Date: November 3, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:35 pm and 9:48 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked to the White House operator.

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

Date: November 3, 1972
Time: 9:48 pm and 10:12 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

The President’s schedule

Stock market
-Current figure
-Wall Street
  -Impact of 1972 election
  -Influence on voting
-Latest figure
  - Compared to 1968
  -1000 level
    - Jim Curry’s view

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
1972 election
- Republican candidates
  - Oklahoma
  - Rhode Island
    - Herbert F. DeSimone
      - Chances of victory
    - John H. Chafee
      - Chances of victory
      - Claiborne Pell
    - Latest poll
      - Providence Journal
    - The President's trip to Rhode Island, November 3, 1972
      - Effect
      - Navy
- The President’s recent trips to Tulsa and Chicago
  - Television coverage
    - Extent
      - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
        - Airport shots
    - The President's remarks
      - Call for national unity
      - Impact on Democrats
- Hubert H. Humphrey
  - Support for the President
    - The President's appreciation
- George S. McGovern
  - Remark
    - Detroit News
    - Baltimore Sun
    - Washington Post
    - Boston Globe
    - New York Times
  - Radio coverage
    - Michigan
  - Effect
    - Youth
    - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
      - Stature
- The President’s schedule
Conversation No. 33-2 (cont’d)

- Hecklers
  - Chicago
    - Call from H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Television coverage
  - The President's remarks
  - CBS

- Vietnam
  - Henry A. Kissinger's remarks
  - The President's remarks
  - Tone

- McGovern
  - Ministers
  - Remarks on Vietnam
    - Interview
      - Frank F. Mankiewicz
        - Concessions to Nguyen Van Thieu
        - Rebuttal
          - Melvin R. Laird
          - William P. Rogers
          - Contrast with Humphrey and the President in 1968

- Television appearance
  - Physical appearance, age
    - Compared to the President

- Schedule
  - Ministers

- Media coverage
  - Compared to the President’s recent trips
    - Chicago, Tulsa
    - Air Force One

- The President's recent trips
  - Crowd sizes
    - CBS
    - Chicago
    - Tulsa
    - Rhode Island
    - Enthusiasm
    - Television shots

- Polls
  - Louis P. Harris
Conversation No. 33-2 (cont’d)

- Completion
- Computer
- Point spread
- Release
  - Timing
    - Figures
    - Accuracy
- Point spread
  - The President’s view
    - Compared to Colson’s view
  - Blue collar shift
    - Cleveland
- Television
  - Mankiewicz interview
    - News summary
- Projection
- Timing
- Changes
- Watergate
  - Effect
    - Republicans
  - Vietnam
    - Vietnam
      - Confidence in the President
        - Compared to McGovern
  - Vietnam
    - The President's remark in Tulsa
      - Impact of election on negotiation
        - Pace
- McGovern
  - Media coverage
  - Response
    - Colson’s recent conversation with Kissinger
      - Kissinger’s role
- The President's trip to North Carolina
  - Press and media coverage
- Polls
  - Publicity
    - Harris
Conversation No. 33-2 (cont’d)

- George H. Gallup
- Analysis
- California
  - Results
- California
  - Colson’s recent conversation with Donald F. Rodgers
    - Los Angeles
    - Paul Hall
    - Level of activity
      - Democratic demoralization
      - Poll
      - Impact in San Francisco
    - Hall
- Massachusetts
  - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon's visit
  - Point spread
  - The President’s chances
- Michigan
  - Busing advertisements
    - Timing
  - Point spread
    - Detroit News
  - Black vote
  - United Auto Workers [UAW] activity
  - Antibusing advertisements
    - Detroit News
    - Impact
  - The President's chances
    - Colson’s recent conversations with Henry C. Cashen, II
      - Assessment
  - Robert P. Griffin
    - Electoral prospects
      - Efforts
    - Republicans
- Advertisements
  - Detroit
  - McGovern's recent remark
    - Effect on voters
      - Compared to Edmund S. Muskie in New Hampshire
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(rev. June-07)

Conversation No. 33-2 (cont’d)

- Compared to Harry S. Truman and Drew Pearson
  - [Margaret Truman]
  - Battle Creek
  - Final vote
    - Cashen’s [?] view
  - Wisconsin
    - Blue collar vote
  - Harris poll
    - Changes since September 1972
      - Union vote
      - Catholic vote
      - Democrats
      - McGovern
  - Wisconsin
    - Catholic, union vote
    - The President's chances
      - Catholic, blue collar vote
  - The President's speech in Providence, November 3, 1972
    - Tone
      - Effect on suburbs
      - Compared to McGovern
  - Vietnam
    - Marvin L. Kalb's remarks
      - CBS
        - Kissinger's briefing
    - Effect
      - Kissinger
  - Vietnam settlement
    - Wire services
    - Timing
      - Laird, Rogers, the President
        - Rebuttal to McGovern
          - Timing
  - CBS strike
    - Face the Nation
      - Agnew’s possible appearance
        - McGovern
        - Colson’s recent conversation with George P. Shultz
          - Cancellation
- International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers [IBEW]
- Cancellation
- Advantages
- McGovern
- Union criticism
  - Colson’s recent conversation with Frank E. Fitzsimmons
- Cancellation
  - Shultz’s and Colson’s view
  - The President’s decision
- Demonstrators
  - Frank L. Rizzo’s response
  - Robert J. Dole's demands for apology
- Mrs. Nixon's visit
  - Hecklers
    - Boston
    - Mankiewicz
  - Agnew
- Credibility
- Rizzo’s comments
  - The President’s appearances
  - Liberals
- William F. (“Billy”) Graham
  - Support for the President
    - Statement
    - Integrity, morality
- The President's campaign
  - Style
    - Contrast with McGovern
- McGovern
  - Cancellations
  - Mankiewicz interview
  - Schedule
  - Thomas F. Eagleton
    - Role
  - Defeat
- Economy
  - Stockmarket
  - Wholesale Price Index [WPI]
Conversation No. 33-2 (cont’d)

- Unemployment
- Media coverage
- The President's schedule
- Plane rides
- Length
- Rallies

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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Conversation No. 33-3

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:30 am and 8:40 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House Operator.

[See Conversation No. 389-1]

Request for a call to Ronald L. Ziegler

Conversation No. 33-4

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 8:40 am-8:45 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 389-2]

Henry A. Kissinger
Ziegler's location

1972 election
- Vietnam War
  - George S. McGovern's charges
    - Deception
    - Nguyen Van Thieu's delays
  - The President's position
  - Kissinger's rebuttal
    - Washington Post quotation
      - Foreign students
      - Confidence
  - Rebuttal
    - William P. Rogers
    - Melvin R. Laird
    - Necessity
    - The President's foreign policy speech
    - Patience
    - Begging for peace
    - Hanoi propaganda
    - Cease-fire provisions
      - Enforcement
    - Elections
    - Kissinger's responses
      - Restraint
  - The President's trip
    - President's posture
      - November 3, 1972
    - Press and media coverage
      - Television
      - Vietnam
      - Wires, radio
  - Press coverage
    - Robert B. Semple, Jr.
      - View of crowds
      - New job [at New York Times]
      - Chicago
Conversation No. 33-4 (cont’d)

-Adequacy

Conversation No. 33-5

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 8:45 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 389-3]

Request for a meeting with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

Conversation No. 33-6

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:45 am and 8:52 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 389-4]

Request for a call to William P. Rogers

Conversation No. 33-7

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 8:52 am and 9:00 am
Location: White House Telephone
The President talked with William P. Rogers.

[See Conversation No. 389-5]

Greetings

Middle East

1972 election

-Vietnam War

-George S. McGovern's charges

-The President's remarks

-The President’s recent television [TV] broadcast

-Negotiations

-The President’s May 8, 1972 statement

-Agreement on cease-fire, prisoners of war [POWs], missing in action [MIAs], imposition of Communist or coalition government in South Vietnam

-Further details

-Impact of Election

-The President’s recent trip to Oklahoma

-Irresponsibility

-Rebuttal

-The President's remarks

-Frequency

-Forthcoming television [TV] appearance

-News coverage

-Conditions for peace

-1968

-Rogers’s forthcoming appearance on Meet the Press

-Timing of agreement

-North Vietnam

-Nguyen Van Thieu

-Consultations

-Concerns

-Cease-fire

-Settlement agreement

-Prospect
Conversation No. 33-7 (cont’d)

- McGovern’s offer of peace terms
- North Vietnamese publication of terms
- McGovern’s irresponsibility, desperation
- Post-election action
- 1968 bombing pause

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- McGovern
  - Polls
  - Hecklers
    - The President and family
    - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
  - Recent remarks
    - Ministers
- The President's schedule
  - North Carolina
    - Jesse A. Helms
  - New Mexico
    - Pete V. Domenici
  - California
    - Ontario
  - November 5, 1972
  - November 6, 1972
    - Campaign headquarters
      - Media coverage
    - Television [TV]
- McGovern
  - Post-election period
    - Liberals
    - Democratic National Convention
    - John F. Kennedy
      - The President
    - Hubert H. Humphrey
    - Barry M. Goldwater
      - Lyndon B. Johnson
- The President's schedule
Conversation No. 33-8

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Between 9:00 am and 9:06 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 389-6]

Request for a call to Stephen B. Bull

Conversation No. 33-9

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 9:06 am and 9:07 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 389-7]

Request for a meeting with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:55 am and 10:04 am
Location: White House Telephone

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 389-11A]

Request for a call to Raymond K. Price, Jr.

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:55 am and 10:04 am
Location: White House Telephone

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman talked with an unknown woman.

[The President can be heard in the background]

[Conversation No. 33-11A]

[See Conversation No. 389-11B]

Call to Price

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

[Conversation No. 33-11B]

[See Conversation No. 389-11R]

Greetings
Conversation No. 33-11 (cont’d)

[End of telephone conversation]

[End of conversation No. 33-11A]

Conversation No. 33-12

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:55 am and 10:04 am
Location: White House Telephone

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman talked to the White House Operator.

[See Conversation No. 389-11C]

Call to Raymond K. Price, Jr.
-Cancellation

Conversation No. 33-13

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:55 am and 10:04 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House Operator.

[See Conversation No. 389-11D]

Request for a call to Thomas J. Meskill
Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 10:04 am - 10:08 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Thomas J. Meskill.

[See Conversation No. 389-11E]

Greetings

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-1972 Election
  -Connecticut
    -The President's appreciation for support
    -House of Representatives seats
    -Republican organization
    -The President's schedule
      -Rhode Island
      -Senate race
    -New Jersey
    -Candidates
    -The President's previous trip
      -Meskill
      -Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
  -Republican chances
    -John O. ("Jack") Marsh, Jr.
    -Ronald A. Sarasin
    -[Unintelligible]
  -Voter turnout
  -Vietnam
    -Peace with honor
  -The President's schedule
    -North Carolina
    -Jesse A. Helms
Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:08 am and 10:09 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 389-11F]

Status of call to William T. Cahill

Status of telephone call to Wesley Powell
Date: November 4, 1972  
Time: 10:09 am - 10:13 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Wesley Powell.

[See Conversation No. 389-11G]

Greetings

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Greetings

1972 Election
- Powell's campaign
- The President's schedule
- New Hampshire
  - The President's Recollections
    - 1956 Primary
      - Powell's work
  - New Hampshire voters
- Powell's campaign
- National defense
  - Peace with honor
- Campaign workers
  - Manchester
- The President's campaign
  - Voter turn-out

[Applause in background]
1972 Election
   -New Hampshire
      -The President’s Schedule
      -Nashua
      -The First Family’s schedule
      -The President's visit after election
      -Julie Nixon Eisenhower's visit
      -Visit of Edward R.F. Cox
         -Tricia Nixon Cox
      -The President’s devotion to family life
      -Effects on voters
      -Beverly Powell

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

Greetings

1972 Election
   -Powell's race
      -Mrs. Powell's help
      -Confidence

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

1972 Election
   -Powell's race

[Applause in background]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Conversation No. 33-17

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:13 am and 10:14 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House Operator.

[See Conversation No. 389-11H]

Request for a call to J. Caleb Boggs

Conversation No. 33-18

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:13 am and 10:14 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with J. Caleb Boggs.

[See Conversation No. 389-11I]

Greetings

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 Election
- Boggs
  - The President’s schedule
  - Support for the President in Senate
- Delaware
  - Campaign in New Castle
  - The President's vacations
    - Rehoboth Beach
-The President's visits after election

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

1972 Election
- Dupont's campaign
- The President's campaign
  - Delaware
  - Boggs
  - Governor [Russell W. Peterson]
- The President's Schedule
  - North Carolina
  - New Mexico
  - California

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 10:14 am - 10:16 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House Operator.

[See Conversation No. 389-11J]

S. Fletcher Thompson

The President talked with S. Fletcher Thompson.

Greetings

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1972 Election
   - The President's call to Thompson
     - Purpose
     - House of Representatives
     - Thompson's position on foreign policy
       - Peace with honor
       - US strength
       - Law and order
     - Georgia
       - Volunteers
       - Support for the President
       - Thompson's prospects
     - The President's trip to Atlanta, October 12, 1972
- Wisconsin
  - The President's schedule
  - Primaries
  - MacIver's organization
    - The President's appreciation

-Issues
  - Peace with honor
  - US Strength
  - Prosperity
    - War, inflation
  - House of Representatives seats
    - Volunteers
      - John D. Ehrlichman

-Wisconsin
  - Democratic primary
  - Outlook
  - 1968 campaign

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

******************************************************************************************
Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 10:20 am - 10:28 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Robert Hirsch.

[See Conversation No. 389-11M]

Greetings

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
- Hirsch's campaign
- The President’s schedule
  - California
- South Dakota
  - The President's chances
  - Edward R.F. Cox's visit
  - Hirsch's positions
    - Peace with honor
    - US Strength
    - Prosperity
    - War, inflation
- Congressional races
  - John Vickerman
  - James Abdnor
- Support for the President

Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
- Roots in South Dakota
  - Parents’ marriage

1972 election
- South Dakota
Conversation No. 33-22 (cont’d)

-Support for the President

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Conversation No. 33-23

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 10:28 am - 10:29 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with James A. McClure.

[See Conversation No. 389-11N]

Greetings

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 elections
   -McClure's campaign
      -The President’s schedule
         -Idaho
      -Support for the President
      -Prospects
      -Letter of endorsement from the President
         -Newspaper advertisement
   -McClure
      -Support for the President's foreign and economic policies
         -George W. Romney's visit

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
************************************************************************************
Date: November 4, 1972  
Time: 10:30 am - 10:33 am  
Location: White House Telephone  

The President talked with Margaret Chase Smith.  

[See Conversation No. 389-11O]  

Greetings  

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election  
-Smith's campaign  
-The President's support  
-Outlook  
-The President's campaign  
-Outlook  
-Television [TV]  
-The President's letter  
-Smith's campaign  
-Bangor Newspaper  
-Opposition to Smith  
-Polls  
-William B. Hathaway's lead  
-Quality  

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]  
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Vietnam War
Guidelines for Smith’s public position
- Peace with honor
- Negotiations
  - Prisoners of war [POWs]
  - Cease fire
  - Communist coalition government in South Vietnam
- Details
- Settlement
  - Pace
- McGovern's charges
  - The President's Peoples Republic of China [PRC] trip and Soviet Union summit
- US troop withdrawals
- Smith's support
- Meetings
- The President's stance on settlement agreement
  - 1968 bombing halt
- Maine
  - Support for President
    - Youth
      - Amnesty
- Smith
  - Senate Armed Services Committee

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
- The President’s schedule
  - Visit to Maine
- First Family
- Predictions
  - Jimmy (“The Greek”) Snyder
    - Smith's margin
      - Bangor News

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Conversation No. 33-25

Date:  November 4, 1972
Time:  10:34 - 10:36 am
Location:  White House Telephone

The President talked with Howard H. Baker, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 389-11P]

Greetings

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
   -Baker's campaign
     -The President's support
       -The President’s schedule
         -Forthcoming trip to Tennessee
     -Peace with honor
     -US Strength
     -Economic prosperity
       -War, inflation
   -Vietnam
     -Agreements
       -Cease-fire
       -Prisoners of War [POWs]
     -South Vietnam’s self-determination
     -Details
       -1968
     -George S. McGovern's charges
   -The President's Campaign
     -Margin in Tennessee
Conversation No. 33-25 (cont’d)

-Baker’s recent conversation with John D. Ehrlichman
-Baker's estimate
-House of Representatives candidates
-Baker’s forthcoming calls

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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Conversation No. 33-26

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:36 am and 10:41 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 389-11Q]

Request for a call to William Mills, Los Angeles city councilman

Conversation No. 33-27

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 10:41 am - 10:44 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Robert J. Dole.

[See Conversation No. 389-12A]

Greetings

Dole's location
-Kansas

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
   -Dole's campaign
   -James P. Pearson
      -Location
   -Morris Kay
   -Charles (“Chuck”) McAtee
      -The President's best wishes
   -Republican ticket
   -Dole's effort outside of Kansas
   -Kansas campaigns
      -Pearson
      -The President's supporters

[Applause in background]

1972 election
   -The President's schedule
      -Kansas
         -Importance
            -The President’s view
         -Kansas State University
            -School colors
            -The President’s possible visit
            -University of Kansas

[Applause in background]

   -1972 election
      -Kay
         -Football
            -The President’s athletic career
         -Television [TV]
         -Chuck McAtee
Conversation No. 33-27 (cont’d)

-Background
  -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
-Republicans
-Kay and McAttee
  -Letters from the President
-Alfred M. Landon
  -Possible call from Dole
  -Republican National Convention
-Location
  -Horseback riding
-Pearson

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Conversation No. 33-28

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 10:45 am - 10:47 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with William Mills.

[See Conversation No. 389-12B]

Greetings

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
  -Mills's expression of support
    -Howard Allen’s letter to the President
    -Support from the President and White House staff
  -Mills
Black community
  - White House access
  - Urban problems
    - Los Angeles
  - Contacts with John D. Ehrlichman
    - Advice on city affairs

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 10:49 am - 10:54 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Gordon L. Allott.

[See Conversation No. 389-12C]

Greetings

Allott's location
  - Denver
  - James D. McKevitt

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
  - House of Representatives candidates
  - Possible calls from Allott
Conversation No. 33-29 (cont’d)

-Allott
  -Work for the President and candidates
  -Support for the President
-Colorado delegation
-The President's schedule
  -Colorado
  -Senate races
    -Oklahoma
    -Rhode Island
      -Dewey F. Bartlett, John H. Chafee
    -North Carolina
      -Jesse A. Helms
    -New Mexico
      -Pete V. Domenici
    -Kentucky
      -Louis B. Nunn
        -John Sherman Cooper
    -Michigan
      -Robert P. Griffin
-Colorado
  -Support for the President
  -The President's campaign
  -Allott’s view
-Congressional races
  -Allott’s recent conversation with Clark MacGregor
    -James D. (“Mike”) McKevitt
      -Denver
    -Donald G. Brotzman
    -Frank E. Evans
    -Third District
    -James P. Johnson
      -Alan Merson
    -William L. Armstrong
    -Third District
      -Evans
        -Brotzman

Allott's health
  -Vote in Congress
1972 election
   - The President's schedule
   - New Mexico
     - Domenici
     - Manual Lujan, Jr.
     - Influence on Colorado
   - Vietnam
     - Negotiations
       - Details of agreement
     - Bombing halt, 1968
       - Peace with honor
       - Panmunjom
     - President's best wishes

James D. ("Mike") McKevitt joined the conversation at an unknown time before 10:54.

McKevitt
   - Campaign
     - Background
     - District attorney

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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Conversation No. 33-30

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 11:00 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 389-13A]
Request for a call to Strom Thurmond

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:00 am and 11:01 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 389-16]

Request for a call to Ronald L. Ziegler

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 11:01 am - 11:02 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 389-17]

Ronald L. Ziegler's schedule
   - Briefing
   - Meeting with President
Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 11:04 am - 11:06 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Henry Hibbard.

[See Conversation No. 389-18A]

Greetings

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
  - Hibbard's campaign
    - Closeness
    - The President’s support
      - Letter
    - Hibbard's support for the President
  - Montana
    - Support for the President
  - Vietnam
    - Peace with honor
  - US Strength
  - Hibbard's campaign
    - Outlook
  - Montana
    - The President’s schedule
      - Butte
      - Billings
      - Citizens
        - Patriotism
          - Problems
          - South Dakota
            - [George S. McGovern]
  - Purpose of call
Press relations

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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Conversation No. 33-34

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:45 am and 12:25 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House Operator.

[See Conversation No. 389-21]

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

Conversation No. 33-35

Date: November 4, 1972
Time: 12:25 pm - 12:26 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 389-22]

Colson's schedule
- Meeting with the President
- Forthcoming telephone call from Vice President Spiro T. Agnew’s office
  - Statement
  - Transfer
**Conversation No. 33-36**

Date: November 7, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 6:45 pm and 7:36 pm.  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Rose Mary Woods

**Conversation No. 33-37**

Date: November 7, 1972  
Time: 7:36 pm - 7:37 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Rose Mary Woods.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 23s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

***************************************************************
BEGIN Withdrawn Item No. 1
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 23s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Date: November 7, 1972
Time: 7:40 pm - 7:41 pm
Location: White House Telephone

Rose Mary Woods talked with the President.

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 54s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 elections
-Returns
- Outlook
  - The President
  - Woods

Date: November 7, 1972
Time: Unknown between 7:41 pm and 7:50 pm
The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to George Allen

Date: November 7, 1972
Time: Unknown between 7:41 pm and 7:50 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

George Allen
- Location
- Arrival at home

The President talked with George Allen.

Greetings

Washington Redskins - New York Jets game
- The President’s listening on radio
- California
- Quality of performance
- Joe Namath
Conversation No. 33-41 (cont’d)

-Billy Kilmer
   -Injury
   -Performance

New York Giants
   -Quality of team
   -Statement
   -Forthcoming game with Redskins
      -Crowd

Redskins - Jets game
   -Cable
   -Radio broadcast

Giants - Redskins game
   -The President’s viewing on television
      -Florida

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
   -Victory celebration
      -The President’s attendance
         -Time
      -Allen's attendance
         -Etty L. Allen
      -Time
      -California polling places
      -The President's statement

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
***************************************************************************
Date: November 7, 1972
Time: Between 7:54 - 7:57 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II.

Greetings

1972 election
- Alabama
  - The President
  - Winton M. Blount
- Connecticut
  - Projections
  - Waterbury
- Alabama
  - Projections
    - Columbia Broadcasting Company [CBS]
    - National Broadcasting Company [NBC]
- Georgia
  - Projections
    - Democratic candidate Sam Nunn
- Illinois
  - Projections
    - The President
    - Charles H. Percy
      - Compared to the President
        - Chicago
          - Cook County
    - CBS
      - Percy
    - Indiana
    - Kentucky
Conversation No. 33-42 (cont’d)

-Louie B. Nunn
-Senate races
-Georgia
  -S. Fletcher Thompson
    -Projections
-Ohio
  -CBS projection
-South Carolina
  -J. Strom Thurmond
-Tennessee
-Texas
  -Voter turnout
-Vermont
-Virginia
  -William L. Scott

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

Conversation No. 33-43

Date: November 7, 1972
Time: Unknown between 7:57 pm and 8:01 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House Operator.

Telephone call

Conversation No. 33-44

Date: November 7, 1972
Time: 8:01 pm - 8:02 pm
Conversation No. 33-44 (cont’d)

Location: White House Telephone

Rose Mary Woods talked with the President.

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

********************************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 17s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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

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

Conversation No. 33-45

Date: November 7, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:04 pm and 8:06 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

Conversation No. 33-46

Date: November 7, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:04 pm and 8:06 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
- Location

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

Conversation No. 33-47

Date: November 7, 1972
Time: 8:06 pm and 8:20 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

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

1972 election
- Congratulations
- Results
  - Landslide victory
    - Pollsters
    - Colson’s view
- Projections for the President
  - Virginia
  - Kentucky
    - Louie B. Nunn
    - Projections
- Georgia
  - S. Fletcher Thompson
    - [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II
  - President
Conversation No. 33-47 (cont’d)

-Projections
-South
-Border states
-Ohio
-West Virginia
   -National Broadcasting Company [NBC] projection
-Kentucky
   -Nunn
-NBC projection
   -Kevin P. Phillips
-Senate races
   -Republican losses
-Virginia
   -William L. Scott's lead
      -John O. (“Jack”) Marsh, Jr.’s reports
-North Carolina
   -Jesse M. Helm's lead
-Illinois
   -Chicago
   -NBC projection
-NBC
   -Private projections
      -Phillips
         -Richard M. Scammon
         -Percentages
      -Northeast
      -West
      -South
      -West Virginia
         -American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
         -Phillips
-Ohio
-National vote
   -Percentages
-Indiana
   -Percentages
   -Otis R. Bowen as Governor
      -Victory over Matthew E. Welsh
-Illinois
CONVERSATION NO. 33-47 (cont’d)

- Charles H. Percy
  - Early returns
  - Comparison with the President
- Democrats for the President
  - Advertisements [Ads]
  - Vito Marzullo's reports
    - Cook County
- Northeast
  - Maine
  - Vermont
    - Projections
  - New Hampshire
    - Projections
    - Wesley Powell
      - Concord, New Hampshire
    - Governor’s race
  - Connecticut
    - The President’s lead
      - Colson’s view
      - Media coverage
      - Significance
- Illinois
- Ohio
- National pollsters
- Massachusetts
  - City machine polls
    - The President’s view
- Wisconsin
- Illinois
  - CBS projection
    - Wisconsin
    - Percy
      - Comparison with the President
- Virginia
  - Scott
- Illinois
  - Percy
- Senate races
  - Scott
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Conversation No. 33-47 (cont’d)

- Helms
- Nunn
  - Kentucky
  - Possible defeat
- North Carolina
  - Nick Galifianakis
  - Lead
- North Carolina
  - Percentage
- Florida
- Georgia
  - Thompson
  - Defeat
  - Mail privileges
  - Colson’s view
- New Mexico
- Oklahoma
  - Dewey F. Bartlett
Kentucky
  - Louie Nunn
- Rhode Island
  - John H. Chafee
  - Defeat
  - Polls

-Senate races
  - Republican gains
-House of Representatives races
  - Republican gains
    - Indiana
    - Tennessee
    - Kentucky
    - South
      - Colson’s view
      - Alabama
      - Florida
      - Mississippi
      - Louisiana
      - David C. Treen
    - Connecticut
Conversation No. 33-47 (cont’d)

- Thomas Meskill’s view

-Senate races
  - Possible Republican gains and losses
    - The President’s campaigning
    - Chafee
    - Thompson
    - Helms
    - Kentucky
      - Thurston Morton
      - Eastern counties
    - Michigan
      - Robert P. Griffin
    - South Dakota
      - Losses
    - Bartlett
    - Pete V. Domenici
    - Scott
    - Domenici
    - Bartlett
    - South Dakota, Kentucky
    - Helms
    - Chafee
    - Herbert F. DeSimone
    - Vermont governor [Luther F. Haskett]
      - The President’s influence

-Maine
  - House seat
    - Projections
    - Bangor mayor, William S. Cohen
      - Background
    - Margaret Chase Smith
      - Projections

-Connecticut
  - The President’s lead
  - Meskill

-New Jersey
  - House seats

-Pennsylvania
  - House seats
Conversation No. 33-47 (cont’d)

- New York
  - House seats
- House and Senate races
  - Colson’s view
  - Predictions
- Gerald R. Ford
  - Swing votes
- Ticket splitting
  - House races

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

Conversation No. 33-48

Date: November 7, 1972
Time: 8:21 pm - 8:24 pm
Location: White House Telephone

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

1972 election
  - The President’s recent conversation with Charles W. Colson

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
  - Landslide victory
  - Networks
    - Columbia Broadcasting Company [CBS]
    - Percentages
  - Louie B. Nunn
  - Loss
  - S. Fletcher Thompson
Conversation No. 33-48 (cont’d)

-An unknown person left at an unknown time before 8:24 pm.

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Conversation No. 33-49

Date: November 7, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:13 pm and 9:14 pm
Location: White House Telephone
The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

Date: November 7, 1972
Time: 9:14 pm - 9:24 pm
Location: White House Telephone

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

President's schedule
   - Trip [to Florida]
   - Postponement

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1A
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 34s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1A

1972 election
   - Alabama
   - Percentages
   - States
      - The President’s viewing on television [TV]
   - Percentages for the President
     - Connecticut
       - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 9:14 pm.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1B
[Deed of gift-Privacy]
[Duration: 2s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1B

An unknown person entered at an unknown time before 9:24 pm.

1972 election
   -Projections
      -Illinois
         -CBS
            -American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
      -Indiana
      -Kansas
      -Ohio
         -National Broadcasting Company [NBC]
            -CBS
      -Pennsylvania
         -NBC
         -CBS
      -New York
         -Tricia Nixon Cox
         -Pennsylvania
         -New Jersey
         -Tennessee
         -Texas
            -NBC
- Vermont
- Oklahoma
- CBS
- Senate races
  - John J. Sparkman
    - Alabama
  - John L. McClellan
  - James O. Eastland
  - Michigan
    - Robert P. Griffin
    - The President
  - New Jersey
    - Clifford P. Case
  - Virginia
    - William L. Scott
  - Tennessee
    - Howard H. Baker, Jr.
  - J. Strom Thurmond
  - Kentucky
    - Louie B. Nunn
    - Defeat
  - Massachusetts
    - Edward W. Brooke
  - John B. Pearson
  - Wesley Powell
  - S. Fletcher Thompson
    - Defeat
    - NBC
    - Harry S. Dent
  - Powell
  - Dewey F. Bartlett
    - Lead
  - Wisconsin
    - Ohio
    - Illinois
  - West Virginia
    - The President’s lead
  - Virginia
  - Maryland
Unknown persons were present at an unknown time after 9:14 pm

Greetings

1972 election
  -New Jersey
    -Clifford P. Chase
    -Congressional Races
      -Connecticut
    -Wisconsin
Conversation No. 33-50 (cont’d)

- Robert Teeter
- Senate races
  - New Hampshire and Massachusetts
    - Charles W. Colson
  - Powell
  - Chafee
  - Bartlett
- Texas
- Network coverage
  - Haldeman’s view
  - Interviews
    - Robert H. Finch
    - Clark MacGregor

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Conversation No. 33-51

Date: November 7, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:24 pm and 9:29 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

Conversation No. 33-52

Date: November 7, 1972
Time: 9:29 pm - 9:40 pm
Location: White House Telephone
The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

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

1972 election
  -Overall view
  -Massachusetts
    -Percentages
    -Suffolk County
    -Blue collar areas
  -Connecticut
    -Colson’s recent conversation with Thomas Meskill
      -The President's lead
      -Congressional races
    -The President's coat tails
  -“Penance vote” [Ticket splitting]
  -New Jersey
    -House of Representatives seat
  -New York
    -National Broadcasting Company [NBC]
    -Columbia Broadcasting Company [CBS]
  -"Penance vote"
  -Rhode Island
    -Colson’s recent conversation with Herbert De Simone
  -Turnout
  -John H. Chafee
  -Senate races
    -Harry F. Byrd, Jr.
    -Jesse M. Helms
      -North Carolina
        -The President’s lead
    -William L. Scott
    -J. Caleb Boggs
      -Delaware
        -The President's lead
  -Michigan
    -The President's lead
-Busing advertisement [ad]
  -George C. Wallace team

-Illinois
  -Colson’s recent conversation with David E. Bradshaw
    -Chicago
      -Richard J. Daley
  -Charles H. Percy
  -Richard B. Ogilvie
    -Lead
    -The President's coattails
    -Downstate
    -Chicago

-West Virginia
  -Arch A. Moore, Jr.

-Louie B. Nunn
  -Defeat
    -Colson’s view
    -Sales tax
      -Walter Huddleston repeal

-Delaware
  -Boggs
  -The President's lead
  -Boggs
  -The President's efforts
    -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
    -De Simone

-The President's campaign trips
  -Effectiveness
    -Kentucky

-Ticket splitting
  -Colson’s view
  -Connecticut

-George S. McGovern
  -Statement
    -Jean Westwood
    -Incumbency

-Texas
  -John G. Tower victory
    -The President's lead
- Percentage
- National results
  - New York, California
- Michigan
- Wisconsin
- Mountain states
  - The President’s view
- Oklahoma
  - The President's lead
- Kansas
- Network coverage
  - Jim Schurz
  - NBC
  - David Brinkley
    - Voter turnout
  - John Chancellor
    - Landslide prediction
    - Lyndon B. Johnson
- CBS
  - Labor unions
  - Effect
- Connecticut
  - Colson’s recent conversation with Meskill
    - Blue-collar workers, Catholics
- Rhode Island
  - De Simone
    - The President's lead
- Chafee
- Boggs
- New Hampshire
  - Powell
    - Concord
    - Manchester
- Maine
  - Margaret Chase Smith
- South Dakota
  - [Robert W. Hirsch]
  - The President's lead
- Maine
-South Dakota
  -Hirsch
  -Senate races
    -Possible Republican gains and losses
      -Kentucky
      -South Dakota
      -Delaware
      -New Hampshire
      -Virginia
      -North Carolina
      -Oklahoma
      -Rhode Island
      -New Mexico
      -Delaware
      -South Dakota
    -Ticket splitting
    -Colson’s view
  -South Dakota
  -Hirsch
    -Campaign
  -Dewey F. Bartlett
  -Pete V. Domenici
  -Kentucky
    -Nunn
    -The President's trip
    -Louisville
  -Ticket splitting
    -Colson’s view
    -“Brass collar” Democrats

Tricia Nixon Cox entered at an unknown time after 9:29 pm.

The President’s schedule

1972 election results
  -Ticket splitting
  -Democrats
  -Kentucky
  -Tax issue
Conversation No. 33-52 (cont’d)

- The President's lead
  - Network projections
  - NBC
  - Kevin P. Phillips
- New York
- Connecticut
- Illinois
- New York
- Ohio
- Michigan
- South
- California
- Final results
- Timing

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

Conversation No. 33-53

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:54 am and 1:00 am
Location: White House Telephone

Manolo Sanchez talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 388-3B]

Charles W. Colson
- Meeting with President
- Location
- Page
Conversation No. 33-54

Date: November 8, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:54 am and 1:00 am  
Location: White House Telephone  

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 388-3C]

Status of telephone call to Frank L. Rizzo  
Request for a call to Henry A. Kissinger

Conversation No. 33-55

Date: November 8, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:54 am and 1:00 am  
Location: White House Telephone  

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 388-3D]

Henry A. Kissinger  
-Location

Conversation No. 33-56

Date: November 8, 1972  
Time: Between 1:00 am - 1:10 am  
Location: White House Telephone
The President talked with Frank L. Rizzo.

[See Conversation No. 388-4B]

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

1972 Election
   -The President's victory
   -Rizzo's work
   -Pennsylvania
      -The President's margin
      -Milton J. Shapp
   -Massachusetts
      -Colleges
   -The President's victory
      -Rizzo's reaction
   -The President’s recent statement
   -The President’s schedule
   -Rizzo
   -George S. McGovern
      -Concession statement
         -Rizzo's reaction
         -Unity

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:10 am and 1:12 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.
Conversation No. 33-57 (cont’d)

[See Conversation No. 388-4C]

Request for a call to Nelson A. Rockefeller

Conversation No. 33-58

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: 1:10 am - 1:12 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 388-4D]

Request for a call to Hubert H. Humphrey

Call from Nelson A. Rockefeller

Conversation No. 33-59

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: 1:12 am - 1:16 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Nelson A. Rockefeller.

[See conversation No. 388-4E]

Greetings

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

1972 election results
- The President's landslide
- The President’s schedule
  - Shoreham Hotel
- New York
  - Results
  - Projection
  - The President's lead
- New York City
- Jewish vote

Rockefeller’s Location
  - Home

1972 election
- George S. McGovern
  - Concession statement
    - Timing
  - Concession
    - Networks
- Massachusetts
  - The President's loss
- District of Columbia [DC]
  - The President's loss
- Minnesota
- House of Representatives races
  - Peter A. Peyser
    - Defeat of Richard L. Ottinger
  - Ogden R. Reid
    - Defeat of Carl A. Vergari
  - Otis G. Pike
    - Defeat of Joseph Boyd, Jr.
  - John G. Dow
    - Defeat
  - Republican gains in New York

The President's schedule
Conversation No. 33-59 (cont’d)

-Trip to Florida
-Possible meeting with Rockefeller

Rockefeller’s schedule
-Vacation
-Camp

1972 election
-Vietnam
-McGovern
-Campaigning
-Charges
-The President’s schedule, November 4, 1972
-North Carolina airfield
-Henry A. Kissinger
-Message from North Vietnam
-Negotiations
-Lack of conditions
-Timing
-McGovern’s campaign
-R. Sargent Shriver
-McGovern
-Charges
-Tricia Nixon Cox response
-New York
-Free speech
-Family's response
-The President’s recent statement
-Opponents
-Generosity
-Rockefeller’s memorandum
-Domestic programs
-Cross-overs

Well wishes
-Margaretta (“Happy”) Rockefeller
-Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Date: November 8, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:16 am and 1:28 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 388-41]

Call from Henry A. Kissinger

Call from Hubert H. Humphrey

Kissinger talked with the President between 1:28 am and 1:30 am.

[See Conversation No. 388-41]

Greetings

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election  
- The President's victory  
- Kissinger's congratulations  
- Margin of victory  
- Massachusetts  
- Minnesota  
- George S. McGovern  
- Concession statement  
- Tone  
- The President's telegram
Conversation No. 33-61

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:30 am and 1:31 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.
Preparation of wire
  -Patrick J. Buchanan

Date:  November 8, 1972
Time:  1:31 am - 1:35 am
Location:  White House Telephone

The President talked with Hubert H. Humphrey.

[See Conversation No. 388-4J]

Greetings

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

1972 election
  -The President's victory
    -Congratulations
    -Humphrey's manner
    -Comparison with 1968 election
      -Vietnam
        -George S. McGovern
    -Vietnam settlement
      -November 4-7, 1972
        -Humphrey’s recent conversation with Henry A. Kissinger
          -1969
        -Public statements
          -Near future
    -McGovern
      -Humphrey's support
        -McGovern's tactics
        -Necessity
Conversation No. 33-62 (cont’d)

- Blame
  - Unity

Humphrey's health

Hubert H. Humphrey, III
  - Election to Minnesota state senate
    - Opposition

Humphrey's location
  - Minnesota

1972 election
  - Minnesota
    - City votes
    - The President's chances
    - The President's margin
    - Democratic strength
      - 1960 election
    - The President's chances
      - Margin of votes

  - The President's recent television [TV] appearance
    - Nixon
    - Crowds
  - Letter from the President
    - Muriel F. (“Buck”) Humphrey
  - Next term
    - Humphrey's support
      - Kissinger

Humphrey's future
  - Winston Churchill and Benjamin Disraeli
    - Ages at assumption of power
      - Peter De Mendelssohn, [The Age of Churchill]
        - The President’s reading
          - California

  - Humphrey's age
    - [Harold Stassen]
Conversation No. 33-63

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:35 am and 3:00 am
Location: White House Telephone

Manolo Sanchez talked with the White House operator.

Request a call to White House mess

Sanchez talked with an unknown man at an unknown time between 1:35 am and 3:00 am

Breakfast food orders
  -Number
  -Delivery to the President at the Executive Office Building [EOB]
    -H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
    -Charles W. Colson

Conversation No. 33-64

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Between 1:35 am and 3:00 am
Location: White House Telephone

Manolo Sanchez talked with the White House operator.

Request a call to staff mess

[Unknown man can be heard in the background]
Sanchez talked with an unknown man at an unknown time between 1:35 am and 3:00 am.

Breakfast food orders
   - Pick-up
   - Juan H. Castillo

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:35 am and 3:00 am
Location: White House Telephone

Charles W. Colson talked with the White House operator.

[H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman can be heard in the background]

1972 election
   - Maryland

Colson talked to an unknown man in his office at an unknown time between 1:35 am and 3:00 am

[See Conversation No. 388-4O]

Request a call to Lyndon (“Mort”) Allin
   - Visit to Colson’s office

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

1972 election
   - Congressional seats
      - Republican gains and losses
      - Delivery of figures to Manolo Sanchez
Conversation No. 33-65 (cont’d)

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

Conversation No. 33-66

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:17 am and 9:14 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 813-8]

Request for a call to Michael J. Mansfield

Conversation No. 33-67

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: 9:14 am
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 813-9]

Call to Michael J. Mansfield
 - Location
   - Boca Grande, Florida
 - The President’s schedule
 - Phone call
   - The President's return call
     - Time
Conversation No. 33-68

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:14 am and 9:16 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 813-11]

Request for a call to Harry S. Dent

Conversation No. 33-69

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: 9:16 am - 9:29 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Harry S. Dent.

[See Conversation No. 813-12]

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

1972 election
- The President's victory
- Dent's appearance on television [TV]
  - News summary
- South
  - Senate gains
  - House of Representatives gains
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Conversation No. 33-69 (cont’d)

-The President's coattails
  -James E. Holzhouser
-S. Fletcher Thompson
  -Defeat
    -Dent’s view
  -Mail privileges
-House Campaign Committee
  -Quality of candidates
    -George S. McGovern
    -Dent’s efforts
  -Mississippi
  -Democrats
-Republican candidates
  -Quality
    -North and West
      -The President’s view
    -Age
    -The President’s efforts
      -William L. Scott
      -Jesse M. Helms
-Republican losses
  -Jack Miller
    -The President’s schedule
      -Iowa
        -Personality
    -Gordon L. Allott
      -Margin of loss
-Incumbents
  -Dent’s view
  -Reasons for losses
    -Egos
    -Margaret Chase Smith
    -Reason for loss
      -Age
  -J. Caleb Boggs
    -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew visit to Delaware
      -Dwight D. Eisenhower administration
-The President's visits
  -North Carolina
- Oklahoma
- Kentucky
- Rhode Island
- Kentucky
  - Louie B. Nunn
    - Sales tax issue
    - Personality
- Rhode Island
  - John H. Chafee
    - Dovishness
- Minnesota
  - Hubert H. Humphrey
- Alaska
- McGovern
  - Massachusetts
- California
- The President's victory
  - Percentage
    - Media coverage
      - Lyndon B. Johnson
- Electoral votes
  - McGovern
    - Alfred M. (“Alf”) Landon
  - Percentage
    - Johnson in 1964
    - 61.1%
- John G. Schmitz
  - Source of support
- Holtzhouser
- Campaign
  - Victory
    - Coattails
- Republican Party
  - Replacement
    - The President’s view
    - South
- Press relations
  - Washington Star
- Liberal press
Conversation No. 33-69 (cont’d)

-McGovern
  -Reasons for defeat
    -Tactics
    -Thomas F. Eagleton
  -Issues
    -Welfare
    -Busing
    -Amnesty
    -Drugs
    -Welfare

-South
  -Race issue
  -Patriotism
  -Moral values
  -Enthusiasm for the President
    -North Carolina, Oklahoma, Georgia
  -Voter turnout
    -Landslide

-The President's victory
  -The President’s trip to the Peoples Republic of China [PRC]
  -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
    -Mining of Haiphong Harbor
  -The President’s trip to the Soviet Union
  -“Triple Play” terminology

Vietnam
  -Settlement
  -Timing
    -1972 election

1972 election
  -McGovern
    -Manner
    -Concession statement
      -Tone
        -Contrast with the President
    -Image
      -Negativism
  -South
Conversation No. 33-69 (cont’d)

-Southern Democrats
-Border states
  -North Carolina
-Virginia
-Georgia and South Carolina
  -Weakness of Republicans
-Edward Young
  -Previous meeting with the President
  -Quality
-Candidates
  -Quality
  -National Republican Party
    -1971 spending
-The President's visits
  -Effect
    -Democrats
  -Number of states
-Colorado
  -Allott
    -Candidacy
-Incumbents
  -Defeat
    -Dent’s view
-Future candidates
  -Recruitment
  -California returns

Dent's location
  -The President's schedule

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 5s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
1972 election
- California
  - Returns
- Popular vote
  - Figures
    - Timing
    - News summary
  - Percentage
  - Johnson in 1964
    - Voter registration
  - Voter turn-out
    - Compared to 1964
  - Nonvoters
    - Blacks in South
    - McGovern
    - Republicans
  - Media relations
- Level of apathy
  - John B. Connally
- Surrogates
  - Letters of endorsement
    - Dent’s efforts
  - Photograph sessions
  - Television clips
    - Senate candidates
  - Radio tapes
    - Senate candidates
  - Telephone calls
    - Senate candidates
- The President's support
  - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Conversation No. 33-70

Date: November 8, 1972  
Time: 2:00 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 388-6]  
Request for a meeting with Charles W. Colson

Conversation No. 33-71

Date: November 8, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 2:15 pm and 2:18 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 388-8A]  
Request for a call to Edward R. G. Heath

Conversation No. 33-72

Date: November 8, 1972  
Time: Between 2:18 pm and 2:35 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 388-8B]
Edward R. G. Heath's location
- [Elizabeth, Queen of England] Elizabeth II
- Buckingham Palace
- Return to office

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: 3:08 pm - 3:11 pm
Location: White House Telephone

Edward R. G. Heath talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 388-8C]

1972 election
- President's victory
- Congratulations
- House of Representatives and Senate results

Wages and Prices
- Heath's policies
- Acceptance
  - Unions
  - Poll results
- US experience
  - Union opposition
  - General public
    - George H. Gallup poll

The President's second term
- Possible meeting with Heath

[Elizabeth, Queen of England] Elizabeth II
- Meeting with Heath
Conversation No. 33-73 (cont’d)

-Congratulations
-Marriage
-Duration
-The President’s campaign trip
-Utah

Vietnam negotiations
-Latest developments on settlement agreement
-[Earl of Cromer] George R.S. Baring
-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
-Trip to Saigon

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:11 pm and 3:28 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 388-11]

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

Conversation No. 33-74

Conversation No. 33-75

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: 3:28 pm - 3:30 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 388-12]
Tape Subject Log
(rev. June-07)

Conversation No. 33-75 (cont’d)

President's schedule
- [Florida trip]
- Departure

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

1972 election
- Final results
  - Report for the President
  - Congressional races
    - Lawrence M. Higby
  - The President's election
  - Latest figures
    - Frequency
    - Idaho
    - Louisiana
    - Michigan
- Absentee votes
  - Support for the President
  - Importance

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

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:30 pm and 3:31 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 388-13]
Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:30 pm and 3:31 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 388-14]

Meeting with President

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:30 pm and 3:32 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 388-16]

Request for a call to Stephen B. Bull
Conversation No. 33-79

Date: November 8, 1972
Time: 3:32 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 388-17A]

Stephen B. Bull
-Location

Conversation No. 33-80

Date: November 18, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:06 am and 11:44 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

********************************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Deed of gift-Privacy]
[Duration: 10s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
********************************************************************************
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
********************************************************************************
Date: November 18, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:06 am and 11:44 am
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Deed of gift-Privacy]
[Duration: 5s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Request for a call to Tricia Nixon Cox
Conversation No. 33-83

Date: November 18, 1972
Time: 11:44 am - 11:45 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House Operator.

The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox.

BEGIN segment reviewed under deed of gift

BEGIN WTHD

END WTHD

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Deed of gift-Privacy]
[Duration: 9s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Conversation No. 33-84

Date: November 18, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:45 am and 11:47 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to John D. Ehrlichman
Conversation No. 33-85

Date: November 18, 1972  
Time: 11:47 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

John D. Ehrlichman  
-Location  
-Return call

Request for a call to John B. Connally

Conversation No. 33-86

Date: November 18, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 11:55 am and 11:57 am  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Leonard Garment

Conversation No. 33-87

Date: November 18, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 11:55 am and 11:57 am  
Location: White House Telephone
The White House operator talked with the President.

Call to Leonard Garment

John B. Connally
- Location
  - Texas
- Telephone call
  - Radio

Date: November 18, 1972
Time: 11:57 am - 12:01 pm
Location: White House Telephone Operator

The President talked with Leonard Garment.

Garment's location
- Note on Bicentennial Commission

Meeting with President
- Lincoln Sitting Room
- Dictation

Garment's location
- House's location
  - Alexandria, Virginia

Meeting with President
- Camp David
  - Time
  - The President’s schedule
    - Football
    - Cabinet
Conversation No. 33-88 (cont’d)

Second term reorganization
- Cabinet
  - Change
    - Necessity
      - Bureaucracy
    - Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger
      - Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
    - Elliot L. Richardson

Garment's schedule
- Meeting with President
  - Time

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
- Garment's reaction
  - 1962 election
    - Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown
      - The President’s letter
    - The President's concession statement
      - Tone
        - Carl Greenberg
        - Brown
    - George S. McGovern
      - Concession statement
        - Garment’s view
          - Contrast to Barry M. Goldwater in 1964 and the President in 1960
            - John F. Kennedy
          - Goldwater
            - The President’s role in history
              - Garment’s view

Bicentennial
Conversation No. 33-89

Date: November 18, 1972
Time: 12:02 pm - 12:08 pm
Location: White House Telephone

Henry A. Kissinger talked with the President.

Kissinger's location
- Washington, DC

President's schedule
- Dictation

David Ben-Gurion
- Letter to the President
  - Sense of history
- Vietnam
  - The President's People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
  - Acquaintance with Kissinger

John J. McCloy
- Letter to the President
  - Comparison with Abraham Lincoln
    - Civil War
    - Doves

Vietnam negotiations
- South Vietnamese response
  - Telephone call from Ellsworth F. Bunker
    - Message
  - US response
Conversation No. 33-89 (cont’d)

-Memorandum to Bunker
-Objection to settlement agreement
  -William H. Sullivan
-Presidential response
  -Possible letter
-Paris
  -Settlement agreement text
-Bunker
-Negotiations
  -Delay
-Hanoi
-Nguyen Van Thieu's Options
-Settlement agreement
  -US options
    -Bilateral action
  -Cease-fire
    -Laos, Cambodia
-South Vietnam’s bargaining position
  -Kissinger’s forthcoming trip to Paris
    -Announcement
  -Bunker's response
-Cambodia

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security]
[Duration: 3s]
[Subject: Cambodia]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Norodom Sihanouk
  -Relations with North Vietnamese
  -Comment to Algerian ambassador
    -Soviet Union
-Settlement agreement
-Alexander M. Haig, Jr's position on South Vietnam
Conversation No. 33-89 (cont’d)
-South Vietnamese position

Conversation No. 33-90
Date: November 18, 1972
Time: 12:12 pm - 12:13 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with John D. Ehrlichman.

Second term reorganization
-Peter G. Peterson
-Ehrlichman’s forthcoming meeting with George P. Shultz
-President's judgment
-Commerce Department
-Meetings with the President
-Ehrlichman forthcoming meeting with Shultz
-Commerce Department
-Contributions
-East-West relations
-Trade

Conversation No. 33-91
Date: November 18, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:13 pm and 12:15 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Henry A. Kissinger
Date: November 18, 1972
Time: 12:15 pm - 12:20 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam negotiations
- Settlement agreement
  - Message to Ellsworth F. Bunker
    - The President’s directions
      - Dealings with South Vietnamese
        - Nguyen Van Thieu
    - Thieu's attitudes
      - The President’s previous letter
  - South Vietnam
    - Possible emissary to the President
      - Paris negotiations
      - Further messages
        - Bunker
    - The President's response on South Vietnam bargaining
      Position
      - The President’s previous letter
      - Pressure on US
  - South Vietnam position
    - Changes in negotiating points
      - Problems
        - Le Duc Tho’s possible response
    - Previous Changes
      - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.’s recent trip
      - Comments
      - Impact on agreement
      - Withdrawal of forces
        - US and North Vietnamese
  - Bunker
    - Emissary to South Vietnam
Conversation No. 33-92 (cont’d)

-Nixon
-Haig
-John B. Connally
-North Vietnam reaction to US proposals
-Agreement quality
-South Vietnam
-US bargaining position
-Bunker

Peter G. Peterson
-New appointment
-foreign policy
-Expertise
-Commerce Department
-George P. Shultz
-Access to White House

Conversation No. 33-93

Date: November 18, 1972
Time: Between 12:20 pm and 12:21 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to John D. Ehrlichman

Conversation No. 33-94

Date: November 18, 1972
Time: 12:21 pm - 12:22 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with John D. Ehrlichman.
Conversation No. 33-94 (cont’d)

Peter G. Peterson
-New appointment
-Acceptance
-Henry A. Kissinger’s view
-Foreign policy

Conversation No. 33-95

Date: November 18, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:22 pm and 12:25 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
-Meeting with William P. Rogers
-Return call

Conversation No. 33-96

Date: November 18, 1972
Time: 12:25 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with the President.

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
-Location
-Jo Anne (Horton) Haldeman
-Meeting with William P. Rogers
-Return call
Conversation No. 33-97

Date: November 18, 1972  
Time: 12:29 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Henry A. Kissinger

Conversation No. 33-98

Date: November 18, 1972  
Time: 12:32 pm - 12:44 pm  
Location: White House Telephone

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

Second term reorganization
  -Haldeman’s recent meeting with William P. Rogers
  -Rogers’ retention
    -Conditions
      -New appointments
      -Foreign Service
      -Promotions
        -Loyalty
        -Charles W. Yost
    -The President's role
      -Changes
    -Rogers
      -Departure
      -Timing
        -June 1, 1973
- European Security Conference

- Replacement
  - Rogers’ departure
    - Plans
    - Timing
  - Foreign Service
    - Loyalty
      - Roger’s conversation with the President
      - Yost
      - Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan
  - Conflicts with Henry A. Kissinger
    - The President's mediation
    - Source
      - Lying
  - Defense Department
    - Elliot L. Richardson
    - Melvin R. Laird
    - Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
    - Congressional committees
    - William P. Clements, Jr.
  - HEW
    - Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
  - Defense Department
    - The President’s role
  - Charles W. Colson departure
    - John B. Connally's view
    - Loyalty
      - Connally's view
      - [Watergate problem]
    - Timing
    - Retention
      - Problems
        - Colson’s view
        - Promotion
    - Reorganization
      - Colson's position
      - Haldeman's dealings with Colson
    - Compared to retention
      - Merits
- Interests
- Possible later problems
- Timing
- Future work with administration
  - Personnel recommendations
- Peter J. Brennan’s possible position in the administration
  - Transportation Department
  - Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
    - Size
- Interior Department
- Transportation
  - Qualifications
    - Example of Richardson
    - Defense Department
    - Compared to credentials
- Colson’s advice
  - Job offer
    - Paul Hall
    - Maritime

Vietnam negotiations
- Settlement agreement
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
    - Problems
      - Kissinger
        - Message from Ellsworth F. Bunker
- US position
  - Negotiations with North Vietnam
    - Paris
  - Stance vis-à-vis Thieu
- Agreement quality
- Thieu
  - Posture
    - Effect on agreement
  - Vietnamization
  - US withdrawal
  - South Vietnam’s defense
  - Possible collapse
    - Congressional appropriations
The President’s schedule
   -[Camp David]
      -Timing
         -Haldeman’s schedule
         -Leonard Garment
            -Recent conversation with the President
            -Timing
            -Peter M. Flanigan
      -Haldeman’s schedule
         -Herbert G. Klein
      -Flanigan, Klein

Second term reorganization
   -Flanigan
      -Role
         -Committee on International Economic Policy [CIEP]
            -George P. Shultz
      -Retention
         -White House
      -Personnel and agency functions
         -Roy L. Ash
Conversation No. 33-98 (cont’d)

John W. Dean, III
- Regulatory agencies
- Flanigan
  - Job offer
  - Retention
    - Circumstances
    - Title

Date: November 18, 1972
Time: 12:45 pm - 12:49 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam negotiations
- Settlement agreement
  - South Vietnam
    - Possible US bilateral actions
  - Aid programs
    - Possible Congressional cut-off
    - Ellsworth F. Bunker
  - US message to Nguyen Van Thieu
- Negotiating position
  - Proposals
    - Vetting
    - Memorandum
    - Impact on final agreement
      - US reaction
- US efforts
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.’s trips, Kissinger’s trips and Bunker’s availability
  - Letters
  - Reception of emissary
  - The President’s role
Conversation No. 33-99 (cont’d)

-Reading, drafting
-Final agreement
-Modification
-South Vietnam
-Negotiating stance
-US reaction
-Make-up of new Congress
-Thieu’s responsibility
-US assistance
-US response
-Tone
-Thieu
-Blame
-Possible collapse of South Vietnam
-South Vietnam’s ability to handle agreement
-South Vietnamese control of South Vietnam
-Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
-Map
-Territory
-Control by Government of Vietnam [GVN]
-Thieu’s actions
-1972 election
-Bargaining Position

Conversation No. 33-100

Date: November 18, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:49 pm and 12:53 pm
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Henry A. Kissinger
Date: November 18, 1972  
Time: 12:53 pm - 12:54 pm  
Location: White House Telephone  

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

Second term reorganization
   - Elliot L. Richardson
   - Melvin R. Laird's reaction to appointment

Vietnam War
   - South Vietnam
   - Amount of US aid
     - Helicopter Engines
   - Laird
     - Possible mission to South Vietnam
     - Message to Garcia [Nguyen Van Thieu]
   - Timing
     - Settlement agreement
     - Knowledge of Military And Congress
   - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Conversation No. 33-102

Date: November 18, 1972  
Time: 5:21 pm - 5:22 pm  
Location: White House Telephone  

The President talked with the White House Operator.

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Conversation No. 33-103

Date: November 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:30 am and 9:14 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Ronald L. Ziegler

Conversation No. 33-104

Date: November 19, 1972
Time: 9:14 am - 9:16 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Second term reorganization
- [Washington Star] story
- Source
- Possible backgrounder
Conversation No. 33-104 (cont’d)

- Florida story
- John D. Ehrlichman
- Control of leaks
- Office of Management and Budget [OMB] study
- White House staff members
  - Ehrlichman
  - *Washington Star*
  - *Washington Post*

Henry A. Kissinger
  - [Oriana Fallaci] interview, November 2 and 4, 1972
  - Role in foreign policy
    - People’s Republic of China [PRC] trip
    - Impression of statements
  - Kissinger’s concern
  - Arrangements
    - Italian ambassador
  - Effect
    - Quotes

The President’s schedule
  - Trip to Camp David
    - The President’s family

Conversation No. 33-105

Date: November 19, 1972
Time: 9:16 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
Date: November 19, 1972
Time: Between 9:16 am - 9:29 am
Location: White House Telephone

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

Haldeman's schedule
- Trip to Camp David
- Departure

The President's schedule
- Trip to Camp David
- Tricia Nixon Cox
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Trip to Florida
- Delay
- Meetings with Cabinet members
  - Timing
    - David M. Kennedy
    - James D. Hodgson
    - George Romney
    - John A. Volpe
    - Richard G. Kleindienst
- Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
  - Charles A. Wright
- Announcements
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - William P. Rogers retention
  - Changes in executive branch
    - [David] Kenneth Rush
- Kleindienst
- Announcements
  - Defense Department
    - Elliot Richardson
    - William P. Clements, Jr.
    - Hawks view
Second term reorganization
- Leak
  - The President’s recent conversation with Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Camp David
- Washington Star story
  - Methods
  - The President's reaction
- Control of public relations [PR]
  - Possible editorials
- Washington Star story
  - Source
  - Release
  - Ehrlichman
- Sources of leaks
  - Roy L. Ash
  - Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
- The President's concern
  - Context
- Leaks
  - Control
    - Charles W. Colson

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
- Republican candidates
  - The President's support
    - Response to John B. Connally’s concern
    - The President’s recent conversation with Patrick J. Buchanan
    - Haldeman’s forthcoming conversation with Colson

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Colson
- Possible telephone call from Haldeman
- Location
  - Virginia

Second term reorganization
- Rogers
- PR
  - Ziegler
  - Gerald L. Warren
  - Ehrlichman
    - Responsibilities
      - Florida
  - Administration capabilities
    - Roger’s comment
      - Colson’s comment
    - Colson-Herbert Klein operation
      - Republican National Committee [RNC]
    - Attacks on critics
- Problems
  - Henry A. Kissinger
  - Ehrlichman
- Responsibilities
  - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
    - Writing staff
  - Ehrlichman
  - Kissinger
- Administration capabilities
  - Colson
    - John B. Connally's assessment
- Colson
  - Compared to Kissinger
    - Vietnam
    - Model cities example
  - Role after 1972 election
- New people
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Conversation No. 33-106 (cont’d)

Kissinger

-[Oriana Fallaci] interview, November 2 and 4, 1972
-The President’s recent conversation with Ziegler
-Kissinger’s recent conversation with Haldeman
-Possible effect
  -Rogers
-References to the Peoples Republic of China [PRC] trip
  -Credit for arrangements
  -Public appeal
-References to President
  -Public compared to private comments
  -Rogers's reaction
   -Rogers’s recent conversation with Haldeman
-Washington Post
-Washington Star
-Peter Lisagor
-Haldeman's reaction
  -Forthcoming call to the President

Conversation No. 33-107

Date: November 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:29 am and 9:35 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson
  -Colson's possible location
   -Virginia
Conversation No. 33-108

Date: November 19, 1972
Time: 9:35 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with the White House operator.

Call from Charles W. Colson

Call from Ronald L. Ziegler

The President talked with Colson between 9:35 am and 10:46 am.

Colson's vacation
  - Warrenton, Virginia
  - Reason
    - Death
  - 1972 election
  - Virginia
    - Weather

Second term reorganization
  - Meeting at Camp David
  - President's message to Colson
    - Colson, H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman
    - White House Staff
  - Herbert Klein
    - Ziegler
  - Public relations [PR]
    - Administration capacity
      - Office name
      - Klein
      - Retention
      - Departure
        - Timing
        - Age
      - Jack J. Valenti
  - Klein
Conversation No. 33-108 (cont’d)

- Job search
  - Timing
- Colson
  - Job offers
    - Colson’s conversations with Haldeman
- Scheme
  - The President’s recent conversation with Haldeman
- Meeting with Colson
  - Plans
- Departures
  - Colson
  - John A. Scali
  - Klein
- PR
  - Kissinger
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Capability
    - Republican National Committee and Republican Congressional Leaders
      - Clout
    - Motivation
      - Colson’s conversation Haldeman
        - White House access
- Max M. Fisher
- Leonard Garment
  - Retention
  - Bicentennial
- Donald F. Rodgers
- Peter J. Brennan
  - Labor Department
  - Transportation Department
    - Brennan’s background
    - Building trades
    - Judgment
  - Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
    - Super-cabinet
  - Model cities
- Transportation Department
  - Labor problems
Conversation No. 33-108 (cont’d)

- International Brotherhood of Teamsters
  - Regulation
  - Labor Department
    - Frank E. Fitzsimmon's reaction
  - Transportation Department
    - Teamster’s official
  - Brennan
    - Job offer
      - Paul Hall's reaction
  - Fitzsimmons
    - Possible meeting with President
      - George Meany
        - George P. Shultz
      - Review of Brennan job offer
    - Brennan
      - Fitzsimmons
      - Colson’s influence
        - John H. (“Jack”) Lyons
  - Fitzsimmons
    - Meany
      - Neutrality in 1972 election
  - Aid to President in 1972 election
    - Meany
      - Shultz
    - 1972 Democratic National Convention
      - Teamsters endorsement of the President. July 17, 1972
      - Meany
      - Neutrality
  - Conversation with Colson
    - Brennan
      - Appointment
    - Cabinet
      - John A. Volpe
        - Travel
      - Richard E. Kleindienst
        - Travel
      - James D. Hodgson
        - Shultz
        - Retention
Conversation No. 33-108 (cont’d)

-Labor Department
  -James Curtis Counts
  -Colson’s conversation with Roy L. Ash

-Cabinet
  -Italian-Americans
    -Michael P. Balzano, Jr.
    -Readiness
  -Scali
    -Haldeman
    -United Nations [UN]
    -Possible black appointee
    -Commerce Department

-Blacks
  -Appointments
    -Colson’s conversation with Haldeman
  -Walter E. Washington
    -Ambassadorship

-UN ambassadorship
  -Scali
    -Loyalty
    -UN staff
      -George H. W. Bush
    -Interest
      -Colson’s conversation with Scali
      -Colson’s conversation with Haldeman
      -H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman's reaction
  -Discussion with President
  -Haldeman
    -The President
    -White House staff schedule
    -Washington

-Blacks
  -Washington
  -First term compared to second term

-Level
  -Symbolism
    -Americans

-Italians
  -Herbert F. DeSimone
Conversation No. 33-108 (cont’d)

-Rhode Island
-Abilities
  -Commerce Department
  -Peter G. Peterson’s recommendation
  -Record as Rhode Island Attorney General
  -Joseph L. Tauro
    -Judgeship
-Peterson
  -European post
-Commerce Department opening
-Labor Department
  -Shultz recommendation
    -John L. Dunlop
      -Harvard University
      -The President’s conversation with Shultz
-Make-up
  -Second term compared to 1968
-Labor Department
  -Brennan
    -Meany’s view
      -Meany’s conversation with Shultz
    -Labor problems
    -Appointment of unionist
      -Transportation Department
    -Colson’s view
    -Possible fear of reform
      -Colson’s conversation with Ash
      -American Federation of Labor
    -Congress of Industrial Organizations [AFL-CIO] bureaucracy
      -16th Street
-Reforms
  -Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS]
    -Shultz
      -Colson’s conversations with Ash, Haldeman
-Ash
  -Recruitment
    -Catholicism
-Shultz
  -Catholicism
**Tape Subject Log**
*(rev. June-07)*

Conversation No. 33-108 (cont’d)

- Helena M. (“Obie”) Shultz
  - Publicity
    - Ash

- Brennan
  - Labor Department
    - Compared to Transportation Department
  - State level background
    - Control by bureaucracy
  - Job offer
    - Acceptance
    - Problem
  - Successorship to Meany
  - Speaking ability
    - Thomas W. (“Teddy”) Gleason

- Appointments
  - UN ambassadorship
    - Black
  - Blacks
    - Appointments

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
  - Landslide
  - Black vote
  - Latest figures
    - Percentage of votes
      - *New York Times*
  - Absentees
    - Republican congressman in Washington state
      - Tomas Pelly
  - Turn-out
  - Gordon L. Allott
    - Absentee votes
    - Margin
      - Recount
    - Richard L. Roudebush
Second term reorganization
   - Gordon L. Alliott
     - Possible appointment
       - Unknown Canadian commission
       - Location
         - Washington, DC
       - Ambassadors
       - Spanish speaking people
         - Colorado
       - Location
         - Washington, DC
       - Forthcoming election
   - Jack R. Miller
   - John H. Chafee
   - Louie B. Nunn
   - Fletcher S. Thompson
   - Defeated Congressmen
     - Fred Schwengel
     - John H. Kyl
     - Possible Assistant Secretary or Under Secretary of Agriculture
   - George D. Webster
     - Miller
     - Previous meeting with the President
     - Background

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[National Security]
[Duration: 2s]
[Subject: Personnel]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

******************************************************************************
Lawyers

- John B. Connally
- Passports
- Clark M. Clifford
  - Conversation with the President
  - Conversation with Colson
  - Treasury Department
- Peter M. Flanigan
- Cabinet

Second term

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
  - Colson’s conversation with Webster
    - Miller
    - Defeat
  - Allott
    - Defeat
  - Peter H. Dominick
  - Robert C. (“Bob”) Wilson
- Republican defeats
  - The President’s recent conversation with Haldeman
  - Publicity about the President’s efforts for candidates
    - Photographs
    - Television
    - Senate
    - Audio recordings
    - Phone calls
    - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
    - The President’s visits
    - Kenneth W. Clawson
    - Scali
    - Patrick J. Buchanan
Dominick attacks
The President's visits
  Colorado
  Allott
  Support for the President
Dominick
  Work with White House
  Work on Hill
  Colson’s view
Wilson
  House of Representatives
Connally’s view
Reasons
  The President's landslide
  Balance in Congress
  Rhode Island
The President's victory
  North Carolina
  Oklahoma
  Kentucky
  Michigan
  Busing issue
  Democratic areas
Wilson
Clarence J. (“Bud”) Brown, Jr.
  Victory
  Criticism of Committee to Reelect the President [CRP]
  Expenditure of funds
  Democrats
Figures
  Percentages
  Number of votes for the President
  Number of votes for George S. McGovern
  Accuracy
    Associated Press [AP] statistics
  Inaccuracies
  McGovern Notes
  AP figure
  Colson's figures
Conversation No. 33-108 (cont’d)

Sources
- Allott's margin
  - Absentee ballots
  - Colorado
- Washington state
- Final figure
  - Certification
  - Dates
- Analysis
  - Report to President
  - McGovern's figures
- Problems
  - Accuracy
  - Press reports
  - Calls to states
- California
  - Absentees
  - AP
- Colorado
  - McGovern votes
  - AP figures
- States
  - Secretaries of State
    - Telephone calls
    - Newspaper figures
    - Latest figures
- Connally
- Percentage
  - Impact of historic landslide
  - Margin

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Second term reorganization
  - Brennan
    - Fitzsimmons's reaction
    - Labor department
Conv. No. 33-108 (cont'd)

- Transportation Department
  - Labor Department
  - Rodgers
    - Cooperation
    - Schultz
- Balzano
  - Work with Democrats
    - Vito Marzullo
    - Republican Party
    - Vote for the President
    - Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]
    - Mario A. Procaccino
- Republicans
  - Republican National Committee [RNC]
- Businessmen
  - Commerce Department
- Jews
  - Spokesmen in White House
    - Garment
    - Herbert Stein
- Transportation Department
  - Brennan
  - Ethnic appointment
    - Rocco C. Siciliano
    - Benjamin F. Biaggini
      - Support for President in 1972 election
    - Donald McI Kendall
  - Robert F. Lanzillotti
    - Price Commission
- Italian-Americans
  - Transportation Department
  - Businessmen
    - Commerce Department
    - Importance
    - Kendall
    - Recommendations
- DeSimone
  - Department of Justice
    - Rhode Island Attorney General
Conversation No. 33-108 (cont’d)

- Scali
  - Significance
  - Symbolism
  - UN ambassadorship
  - Visibility
  - Remarriage

-Southerners
  - Winton M. (“Red”) Blount
  - Howard (“Bo”) Calloway
    - Commerce Department
    - Calloway Gardens
    - Work with Colson
    - 1968 campaign

-Rogers C.B. Morton
  - Performance as administrator [of Interior Department]
  - Role in Cabinet
    - Congress
  - Retention
    - Visibility
    - Contacts with Republican Party

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Republican Party
  - Contacts with the White House
  - Maintenance of majority coalition
  - Discontent
    - The President’s support for members of Congress
    - Lack of communication

-Robert J. Dole
  - Retention at Republican National Committee
    - Senate campaign
    - Problems
      - Robert B. Docking
  - Role in campaign
    - Spokesperson

-Anne L. Armstrong
Conversation No. 33-108 (cont’d)

- Chairperson appointment
  - Texas, Southern background
  - Abilities
  - Comparison with Jean Westwood
- Democratic Party
  - Infighting
    - Media coverage

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Second term reorganization
- Anne L. Armstrong
  - Appointment
    - Visibility
  - Commerce Department
    - Background
      - Texas
    - Ranch
  - Compared to Calloway
  - Advantages
    - Contacts with Republican Party
      - Compared to Colson’s and Roger’s contact with labor
  - Interest in position
  - Advantages
    - Texas Republicans
      - Background
        - South
      - Political orientation
      - Personality
    - Confidentiality
      - Ehrlichman
      - Haldeman
    - Brennan
  - Labor Department
    - Fitzsimmon’s concurrence
    - Meany
    - Shultz contacts
Conversation No. 33-108 (cont’d)

- Building trades
- Competition
- Reforms
  - Wage and Hour division
  - Enforcement sections
  - Philip M. Landrum-Robert P. Griffin Act
- Impact on the AFL-CIO
  - Bureaucracy
  - Meany
  - New Deal Jewish elites
- Commerce Department
  - Armstrong
    - Business community
    - Experience
      - Ranch
    - Confirmation problem
      - Labor
    - Mexicans
      - Armstrong’s conversation with Colson
        - Roman Acosta Banuelos
        - Democrats
        - Banuelos
        - Spanish speaking voters
- Compared to Banuelos
- Commerce Department
  - South
    - Armstrong
    - Calloway
      - Speaking ability
    - Georgia
- Brennan
  - Labor Department
    - Impact on bureaucracy
    - Reforms
    - Meany opposition
      - New Deal Jewish elites
- Hodgson
  - Control of Labor Department
- Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
Conversation No. 33-108 (cont’d)

-Webster
  -Knowledge of taxes
    -Publication of analysis of changes in tax law
  -Age
  -Acceptance
  -Conformation
  -Colson’s recommendation
    -Fredric V. Malek
  -Loyalty to President
    -Compared to Brennan
  -Use of agency
    -Attacks on enemies
      -Democrats
      -Johnnie M. Walters
  -Background
    -Tax law
  -Attacks on Democrats
  -Annual Seminar

-Elliot L. Richardson
  -Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
    -Bureaucracy
  -Defense Department
    -William P. Clements, Jr.
    -Work with Henry A. Kissinger
    -Kissinger’s concern
      -Brookings Institution
      -Robert S. McNamara
    -System analysis
      -Laurence E. (“Larry”) Lynn, Jr. and Jonathan Moore

-Abilities
  -Responsiveness
  -[HEW]
    -Difficulty
      -Bureaucracy
    -Political sensitivities

-Defense Department
  -Interests
  -Loyalty
  -McNamara
- John F. Collins
  - Possible appointment
  - Massachusetts
  - Compared to Blacks in cabinet

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
  - Figures
  - Accuracy
  - Republican defeats
    - Publicity about the President’s efforts for candidates
      - Kevin P. Phillips
      - Complaints
        - Use of term “Republican”
    - Clark MacGregor
      - Press conference
    - Dole
      - Future in the party
    - Republican National Committee [RNC] position
      - Kansas
      - Problems
      - Departure
      - Timing

Republican Party
  - Rebuilding
  - State leadership
    - Ronald W. Reagan
      - California
    - Michigan
      - William G. Milliken
    - Massachusetts
      - Thomas J. Meskill
    - New Jersey
    - Nelson A. Rockefeller
      - New York
Second term reorganization
  -Necessity of shake-up
  -Bureaucracy
  -Popularity
    -Ronald L. Ziegler
      -Conversation with the President
        -Washington, DC newspapers
  -Republican concerns
    -Morton
    -Retention
    -Administrative ability
  -Armstrong
  -Media and Congress
  -Mobilization of public
  -Size of staff in the White House
  -Colson’s work
    Work with the White House
  -Klein
    -Retention
    -View
    -Informing editors, keeping open administration
  -Media
Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 33-108 (cont’d)

-Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
   -Telephone calls to Colson
   -William S. Paley
   -Meeting with Colson

-Washington Post
   -Partisanship charge
      -Katharine L. Graham’s response
         -Colson’s recent speech
   -Colson’s recent speech
         -Reaction
         -Mail
         -Los Angeles
            -Los Angeles Herald-Examiner
   -Colson’s replacement
      -Kenneth W. Clawson
         -Selection
         -Colson’s role
         -The President’s conversation with Haldeman
   -Clawson
      -Retentions
         -Balzano
         -Rodgers
         -Clawson
   -Clawson
      -Role in the White House
   -Information office
      -Gerald L. Warren
   -Clawson
      -Role
      -Managerial ability
      -Judgment
         -Contacts
         -Colson
   -Fitzsimmons
   -Hall
   -Colson’s future
      -Law firm
      -Possible polling organization
         -Haldeman
Conversation No. 33-108 (cont’d)

-Control of government polls
-Release of data
-Albert E. Sindlinger
-Louis P. Harris
-George H. Gallup
-Harris
  -Work with administration
-Spencer Roberts
  -Los Angeles
-Name of organization
  -Washington Associates
-Foundation
  -Contributor
-DeWitt Wallace
-American Enterprise Institute [AEI]
  -Funding
  -Name change
  -Funding
  -Brookings Institute
  -Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
  -Ash
-Contacts from government
-Speakers
  -State Department
  -Cancellation
  -Stein
  -Cancellation
  -Enforcement
-White House discipline
  -Colson’s conversation with Haldeman
-Need for enforcement person
  -Ehrlichman
  -Haldeman
-Mobilization of public support
-Connally’s view
  -The President’s recent conversation with Connally
  -Texas
  -White House capability
  -1972 election
Conversation No. 33-108 (cont’d)

-Counterpart to Clifford
-Colson’s discussion with Connally
-Harry S. Dent’s office
  -Political field
  -Haldeman and Ehrlichman
  -Betty Dent
    -Health
    -Washington, DC
  -Dent’s retention
-Colson’s office
  -Colson’s conversation with Haldeman
  -Purpose
    -Mobilization of public support
  -Clawson
    -Work with columnists, editors
  -Political operation
    -Counterattack materials
      -Ehrlichman
      -Public Information Officers [PIOs]
-Patrick J. Buchanan
  -Retention
  -Review of materials
  -Clawson
-Republican Party
  -Dent
  -Balzano
  -Rodgers
  -Buchanan
  -Lawrence M. Higby
-Dent’s office
  -Name
  -Purpose
    -Outside contacts
      -Work with other offices
        -Switchboard function
        -Departments
        -Liaison functions
          -Marzullo, Frank L. Rizzo
          -Attacks on enemies
Tape Subject Log
(rev. June-07)

Conversation No. 33-108 (cont’d)

- Size
- Clawson, Dent, Balzano, Rodgers
- Mickey Gardner
- Liaison with RNC
- Gardner
  - Recruitment
- Harry Dent
  - Replacement
    - 1972 campaign
- Meeting with the President
- Colson agenda

Conversation No. 33-109

Date: November 19, 1972
Time: 10:49 am – 10:51 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Second term reorganization
  - [Washington Star] story
    - Source
      - Ziegler’s recent conversation with John D. Ehrlichman
        - Camp David
      - Washington Star reporter
        - Garnet D. (“Jack”) Horner interview
      - Office of Management and Budget [OMB] leak
      - Ehrlichman’s forthcoming order to Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
        - Prevention of leaks
        - Possible firings
      - Ehrlichman’s staff
      - Administration’s plans
        - Recent Congress’ legislation
      - Backgrounder
Announcements
-President’s guidelines

Conversation No. 33-109 (cont’d)

Date: November 19, 1972
Time: 10:51 am – 10:56 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with White House operator.

Request a call to H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

Conversation No. 33-110

Date: November 19, 1972
Time: 10:56 am
Location: White House Telephone

The White House operator talked with President.

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
-Location
-Return call

Conversation No. 33-111

Date: November 19, 1972
Time: 10:56 am – 10:57 am
Location: White House Telephone

Conversation No. 33-112
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with White House operator.

Request a call to Julie Nixon Eisenhower

Date: November 19, 1972
Time: 10:57 am – 10:58 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Julie Nixon Eisenhower.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Deed of gift-Privacy]
[Duration: 16s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with White House operator.

Request for a call to military aide’s office [Cmdr. Craig S. Campbell]

Date: November 19, 1972
Time: 10:58 am – 10:59 am
Location: White House Telephone

The President talked with Cmdr. Craig S. Campbell.

Trip to Camp David
- Helicopter
  - Arrangements
    - Weather conditions