

Tape Subject Log (rev. Mar.-08)

Conversation No. 379-1

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

The President met with Marjorie P. Acker.

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

Acker left at 8:27 am.

Conversation No. 379-2

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

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

[See Conversation No. 32-105]

Conversation No. 379-3

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

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-106]

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Conversation No. 379-4

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

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-107]

Conversation No. 379-5

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

The President talked with Raymond K. Price, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 32-108]

Conversation No. 379-6

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

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-109]

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Conversation No. 379-7

Date: November 1, 1972 Time: 9:09 am - 9:10 am Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Raymond K. Price, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 32-110]

Conversation No. 379-8

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

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

[See Conversation No. 32-111]

Conversation No. 379-9

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

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

The President's forthcoming radio and television speech, "Look to the Future" [?] -Draft [?]

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

Acker [?] let at an unknown time before 9:26 am.

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Conversation No. 379-10

Date: November 1, 1972 Time: 9:26 am - 9:59 am Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Patrick J. Buchanan.

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

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Conversation No. 379-10 (cont'd)

-Responsibility -Condemnation -Violence -San Francisco, Phoenix, Republican National Convention -McGovern's response -Double standard -Ronald L. Ziegler -Repudiation -The President's trip to Liberty Island, New York, September 26, 1972 -The President's appearance at Westchester-Nassau rally, October 23, 1972 -Organization -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew -First Family -The President's campaign -Compared to McGovern's -Press relations -Double standard -Lack of questioning of conduct -Free speech issue -Violence, use of obscenities -Repudiation -Demands of McGovern -Wires -McGovern campaign -Tone -Possible statement from administration -Ziegler -John B. Connally -Media coverage -Boston newspapers -Effect on McGovern -Democrats -Demonstrators -McGovern supporters -Physical appearance and behavior -Democratic National Convention -Smears against the President -R. Sargent Shriver -The President's previous campaigns -Focus on record

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Conversation No. 379-10 (cont'd)

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

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Conversation No. 379-10 (cont'd)

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

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-New York Times -Washington Post -Times -Newsweek -Networks

Press relations

-1970 campaign -Press assessments -Problems -Television -Successes despite obstacles -Recession -Minority party -Rewriting history -The President's plans -Suppression -Denial of access -New York Times -Washington Post -Time -Newsweek -Networks -Self -defense -Access for friends -Garnett D. ("Jack") Horner -Intelligence -Washington Star -Jerry Greene

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Conversation No. 379-10 (cont'd)

-New York -Chicago Tribun -Los Angeles Times -"Georgetown set"

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

Press relations

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

1972 campaign -McGovern -Washington Post -Canada -Elections

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Conversation No. 379-10 (cont'd)

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

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Conversation No. 379-10 (cont'd)

-The President, Hubert H. Humphrey

-McGovern -"Wave of the future" -Constituency -Youths, Blacks -Democratic Party -Liberal movement -Decline -1968 election -George C. Wallace

-Busing

-New York -Canarsie -Ethnics -Blacks -The President's position

Amnesty -The President's policies -Rationale -Forgiveness -Analogy to prison sentence -McGovern

Vietnam War

-Settlement agreement -Likelihood -Ziegler's statement, October 31, 1972 -Tone -Effect on right -McGovern -Diversion of attention -1972 election -The President's forthcoming radio and television speech, "Look to the Future" -1972 election -Imposition of Communist government on South Vietnam

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Conversation No. 379-10 (cont'd)

-1968 settlement -Collapse -Tone -Likelihood -1972 election -Concessions to North Vietnamese -US public opinion

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

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Conversation No. 379-10 (cont'd)

Buchanan left at 9:59 am.

Conversation No. 379-11

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

The President met with Raymond K. Price, Jr.

Greetings

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

[Pause]

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

1972 campaign -Hecklers

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Conversation No. 379-11 (cont'd)

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-Rallies -Disadvantages -Agnew -Size of crowds -McCormick Place -Astrodome -Radio speeches -Advantages -Larger audience -Live speeches -Economics, love, war -Disadvantages -Impersonality -Importance -Rally -Obsolescence -Selective audiences -Opinion-makers -College campuses -Hecklers -McGovern -Radio speeches -Format characterized -Record of administration -Hecklers -Objections

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Conversation No. 379-11 (cont'd)

-1968 campaign -Press reports -Press -The President's record -Mass transit -Presidential speeches -Quality -Media coverage -Philosophy -Style

The President's forthcoming radio and television speech, "Look to the Future" -Length -Henry A. Kissinger's memorandum -Vietnam War -Introduction -Revisions -Peace with honor -Compared to peace with surrender -Public support -1972 election -World leaders -Kremlin, Peking, Hanoi -Settlement agreement -1972 election -Deadline -Concessions -Conditions -Prisoners of War [POWs] -Cease-fire -South Vietnam self-determination -Imposition of communist or coalition government -Status -Remaining problems -Details -Importance

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 379-11 (cont'd)

-1968 Bombing halt -Collapse of settlement -Permanence -Peace -Compared to armistice -1972 election -Deadline -Permanence -Peace -Compared to armistice -Progress -Timing -December 1, 1972 -Public expectations -Prospects for success -Peace with honor -Remaining problems -Continuation of war -Request for public support -Peace with honor -Compared to peace with surrender -1972 election -Deadline -World leaders -Hanoi -Revisions -World politics -Kissinger -Memorandum -Importance -Settlement agreement -Nguyen Van Thieu -Reassurance -Domestic politics -Settlement agreement -Settlement agreement -Timing -1972 election -Progress -Details

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Conversation No. 379-11 (cont'd)

-Importance -Temporary peace -Laotian settlement of 1962 -1968 bombing halt -1972 election -World leaders -Hanoi -Saigon -Permanence -Fairness -Imposition of communist or coalition government on South Vietnam -South Vietnam self-determination -Peace with honor -Compared to peace with surrender -US public support -Revisions by Price -Vietnam War -Appeal for public support -Price's forthcoming conversation with Charles W. Colson -Albert E. Sindlinger -Louis P. Harris -1972 election -Emphasis -Six states -Negotiations -Status -Inflation -Soviet Union -Effect -Inflation -Ending -Number of words -Vietnam War -Revisions by the President -Delivery of draft -Timing -The President's forthcoming meeting with John Cardinal Krol

-Price's forthcoming meeting with Kissinger

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Conversation No. 379-11 (cont'd)

Radio address on foreign policy, November 4, 1972 -The President's schedule -The President's forthcoming speech, "Look to the Future" -Delivery -Timing Radio address, "The Brightest of an American Child," November 5, 1972 -John D. Ehrlichman -Goals -Ehrlichman's materials -Wrap-up -Delivery -Timing -Ziegler's view -November 4, 1972 radio -November 5, 1972 newspapers Radio address on foreign policy -Timing -Health policy

-November 3, 1972 -The President's previous statements on foreign policy -Health policy -The President's schedule -Campaign tour

Domestic policy statements -Health policy -November 3, 1972 -Substance -Style -Importance -Environment -John C. Whitaker -Foreign policy -Kissinger -Health policy -Story -November 3, 1972

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Conversation No. 379-11 (cont'd)

Radio address on foreign policy -The President's previous statements on foreign policy -PRC, Soviet Union -Originality -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] -Draft completion -Choice

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

Price left at 10:43 am.

Conversation No. 379-12

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

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-112]

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Conversation No. 379-13

Date: November 1, 1972 Time: Unknown between 10:44 am and 10:45 am Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-113]

Conversation No. 379-14

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

The President talked with John A. Scali.

[See Conversation No. 32-114]

Conversation No. 379-15

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

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

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

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

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Conversation No. 379-15 (cont'd)

-Jay Lovestone

The President's forthcoming speech, "Look to the Future" -The President's work with Raymond K. Price, Jr. -Vietnam War -Settlement agreement -1972 election -Progress -Coalition government -Completion -Timing -Kissinger's forthcoming conversation with Price -The President's role -Kissinger's forthcoming conversation with Price -Kissinger's memorandum -Final draft -The President's work with Kissinger -Kissinger's health -The President's schedule -Domestic policy radio speeches -Vietnam War -Nguyen Van Thieu -William F. Buckley, Jr.

Kissinger's schedule -Dr. William O. Chase

[End of telephone conversation]

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

1972 campaign -Violent demonstrators -Demonstrators in Boston -McGovern -The President's recent conversation with Patrick J. Buchanan -Public relations [PR] -PR -1960 campaign

-Press and media relations

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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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Conversation No. 379-15 (cont'd)

-Colson's conversation with William S. Paley -Double standard

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift] 1972 campaign -Chants -Media coverage -Favoritism -McGovern trailing -Media support for demonstrators -Public sentiment -Polls -San Fernando Valley -Interviews by Oliver Quayle -Middle Class -Democratic leanings -Results -Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown -McGovern -Compared to the President -1968 election -Oliver Quayle -Issues -Opposition to McGovern -Ideology -Defense -Welfare -Taxation -Boston -John F. Collins

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:46 am and 11:15 am.

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Conversation No. 379-15 (cont'd)

[Conversation No. 379-15A]

[See Conversation No. 32-115]

[End of telephone conversation]

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign -Polls -Point spread -Question -Wording -Outcome -Point spread

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Conversation No. 379-15 (cont'd)

-Independents -Vietnam War -Impact -McGovern -Media strategy -Networks -Peace settlement -"Firm hand" -Cease-fire -Freedom in South Vietnam -McGovern -John B. Connally -Pressure from the President's campaign -The President's supporters -Sympathy from public -News summary -Attacks on the President -Counterattack strategy -McGovern's purpose -Number of attacks -Radio speeches -Advantages -Price -National and local coverage -Radio, television [TV] -Polls -Albert E. Sindlinger -Louis P. Harris -Clark MacGregor -The President's allies -McGovern -National and local press -Colson's telephone call to Boston

Colson talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:46 am and 11:15 am

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Conversation No. 379-15 (cont'd)

[Conversation No. 379-15B]

[See Conversation Nos. 32-116 and 32-117]

[End of telephone conversation]

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]]

1972 campaign -Hecklers in Boston -Public response -Irish Americans -Collins -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon -McGovern -Vulnerability

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

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Conversation No. 379-15 (cont'd)

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign -Busing issue -Collins -Connecticut -Paul Hall -Vietnam War issue -Antiwar opposition -McGovern campaign -Voters -Boston -Radio speech

The White House operator talked with Colson at an unknown time between 10:46 am and 11:15 am.

[Conversation No. 379 – 15C]

[Conversation No. 32-118]

[End of telephone conversation]

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

The President's schedule

Colson left at 11:15 am.

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Conversation No. 379-16

Date: November 1, 1972 Time: 11:17 am - unknown before 11:20 am Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-119]

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

Refreshment

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:20 am.

Conversation No. 379-17

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

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

Radio addresses -Timing -["The Birthright of an American Child"], November 5, 1972 -November 6, 1972 newspapers -Health policy -Foreign policy, November 4, 1972

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Conversation No. 379-17 (cont'd)

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Radio addresses -The President's schedule

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

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Conversation No. 379-17 (cont'd)

-Previous visit -Agnew -Demonstrations -Texas -El Paso -New Mexico State University -Farmers -Albuquerque -Las Cruces -Prospects -The President's trips -North Carolina -Colleges -Greensboro, Charlotte -Chapel Hill -Problems -Raleigh -Greensboro -Demonstrators -Crowd size -Chicago -Media coverage -Newspaper story -Television networks -Television speech ["Look to the Future," November 2, 1972] -Staging -Library -Chair -Lighting -Chair -Books -Studio -Lighting -Vietnam -Staging -Chair -Library -Press coverage -Adrian Lee -Foreign policy writer

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Conversation No. 379-17 (cont'd)

-Age -Mary McGrory -Column -McGovern -MacGregor -Haldeman's proposed telephone call to John D. Ehrlichman -Theodore H. ("Teddy") White -Polls -Chicago Sun-Times -Charles H. Percy

Haldeman left at 11:45 am.

Conversation No. 379-18

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

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 32-120]

Conversation No. 379-19

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

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

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Conversation No. 379-19 (cont'd)

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election -Demonstrators in Boston -Colson's report -John F. Collins -Reaction -Public opinion -Local police -Boston Globe -Public's support for the President -Nixon government victory -McGovern -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew -McGovern -Agnew -Confrontation -Demonstrators in Boston -Attack on First Lady [Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon] -Blue collar workers -Infuriation -Public attention -Massachusetts -The President's possible victory -Collins -McGovern -Margin -Collins -Demonstrators in Boston -Benefit -Irish -McGovern -Demonstrators in Boston -Clark MacGregor -Statement -Democrats -McGovern -Collins -Support for the President

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Conversation No. 379-19 (cont'd)

-McGovern -Statement -Voter turnout -Other contested elections -Motivation -Republican program -The President's trips -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy -McGovern -Campaign -Hubert H. Humphrey -Kennedy -Influence with voters -Irish -Television [TV] appearance -Vietnam -Portland, Oregon -Economy -Employment -Bureau of Labor Statistics -Geoffrey H. Moore -Virginia -Democrats -Employment -Winning issues -Agnew -Money -Roy Sheskin [?] -Chicago -Taxation -The President's campaign staff

Colson left at 12:40 pm.