Conversation No. 389-1

Date: November 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:30 am and 8:40 am  
Location: Executive Office Building  

The President talked with the White House operator.  

[See Conversation No. 33-3]

Conversation No. 389-2

Date: November 4, 1972  
Time: 8:40 am - 8:45 am  
Location: Executive Office Building  

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.  

[See Conversation No. 33-4]

Conversation No. 389-3

Date: November 4, 1972  
Time: 8:45 a.m.  
Location: Executive Office Building  

The President talked with the White House operator.  

[See Conversation No. 33-5]
Date: November 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:45 am and 8:52 am  
Location: Executive Office Building  

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 33-6]

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Date: November 4, 1972  
Time: 8:52 am - 9:00 am  
Location: Executive Office Building  

The President talked with William P. Rogers.

[See Conversation No. 33-7]

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Date: November 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 9:00 am and 9:06 am  
Location: Executive Office Building  

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 33-8]
Date: November 4, 1972  
Time: 9:06 am - 9:07 am  
Location: Executive Office Building  

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.  

[See Conversation No. 33-9]  

Date: November 4, 1972  
Time: 9:10 am - 9:12 am  
Location: Executive Office Building  

The President met with Stephen B. Bull and Alexander P. Butterfield.  

The President’s schedule  
-Forthcoming telephone calls  
- Bailey [?] Smith  
- Timing  
- Procedure  
- John D. Ehrlichman’s role  
- Bull’s pre-calls check with the President  

Bull and Butterfield left at 9:12 am.  

Date: November 4, 1972  
Time: 9:28 am - 9:33 am  
Location: Executive Office Building  

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.
1972 campaign
   -George S. McGovern speech in Chicago, November 3, 1972
     -Response
       -Charles W. Colson
         -Conversation with Haldmean
         -Haldeman’s house
         -Sale
       -William P. Rogers
         -Recent conversation with the President
         -Forthcoming appearance on Meet the Press
         -Interest in action
         -Recent conversation with the President
           -Meet the Press
       -Melvin R. Laird
       -Haldeman’s forthcoming conversation with Colson
         -The President’s schedule
         -Haldeman

The President’s schedule
   -Forthcoming telephone call
     -William T. Cahill
       -Clifford P. Case
         -New Jersey
       -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
         -Case
         -New Jersey
         -Cahill

1972 campaign
   -McGovern’s speech in Chicago
     -Response
     -Press coverage
     -Effectiveness
       -Television viewers
       -Press coverage
     -Public sympathy for McGovern
       -McGovern’s physical appearance
       -McGovern’s health
Conversation No. 389-9 (cont’d)

-McGovern’s demeanor
-McGovern’s handling

The President’s schedule
-Haldeman

Haldeman left at 9:33 am.

Conversation No. 389-10

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:33 am and 9:55 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person.

Instruction

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:55 am.

Conversation No. 389-11

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 9:55 am - 10:36 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman.

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

1972 campaign
-The President
-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
Conversation No. 389-11 (cont’d)

-Face the Nation
  -Time
  -Charles W. Colson
    -Cancellation
  -George S. McGovern
  -Unions
    -Hardhat strike
    -Ohio
  -New Jersey
  -Agnew
    -Platforms
    -Criticism of McGovern
  -McGovern
    -Statement
      -Rebuttals
        -William P. Rogers
        -Television [TV]
        -Problems
          -Colson
            -Henry A. Kissinger
              -Statement
  -Rogers
    -Appearance on TV
    -Scheduling
      -Vietnam settlement
      -Confidence
      -Advance release
  -Agnew
    -Appearance
      -Cancellation
        -Colson
          -TV
  -New Jersey
  -Response
    -Agnew, Rogers
      -Improvise
    -The President
    -Kissinger
      -Air Force One
1972 campaign
   - McGovern speech in Chicago, November 3, 1972
     - Response
       - Henry A. Kissinger
         - Effectiveness
           - “Peace is at hand” and other comments at press conference, October 26, 1972
           - Justification
             - Compared to the President’s comments
               - McGovern and press attempts to exploit differences
                 - “Concrete issues”
                 - Compared to details
                 - “Central issues” quote [re: Vietnam]
                 - Accuracy

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

   - The President’s schedule
     - Telephone calls
     - William T. Cahill
     - Rescheduling
     - New Jersey
   - McGovern
     - Statement
       - Criticism
         - Substance
           - Vietnam settlement
           - “Central issues” quote
           - Tactics
             - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 9:55 am and 10:04 am.

[Conversation No. 389-11A]

[See also Conversation No. 33-10]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President’s schedule
-Haldeman’s telephone call to Price

Haldeman talked to an unknown woman at an unknown time between 9:55 am and 10:04 am.

[Conversation No.389-11B]

[See Conversation No. 33-11A]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 9:55 am and 10:04 am.

[Conversation No. 389-11R]

[Conversation No. 33-11B]

Greetings

[End of telephone conversation]

[End of Conversation No. 389-11B]

Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 9:55 am and 10:04 am.
Haldeman left at an unknown time before 10:04 am.

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 9:55 am and 10:04 am.

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:08 am.

The President’s schedule
  - Meeting with Ehrlichman
  - Telephone calls
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:08 am and 10:09 am.

[Conversation No. 389-11F]

[See Conversation No. 33-15]

The President talked with Wesley Powell between 10:09 am and 10:13 am.

[Conversation No. 389-11G]

[See Conversation No. 33-16]

Greetings

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

Beverly Powell joined the conversation at an unknown time before 10:13 am.

Wesley Powell joined the conversation at an unknown time before 10:13 am.

[End of telephone conversation]

The President’s schedule
-J. Caleb Boggs

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:13 am and
10:14 am.

[Conversation No. 389-11H]

[See Conversation No. 33-17]

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President talked with Boggs at an unknown time between 10:13 am and 10:14 am.

[Conversation No. 389-11I]

[See Conversation No. 33-18]

Pierre S. Dupont, IV. joined the conversation at an unknown time before 10:14 am.

[End of telephone conversation]

    The President’s schedule
    -S. Fletcher Thompson

The President talked with Thompson between 10:14 am and 10:16 am.

[Conversation No. 389-11J]

[See Conversation No. 33-19]

[End of telephone conversation]

    The President’s schedule
    -John K. MacIver

The President talked with MacIver between 10:17 am and 10:19 am.

[Conversation No. 389-11K]

[See Conversation No. 33-20]
Future telephone calls
   - Robert J. Dole
   - Howard H. Baker, Jr.

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:20 am.

Haldeman entered at 10:20 am.

1972 campaign
   - Television [TV]
     - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
     - Cancellation
   - New Jersey
   - Buchanan
   - Statement

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign
   - McGovern speech in Chicago
     - “Central issues” quote [re: Vietnam]
       - Peace
       - Details
     - Breakdown
       - Effect on settlement agreement
     - The President’s address to the nation, “Look to the Future,” November 2, 1972
       - Settlement agreement
         - Issues to be resolved
           - Removal of ambiguities
             - Details
           - 1968 bombing halt
         - Peace
         - Details
Conversation No. 389-11 (cont’d)

-“Central points”
  -The President’s May 8, 1972 speech
    -Prisoners of War [POWs]
    -Cease-fire
    -South Vietnam self-determination
  -Patrick J. Buchanan’s point
  -Hoax
  -Phrasing
    -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
    -Kissinger’s insistence
      -Price

-Response
  -Buchanan’s view
  -William P. Rogers
  -Kissinger’s view
    -Ronald L. Ziegler’s conversation with Kissinger
  -Kissinger
    -Press relations
      -Ziegler’s view
      -Press pool report
      -Effect
    -Escalation
  -The President’s November 3, 1972 statement
  -The President’s address to the nation “Look to the Future”
    -Settlement agreement
    -Breakthrough
    -Central issues
      -POWs
      -Cease-fire
      -South Vietnam self-determination
      -Cease-fire
      -Details
        -1968 bombing halt
      -Peace
      -Details
        -“Central points”

Haldeman left and Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:20 am.
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:27 am and 10:28 a.m.

[Conversation No. 389-11L]

[See Conversation No. 33-21]

The President talked with Robert Hirsch between 10:20 am and 10:22 am.

[Conversation No. 389-11M]

[See Conversation No. 33-22]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President’s schedule
  -James A. McClure

The President talked with James A. McClure between 10:28 am and 10:29 am.
The President talked with Margaret Chase Smith between 10:30 am and 10:33 am.

The President talked with Howard H. Baker, Jr. Between 10:34 am and 10:36 am.

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:36 am.
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:36 am and 10:41 am.

[Conversation No. 389-11Q]

[See also Conversation No. 33-26]

Ehrlichman left at an unknown time before 10:36 am.

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:36 am and 11:00 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman.

The President talked with Robert J. Dole between 10:41 am and 10:44 am.

[Conversation No. 389-12A]

[See Conversation No. 33-27]
The President talked with William (“Billy”) Mills between 10:45 am and 10:47 am.

[Conversation No. 389-12B]

[See Conversation No. 33-28]

[End of telephone conversation]

Mills
- Support for the President
  - Blacks

1972 campaign
- Telephone calls
  - Cahill
  - Gordon L. Allott
  - Cahill
    - Ehrlichman’s handling
    - Charles W. Colson
    - George P. Shultz
    - Peter J. Brennan
    - Chairman
    - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
      - Possible visit
      - Media coverage
      - Rotary club
      - New Jersey

The President talked with Gordon L. Allott between 10:49 am and 10:54 am.

[Conversation No. 389-12C]

[See Conversation No. 33-29]

James D. (“Mike”) McKevitt joined the conversation at an unknown time before 10:54 am.
Conversation No. 389-12 (cont’d)

[End of telephone conversation]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Ehrlichman left at an unknown time before 11:00 am.

Conversation No. 389-13

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:00 am - 11:01 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
  - Telephone calls
    - Colson
  - Air Force One

The President talked with the White House operator at 11:00 am.

[Conversation No. 389-13A]

[See Conversation No. 33-30]

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:01 am.
Conversation No. 389-14

Date: November 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 11:00 am and 11:01 am  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

The President’s schedule  
-Meeting with Colson

Conversation No. 389-15

Date: November 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 11:00 am and 11:01 am  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull [?].

The President’s schedule  
-Bull [?]  
-[Zosimo T. Monson] [?]  
-Arrival

Conversation No. 389-16

Date: November 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 11:00 am and 11:01 am  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 33-31]
Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 11:01 am - 11:02 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 33-32]

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:02 am and 11:40 am
Location: Executive Office Building

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

Press relations
  -Ronald L. Ziegler
    -Judgment

The President’s schedule
  -Charles W. Colson
    -Arrival

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign
  -Telephone calls
    -Value
    -George S. McGovern
      -Vietnam settlement
    -Statement
Sense of desperation
-Charles W. Colson
-Comments on campaign
-Local campaigns
-Governors

Colson and Ziegler entered at 11:05 am.
The President talked with Henry Hibbard between 11:04 am and 11:06 am.

[Conversation No. 389-18A]
[See Conversation No. 33-33]
[End of telephone conversation]
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown after 11:06 am.

John B. Connally’s [?] schedule
-Cincinnati
-1972 campaign

The President’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown before 11:15 am.

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign
-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
-Tough statement
-Release
-Press conference
1972 campaign
  -McGovern speech in Chicago, November 3, 1972
    -Response
      -Desperation
      -Sabotage
      -Vietnam negotiations
        -Progress
      -Desperation, irresponsibility
        -Effect on McGovern’s candidacy
      -Negotiations
        -Effect of McGovern’s comments on Hanoi
          -Peace with surrender
            -Compared with peace with honor
              -Choice for American people in 1968 and 1972
      -Statement by Agnew
        -McGovern’s irresponsibility
        -Praise for Hubert H. Humphrey’s stand on issue

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-Publicity
  -Public reaction
    -New England
  -McGovern’s credibility
    -Accusations against the President
      -Television [TV]
      -Vietnam negotiations
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Conversation No. 389-18 (cont’d)

- Political benefits
  - Response
    - Ziegler
    - Agnew
    - The President
    - Press

Ziegler and Colson left at 11:15 am.

- Agnew
  - Role
    - Problems
      - Colson’s handling
      - Haldeman’s handling
  - McGovern speech in Chicago
    - Response
      - William P. Rogers

- The President’s trips
  - Chicago
  - Oklahoma
  - Mark I. Goode
    - Arrangements
      - William H. Carruthers
  - Chicago
    - Problems
    - Publicity
      - TV
    - Arrangements

- Agnew
  - Crowds
  - Public relations work
    - Effectiveness

- Clark MacGregor
  - Morale
  - Statements
    - Attorney General
      - Richard G. Kleindienst’s replacement

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Second term reorganization
- Clark MacGregor
- New job
  - [United Aircraft Corp]
    - Conservatism
    - Title
    - Vice President
    - Location
  - Washington, DC
- Duties
  - Travel
    - Compared to Ronald W. Reagan [job at General Electric]
    - Explanation of relationship of business and government to students
- Expense account
- New establishment
  - “Georgetown salon”
  - [Barbara Porter (Spicer) MacGregor]
  - Thomas W. Braden
  - Henry A. Kissinger
- Possible judicial appointment
- Attitude
  - White House staff

White House staff
- Attitudes
  - Complainers, leakers
- Unknown person
  - Internal memorandum
    - Writing
    - Timing
  - Leak

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
1972 campaign
  -Letter to the President
  -Murray M. Chotiner
  -California
  -Crowds
  -Ohio
  -MacGregor
  -McGovern
  -Press coverage
  -James J. Kilpatrick, Jr.
  -Column

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Haldeman left at an unknown time before 11:40 am.

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:15 am and 12:25 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

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

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign
  -James J. Kilpatrick, Jr. column
  -Predicted figures
    -The President’s margin of victory
  -Pollsters
  -Charles W. Colson
Conversation No. 389-19 (cont’d)

-Questioning the President’s judgment
-Candidates
-The President’s radio speech
-The President’s trips
-California
 -Burbank
 -Stopover
 -Headquarters
 -Itinerary
 -Remarks to public
  -Crowd control
  -Length
  -Location
-Republican candidates
  -Herbert F. DeSimone
-Issues
 -Public interest
 -Amnesty
 -Busing
  -Voter turnout
 -Problems

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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1972 campaign
-George S. McGovern’s speech in Chicago, November 3, 1972
-Charges
-Response
 -McGovern’s credibility
 -Watergate
  -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
-The President’s involvement in campaign
 -The President’s reaction to knowledge about Watergate
-Investigation
  -Donald H. Segretti
   -Activities
    -Timing
Conversation No. 389-19 (cont’d)

- John W. Dean, III
- Clark MacGregor
- Dean
- Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]


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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign
  - McGovern’s speech in Chicago
  - Response
  - Colson
    - Report
  - Agnew’s statement
    - Ziegler’s review
    - Agnew’s style
    - Wording
      - McGovern’s credibility
    - Vietnam negotiations
      - McGovern’s proposals
        - Surrender
    - The President’s settlement
  - Drafting
  - Release
    - Press conference
    - Time
  - Agnew’s schedule
    - Face the Nation
      - Cancellation
      - George P. Shultz
    - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
    - Strike

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
******************************************************************************
Ziegler and Colson left at 11:45 am.

Kissinger’s schedule
   - Unknown Canadian

1972 campaign
   - McGovern’s speech in Chicago
     - Response
     - Press coverage
   - Media coverage
   - McGovern’s credibility
   - Timing
   - Media coverage

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:45 am.

Refreshment

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:25 pm.

- North Vietnam
  - Negotiations
  - Charade claim
  - Settlement agreement
    - Details
    - Importance

Vietnam negotiations
   - Ellsworth F. Bunker
   - Message
     - Bui Diem’s conversation with Charles Whitehouse
       - Whitehouse
         - Stewart J. O. and Joseph W. Alsop
       - North Vietnamese army [NVA] in South Vietnam
     - Paris
       - Advisers
     - Vietcong [VC]
Conversation No. 389-19 (cont’d)

-Economics minister’s conversation with Bunker
  -Saigon bankers
  -Investments
  -Diem
  -Political orientation
  -Economics minister

-Jim Deakin [?]
-North Vietnamese
  -Strategy
  -Effect of US bombing
-Military action
  -Recent story
  -North Vietnamese forces
    -Tanks
    -Cease-fire
    -Offensive
    -Number of divisions in South Vietnam
-Settlement agreement
  -Hanoi’s posture
    -1972 election
    -The President’s unknown speech
    -Signing
-Nguyen Van Thieu
  -Kissinger’s draft message
    -Saigon
    -Diem
    -Recent activities
      -Effect on 1972 election
-US posture
  -Settlement agreement
    -Details
    -Firmness
      -Hanoi, Thieu
  -National interest
  -1972 election
  -National interest
-1972 campaign
  -Settlement agreement
    -Timing
Conversation No. 389-19 (cont’d)

-Corruption issue
-McGovern’s Chicago speech
   -Effect
   -Watergate issue
   -Prices issue
-Timing
-Concessions
-Thieu
-US posture
   -Hardline

Press relations
   -Journalist
   -Identity
   -Washington Post article
-1972 campaign
   -McGovern
   Thomas W. Braden’s Los Angeles Times article
   - Hecklers

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign
   - Hecklers
   - Response
     - Time
   - Agnew
     - Washington Post
     - New York Times
     - R. Sargent Shriver

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[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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-Vulgarisms
-Comparisons with Donald H. Segretti, Watergate
Conversation No. 389-19 (cont’d)

-PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
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-Press coverage

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-McGovern’s campaign
-Comparison to 1964 election
  -Barry M. Goldwater
  -Lyndon B. Johnson
-Press coverage
-Dwight D. Eisenhower
-1960 election
  -The President’s concession speech
  -John F. Kennedy
-Goldwater’s concession speech
  -Johnson
-Support for the elected President
  -McGovern’s refusal
    -Statements
    -National unity
-McGovern’s speech in Chicago
  -Vietnam negotiations
    -Undermined confidence
    -The President’s settlement
      -Refusal to sign
  -Effect on negotiations, campaign

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Vietnam War
-The President’s “Silent Majority” speech, November 3, 1969
  -Richard A. Moore
  -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
- Advance men
- Vignette
- Oklahoma City
- Tulsa
- Response
  - Demonstrations
- White House staff
- Response
  - November 4, 1969
- May 8, 1972 decision
  - Difficulty
- Compared to the President’s Cambodia speech, April 30, 1970
  - Difficulty
- Impact on US
- Demonstrations
  - Presidency
- Impact on US presidency
- Announcement
  - Timing
    - Advice of Cabinet, staff
- Demonstrations
  - US troop withdrawals
    - Pace
  - Church going
- Impact on US
- Historical importance
  - Compared to Franklin D. Roosevelt’s declaration of war
    - Pearl Harbor
- Impact on US
  - Article
- Tone
  - Compared to McGovern’s Chicago speech
- McGovern’s Chicago speech
  - Viewing by Kissinger, Haldeman
  - Delivery
  - Writing
  - Irresponsibility
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- McGovern’s campaign
- McGovern’s views

1972 campaign
- The President’s campaign
  - Predictions
  - Victory margin
- Colson
- Radio speeches
- Amnesty issue
- Predictions
  - Victory margin
  - Number of states
  - Losses
  - Massachusetts
- Michigan
- Wisconsin
- Oregon
- Hawaii
- Michigan
- California
- Michigan
  - Poll
  - Labor unions
  - George C. Wallace vote
  - Robert P. Griffin
- Thomas F. Eagleton
- Wisconsin
  - Polls
  - John K. MacIver
- Indiana
  - Catholic vote
  - Importance
- Massachusetts
  - The President’s campaign
  - McGovern’s campaign
Conversation No. 389-19 (cont’d)

- Statements
  - Effect
- Projections
- Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy
  - Schedule
  - Senior citizens
    - Miami Beach, Florida
  - Massachusetts
    - Gerry E. Studds
  - Association of American Medical Colleges
    - Fontainebleau Hotel
  - Senior Citizens for McGovern
    - Miami
  - Ohio
    - Warren, Ohio
      - United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America
    - Charles J. Carney
    - Reception
  - Montgomery County, Maryland
  - Connecticut
  - Maloney High School
  - Montgomery County
  - Hartford
  - Claiborne Pell
  - Rhode Island
  - Connecticut
  - Studds
- Massachusetts
  - McGovern
  - Projections
- New York
  - Projections
- Polls
  - California
  - Michigan
  - Ohio
  - Vermont
  - Ohio
    - Cleveland
Conversation No. 389-19 (cont’d)

-Illinois
  -Chicago
-California
  -The President’s lead
  -Level of organization
-Wisconsin
-Texas
-South
  -Changes
  -George H. Gallup, Louis P. Harris
  -Democrats
  -Undecided votes
  -Texas
  -Analysis of voting
  -Harris poll
-Press reports
-Impact on North Vietnamese
-Support for the President

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Vietnam negotiations
  -Settlement agreement
  -Press relations
    -Journalists’ frustrations
      -Peace terms
        -Quality
        -1972 campaign
      -1972 campaign
        -Corruption issue
  -Signing
    -State Department
    -News summary
    -William H. Sullivan’s view
      -Thieu’s tenure
      -Hanoi
    -Public support for the President
    -North Vietnamese posture
Conversation No. 389-19 (cont’d)

-North Vietnamese forces
-Schedule
-Press relations
-Resumption of talks
  -Forthcoming meeting
  -Possible break off of talks
-Message
  -November 8, 9, 1972
-US bombing
  -Timing
  -1972 election
-Message to Moscow
  -The President’s posture
  -Meetings
  -Changes
  -US bombing
-Thieu
-Residual forces

Haldeman left at an unknown time after 11:45 am.

Kissinger’s schedule
  -Lodging
    -Unknown place
  -Haldeman

Kissinger left at an unknown time before 12:25 pm.

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:45 am and 12:25 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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Conversation No. 389-20 (cont’d)

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Personal belongings
   -Delivery to Alexander P. Butterfield
   -Television [TV] tray [?]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
****************************************************************
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:25 pm.

Conversation No. 389-21

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:45 am and 12:25 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 33-34]

Conversation No. 389-22

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 12:25 pm - 12:26 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 33-35]
Conversation No. 389-23

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 12:40 pm - 1:15 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign
- Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew’s statement
    - Revision of draft
    - Importance
- News coverage
  - New York Times
  - Washington Post
- George S. McGovern
  - Front page coverage
    - Photographs
    - Los Angeles Times
- Television [TV] appearance
  - Conversation with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Physical appearance
- McGovern
  - Public sympathy
  - Credibility
  - Problems
- Statements
  - Mistakes
  - Permissiveness
- Supporters
  - Radicalism
- The President’s lead
- Massachusetts
  - Abortion issue
  - John F. Becker
Conversation No. 389-23 (cont’d)

-The President’s rallies
  -Rhode Island
    -Italian-Americans
    -Irish-Americans
    -Hardhats
  -Congressional candidates
    -John H. Chafee
    -Dewey F. Bartlett
    -Oklahoma
    -Rhode Island
    -New Mexico
    -North Carolina
    -Maine
  -Michigan
    -Polls
  -Democrats
    -Claiborne Pell
      -Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy
    -The President’s margin
      -Issues
      -Henry A. Kissinger
      -Democrats
  -Massachusetts
  -Texas
  -States
    -Herbert G. Klein
    -Support for the President
  -The President’s supporters
    -Response to McGovern’s criticisms
  -Hawaii
    -The President’s chances
  -Areas of weakness
    -California
    -Oregon
    -Washington, DC
  -Polls
    -Louis P. Harris
    -The President’s lead
      -Figures
      -Chicago
Vietnam negotiations
  -Settlement agreement
  -North Vietnamese posture
    -1972 election
      -McGovern
    -The President’s posture
      -Firmness
    -1972 election
  -Military action
    -Wire service story
      -Antiaircraft fire
      -North and South Vietnam
    -Radio report
  -W[illiam] Averell Harriman’s view
  -Henry A. Kissinger line
    -October 26, 1972 press conference
  -William P. Rogers
  -Pre- and post-October 8, 1972 positions of North Vietnam
  -The President’s May 8, 1972 proposals
    -Cease-fire
    -Prisoners of War [POWs]
  -Coalition government

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign
  -Polls
    -Vietnam agreement
  -Commercials
    -Hardhat constituency
  -Busing
    -McGovern statement
Conversation No. 389-23 (cont’d)

-Flyers
  -Distribution
  -Organization
-G. C. Wallace
  -Supporters
  -Conversation with Colson
  -Credibility as a candidate
-Al. E. Sindlinger poll
-Undecided vote
  -Portion for McGovern
-Harris poll
  -Accuracy
-Polls
  -McGovern
-House of Representatives
  -Candidates
    -Robert C. (“Bob”) Wilson
    -Quality
      -Herbert F. DeSimone
    -Blacks
-Donald F. Rodgers
  -Los Angeles Times
  -California
-Congress
  -Antilabor legislation
  -Senate
-Democratic Party
-Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy
  -H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
-Schedule
  -Miami
    -Association of American Medical Colleges
  -Ohio
  -Maine
  -Connecticut
-New Jersey
  -Outlook
-New York
  -Outlook
-New Jersey
-Connecticut
-Support for the President
  -Frank L. Rizzo
  -Influence in Philadelphia
-Western Union
-McGovern
  -Publicity
    -Problems
-Enthusiasm
-News media
  -New York Times
  -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
  -Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.
  -Howard K. Smith
  -Networks
  -Dan Rather
  -James J. Kilpatrick, Jr.
    -News summary item
      -Watergate references
        -Reasons
        -Use by enemies
-The President’s politics
  -Liberalism
  -Right wing
  -Left wing
  -Conservatism
  -William F. Buckley, Jr. [?]
  -Principles
  -Issues
    -Vietnam
    -Welfare
    -Amnesty
    -Busing

-Amnesty issue
  -North Carolina
  -Advantages for the President
    -Blue collar workers

Ziegler entered at 1:09 pm.
Conversation No. 389-23 (cont’d)

Ziegler left at 1:12 pm.

 faced complaints
Republican National Committee [RNC]
Chairmanship
Timing
1972 election
Press relations
Donald H. Segretti
Dwight L. Chapin
Advance work
Flashiness
Mercedes
Exceeding authority
Attack on Democratic campaign and Washington Post
Lack of coverup
Attack on Washington Post
Partisanship

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
-McGovern
-Burglars
-Capture and punishment
-Administration investigation of Watergate
-Attempt to influence electorate
-Public interest
-Duration
-John S. ("Jack") Knight
-Joe [last name unknown]
-Gabriel Hauge
-Charles H. Percy
-James J. Kilpatrick
-Welfare issue
-Other issues
-Republicans
-Necessity for dramatic action

Colson left at 1:15 pm.

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:15 pm and 1:34 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person.

Briefcase

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 1:34 pm.