R. Waldie
        - Edmund G. Brown, Jr.
  - Senate seats
    - Democrat control
    - Cranston
    - Shriver, Tunney
    - Minorities
    - Finch
      - Money
      - Pace
Conversation No. 388-8 (cont’d)

-Governorship
  -Edwin Reinecke
    -Otis Chander
  -Survey
    -Finch
  -Intelligence
  -Polls
    -Republicans
  -Polls
-Senate race
  -Cranston
    -Houston Flournoy
    -Barry M. Goldwater, Jr.
    -Robert B. Mathias
    -Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger

1976 campaign
  -John N. Mitchell
  -Rockefeller
    -Reagan
    -Governorship
    -Theodore H. (“Teddy”) White’s view
    -Agnew
    -Reagan
    -Percy
    -Reagan
    -Age
      -Reagan
        -Benjamin Disraeli

1972 election
  -Youth vote
  -Hispanic vote
    -New York
      -Puerto Rico
    -Chicanos
    -Cubans
    -Texans

Finch’s political plans
Constitutional

- Constituents
  - Jews
  - New Majority
    - Labor
      - International Brotherhood of Teamsters
      - Building trades
    - Catholics
    - Democrats

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Issues
- Ratios
  - Capital punishment
    - Ziegler’s conversation with the President
  - Marijuana
  - Busing

Second term reorganization
- Resignations
  - Handling
    - California
    - White House
  - Tone
  - Letters
  - Recent Cabinet meeting
    - William P. Rogers
  - Tone
  - Extent
    - Lyndon B. Johnson, John F. Kennedy holdovers
- Budget considerations
  - Finch’s conversation with Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger and George P. Schultz
    - Reduction in Force [RIF]
- Recent Cabinet meeting
  - Timing
    - Unknown person’s view
  - Cabinet
The President talked with Edward Heath between 3:08 pm and 3:11 pm.

[Conversation No. 388-8C]
[See Conversation No. 33-73]
[End of telephone conversation]

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
  -The President’s victory
    -Impact on world leaders
    -Johnson 1964 victory
      -Political problems
        -Great Society
        -Vietnam War
      -Johnson’s attitude
    -The President’s visit
      -Shoreham Hotel
      -Oval Office
        -Contrast to McGovern
        -Symbolism
  Finch’s political plans
    -California
    -Decision
    -Timing

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Second term reorganization
  - Cabinet resignations
     - Timing
       - George W. Romney’s concern
       - Romney, John A. Volpe
     - Duration of service
     - State government
     - Dwight Eisenhower Cabinet
     - Franklin D. Roosevelt
     - Eisenhower
       - Arthur Summerfield, George T. Humphrey

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Finch’s political plans
  - Scenario
    - Finch’s effort

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Finch’s political plans
  - Scenario
    - California
Timing
-White House staff
  -Surrogates
    -Klein
  -California
-National Association of Broadcasters
  -New York
-California
  -Money making
-Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations [ACIR]

Republican Party
  -Reform
    -Colson
    -The President’s actions
    -Timing
  -Problems
    -Division
    -Senate and House of Representatives campaigns
-White House
  -Support for candidates
    -Surrogates
    -Importance
  -Louie B. Nunn
    -The President’s efforts

Finch’s political plans
  -California
    -Challenge
    -Organization

Unknown person
  -Revenue sharing
  -Support for the President
  -Possible appointment
    -Sub-cabinet
    -Finch’s forthcoming conversation with Haldeman

The President’s schedule
1972 election
   - Past elections

White

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Finch left at an unknown time before 3:11 pm.

Conversation No. 388-9

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:11 pm and 3:28 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger's schedule
   - Florida trip

Vietnam negotiations
   - The President’s letter to Nguyen Van Thieu
      - The President’s signature
   - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
   - Meeting with the President, Kissinger
      - Timing
         - Dr. William O. Chase
            - The President’s forthcoming trip to office
               - The President’s forthcoming trip [to Florida]
   - Haig’s forthcoming trip [to Saigon]
   - Press relations
      - Ronald L. Ziegler
Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:11 pm and 3:28 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Refreshment

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:28 pm.

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:11 pm and 3:28 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See conversation No. 33-74]
Conversation No. 388-12

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: 3:28 pm - 3:30 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 33-75]

Conversation No. 388-13

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:30 pm and 3:31 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 33-76]

Conversation No. 388-14

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:30 pm and 3:31 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 33-77]
Conversation No. 388-15

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:30 pm and 3:31 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Marjorie P. Acker.

The President's schedule
   -Dr. William O. Chase
   -Telephone call from Chase
   -Timing

Conversation No. 388-16

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:30 pm and 3:32 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 33-78]

Conversation No. 388-17

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: 3:30 pm - 3:37 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Vietnam negotiations
   -North Vietnam
   -Message
   -Meeting
The President talked with the White House operator at 3:32 pm.

[Conversation No. 388-17A]

[See Conversation No. 33-79]

[End of telephone conversation]

Colson left at 3:32 pm.

Vietnam negotiations
  - North Vietnam
    - Meeting, November 21, 1972
      - Announcement
        - Timing
          - November 17, 1972
            - Haig’s forthcoming trip to Saigon
          - November 15, 1972
          - Delay
          - Le Duc Tho
- North Vietnam
  - Meeting
    - Announcement
      - Timing
        - November 17, 1972
    - Proposal
      - November 14, 15, 1972
  - Delays
    - Reasons
      - Moving supplies into South Vietnam
        - Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops
      - 1972 election
    - Haig’s forthcoming trip to Saigon
      - Announcement in Saigon
    - Announcement
      - Timing
      - US bombing
- Nguyen Van Thieu
  - 1972 election
    - Reaction to settlement agreement
- North Vietnam
  - Meeting
    - Proposal
      - November 14, 1972
      - 1972 election
      - North Vietnamese troops
        - Restiveness
    - Procedure
      - Settlement agreement
        - Signing
    - Peace
      - US bombing
      - Public support

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 3:33 pm.

- North Vietnam
  - Meeting
    - Timing
      - November 21, 1972
The President's schedule
-[Dr. William O. Chase]

Vietnam negotiations
- Haig’s forthcoming trip to Saigon
  - The President’s message for Thieu
  - Haig’s conversation with the President
  - Trust
  - The President’s decision
  - Support for Thieu
  - Warning about testing the President
  - Letter from Thieu

Kissinger and Haig left at 3:35 p.m.

The President’s schedule
- Chase
  - The President’s forthcoming trip to office

Butterfield left at 3:37 p.m.