

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-1

Date: November 4, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:30 am and 8:40 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 33-3]

Conversation No. 389-2

Date: November 4, 1972 Time: 8:40 am - 8:45 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 33-4]

Conversation No. 389-3

Date: November 4, 1972

Time: 8:45 a.m.

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 33-5]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-4

Date: November 4, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:45 am and 8:52 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 33-6]

Conversation No. 389-5

Date: November 4, 1972 Time: 8:52 am - 9:00 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with William P. Rogers.

[See Conversation No. 33-7]

Conversation No. 389-6

Date: November 4, 1972

Time: Unknown between 9:00 am and 9:06 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 33-8]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-7

Date: November 4, 1972 Time: 9:06 am - 9:07 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 33-9]

Conversation No. 389-8

Date: November 4, 1972 Time: 9:10 am - 9:12 am

Location: Executive Office Building

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

The President's schedule

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

Bull and Butterfield left at 9:12 am.

Conversation No. 389-9

Date: November 4, 1972 Time: 9:28 am - 9:33 am

Location: Executive Office Building

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-9 (cont'd)

```
1972 campaign
     -George S. McGovern speech in Chicago, November 3, 1972
           -Response
                 -Charles W. Colson
                      -Conversation with Haldmean
                            -Haldeman's house
                                 -Sale
                 -William P. Rogers
                      -Recent conversation with the President
                      -Forthcoming appearance on Meet the Press
                      -Interest in action
                      -Recent conversation with the President
                            -Meet the Press
                 -Melvin R. Laird
                 -Haldeman's forthcoming conversation with Colson
                      -The President's schedule
                            -Haldeman
The President's schedule
     -Forthcoming telephone call
           -William T. Cahill
                 -Clifford P. Case
                      -New Jersey
                 -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
           -Case
           -New Jersey
           -Cahill
1972 campaign
     -McGovern's speech in Chicago
           -Response
           -Press coverage
           -Effectiveness
                 -Television viewers
                 -Press coverage
           -Public sympathy for McGovern
                 -McGovern's physical appearance
                      -McGovern's health
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-9 (cont'd)

-McGovern's demeanor -McGovern's handling

The President's schedule
-Haldeman

Haldeman left at 9:33 am.

Conversation No. 389-10

Date: November 4, 1972

Time: Unknown between 9:33 am and 9:55 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person.

Instruction

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

Conversation No. 389-11

Date: November 4, 1972 Time: 9:55 am - 10:36 am

Location: Executive Office Building

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign

-The President

-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-11 (cont'd)

```
-Face the Nation
           -Time
     -Charles W. Colson
          -Cancellation
-George S. McGovern
-Unions
     -Hardhat strike
           -Ohio
-New Jersey
-Agnew
     -Platforms
     -Criticism of McGovern
-McGovern
     -Statement
           -Rebuttals
                -William P. Rogers
                      -Television [TV]
                      -Problems
                           -Colson
                           -Henry A. Kissinger
                                 -Statement
-Rogers
     -Appearance on TV
     -Scheduling
           -Vietnam settlemt
           -Confidence
           -Advance release
-Agnew
     -Appearance
           -Cancellation
                -Colson
                -TV
-New Jersey
-Response
     -Agnew, Rogers
           -Improvise
     -The President
     -Kissinger
           -Air Force One
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-11 (cont'd)

-Press pool

-Raymond K. Price, Jr.

```
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
******************
      1972 campaign
           -McGovern speech in Chicago, November 3, 1972
                -Response
                     -Henry A. Kissinger
                         -Effectiveness
                         -"Peace is at hand" and other comments at press conference,
                           October 26, 1972
                               -Justification
                              -Compared to the President's comments
                                   -McGovern and press attempts to exploit differences
                                   -"Concrete issues"
                                         -Compared to details
                                   -"Central issues" quote [re: Vietnam]
                                         -Accuracy
*************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
           -The President's schedule
                -Telephone calls
                -William T. Cahill
                -Rescheduling
                -New Jersey
           -McGovern
                -Statement
                     -Criticism
                         -Substance
                              -Vietnam settlement
                              -"Central issues" quote
                              -Tactics
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Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-11 (cont'd)

<u>Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 9:55 am and 10:04 am.</u>

[Conversation No. 389-11A]

[See also Conversation No. 33-10]

[End of telephone conversation]

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

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

[Conversation No.389-11B]

[See Conversation No. 33-11A]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

[Conversation No. 389-11R]

[Conversation No. 33-11B]

Greetings

[End of telephone conversation]

[End of Conversation No. 389-11B]

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-11 (cont'd)

[Conversation No. 389-11C]

[See also Conversation No. 33-12]

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 campaign
-McGovern speech in Chicago
-"Central issues" quote [re: Vietnam]
-Accuracy

Haldeman left at an unknown time before 10:04 am.

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

[Conversation No. 389-11D]

[See Conversation No. 33-13]

The President talked with Thomas J. Meskill between 10:04 am and 10:08 am.

[Conversation No. 389-11E]

[See Conversation No. 33-14]

Greetings

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

[End of telephone conversation

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

The President's schedule

- -Meeting with Ehrlichman
- -Telephone calls

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-11 (cont'd)

-Cahill

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ***********************************
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:08 am and 10:09 am.
[Conversation No. 389-11F]
[See Conversation No. 33-15]
The President talked with Wesley Powell between 10:09 am and 10:13 am.
[Conversation No. 389-11G]
[See Conversation No. 33-16]
Greetings

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Beverly Powell joined the conversation at an unknown time before 10:13 am.
Wesley Powell joined the conversation at an unknown time before 10:13 am.
[End of telephone conversation]
The President's schedule -J. Caleb Boggs
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ***********************************

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-11 (cont'd)

10:14 am. [Conversation No. 389-11H] [See Conversation No. 33-17] ************************* [Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift] The President talked with Boggs at an unknown time between 10:13 am and 10:14 am. [Conversation No. 389-11I] [See Conversation No. 33-18] Pierre S. Dupont, IV. joined the conversation at an unknown time before 10:14 am. [End of telephone conversation] The President's schedule -S. Fletcher Thompson The President talked with Thompson between 10:14 am and 10:16 am. [Conversation No. 389-11J] [See Conversation No. 33-19] [End of telephone conversation] The President's schedule -John K. MacIver The President talked with MacIver between 10:17 am and 10:19 am.

[Conversation No. 389-11K]

[See Conversation No. 33-20]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-11 (cont'd)

[End of telephone conversation]

Future telephone calls

- -Robert J. Dole
- -Howard H. Baker, Jr.

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

Haldeman entered at 10:20 am.

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

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign

- -McGovern speech in Chicago
 - -"Central issues" quote [re: Vietnam]
 - -Peace
 - -Details
 - -Breakdown
 - -Effect on settlement agreement
 - -The President's address to the nation, "Look to the Future," November 2, 1972
 - -Settlement agreement
 - -Issues to be resolved
 - -Removal of ambiguities
 - -Details
 - -1968 bombing halt
 - -Peace
 - -Details

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-11 (cont'd)

```
-"Central points"
                                   -The President's May 8, 1972 speech
                                          -Prisoners of War [POWs]
                                          -Cease-fire
                                          -South Vietnam self-
                                           determination
                                   -Patrick J. Buchanan's point
                                          -Hoax
                                   -Phrasing
                                          -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
                                          -Kissinger's insistence
                                                -Price
-Response
     -Buchanan's view
     -William P. Rogers
     -Kissinger's view
           -Ronald L. Ziegler's conversation with Kissinger
     -Kissinger
           -Press relations
                 -Ziegler's view
                       -Press pool report
                             -Effect
                                   -Escalation
     -The President's November 3, 1972 statement
     -The President's address to the nation "Look to the Future"
           -Settlement agreement
                 -Breakthrough
                 -Central issues
                       -POWs
                       -Cease-fire
                       -South Vietnam self-determination
                       -Cease-fire
                       -Details
                             -1968 bombing halt
                       -Peace
                       -Details
                             -"Central points"
```

Haldeman left and Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:20 am.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-11 (cont'd)

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
1972 campaign -Telephone call to Robert W. Hirsh -Ehrlichman -South Dakota -Dole, Baker
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ***********************************
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:27 am and 10:28 a.m.
[Conversation No. 389-11L]
[See Conversation No. 33-21]

[Conversation No. 389-11M]
[See Conversation No. 33-22]
[End of telephone conversation]
The President's schedule -James A. McClure

The President talked with James A. McClure between 10:28 am and 10:29 am.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-11 (cont'd)

[Conversation No. 389-11N]

[See Conversation No. 33-23]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule
-Telephone calls
-Margaret Chase Smith

The President talked with Margaret Chase Smith between 10:30 am and 10:33 am.

[Conversation No. 389-110]

[See Conversation No. 33-24]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule -Howard H. Baker

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

[Conversation No. 389-11P]

[See Conversation No. 33-25]

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

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule

- -Telephone calls
 - -Dole
 - -Cahill
 - -Boggs
 - -William ("Willy") Mills

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-11 (cont'd)

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

[Conversation No. 389-11Q]

[See also Conversation No. 33-26]

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

Conversation No. 389-12

Date: November 4, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:36 am and 11:00 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign
-Telephone calls
-Impact
-Crowds
-William T. Cahill
-Howard H. Baker, Jr.

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

[Conversation No. 389-12A]

[See Conversation No. 33-27]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-12 (cont'd)

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule

The President talked with William ("Billy") Mills between 10:45 am and 10:47 am.

[Conversation No. 389-12B]

[See Conversation No. 33-28]

[End of telephone conversation]

Mills

-Support for the President -Blacks

1972 campaign

-Telephone calls

-Cahill

-Gordon L. Allott

-Cahill

-Ehrlichman's handling

-Charles W. Colson

-George P. Shultz

-Peter J. Brennan

-Chairman

-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

-Possible visit

-Media coverage

-Rotary club

-New Jersey

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

[Conversation No. 389-12C]

[See Conversation No. 33-29]

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-12 (cont'd)

[End of telephone conversation]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

Conversation No. 389-13

Date: November 4, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:00 am - 11:01 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

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

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

[Conversation No. 389-13A]

[See Conversation No. 33-30]

The President's schedule

-Henry A. Kissinger's request for a meeting -The President's telephone calls

-Meeting with Colson

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:01 am.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-14

Date: November 4, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:00 am and 11:01 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

The President's schedule
-Meeting with Colson

Conversation No. 389-15

Date: November 4, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:00 am and 11:01 am

Location: Executive Office Building

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

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

Conversation No. 389-16

Date: November 4, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:00 am and 11:01 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 33-31]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-17

Date: November 4, 1972 Time: 11:01 am - 11:02 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 33-32]

Conversation No. 389-18

Date: November 4, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:02 am and 11:40 am

Location: Executive Office Building

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

Press relations
-Ronald L. Ziegler
-Judgment

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign
-Telephone calls
-Value
-George S. McGovern
-Vietnam settlement
-Statement

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-18 (cont'd)

-Sense of desperation
-Charles W. Colson
-Comments on campaign
-Local campaigns
-Governors

Colson and Ziegler entered at 11:05 am.

The President talked with Henry Hibbard between 11:04 am and 11:06 am.

[Conversation No. 389-18A]

[See Conversation No. 33-33]

[End of telephone conversation]

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown after 11:06 am.

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

The President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown before 11:15 am.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign
-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
-Tough statement
-Release
-Press conference

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-18 (cont'd)

```
-Arrangements
-Media coverage
-Topics of discussion
-Demonstrators
-Meeting with Ziegler
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[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

```
1972 campaign
```

-McGovern speech in Chicago, November 3, 1972

- -Response
 - -Desperation
 - -Sabotage
 - -Vietnam negotiations
 - -Progress
 - -Desperation, irresponsibility
 - -Effect on McGovern's candidacy
 - -Negotiations
 - -Effect of McGovern's comments on Hanoi
 - -Peace with surrender
 - -Compared with peace with honor

-Choice for American people in 1968 and 1972

- -Statement by Agnew
 - -McGovern's irresponsibility
 - -Praise for Hubert H. Humphrey's stand on issue

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-Publicity

-Public reacation

-New England

-McGovern's credibility

- -Accusations against the President
 - -Television [TV]
 - -Vietnam negotiations

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-18 (cont'd)

```
-Political benefits
```

-Response

-Ziegler

-Agnew

-The President

-Press

Ziegler and Colson left at 11:15 am.

-Agnew

-Role

-Problems

-Colson's handling

-Haldeman's handling

-McGovern speech in Chicago

-Response

-William P. Rogers

-The President's trips

-Chicago

-Oklahoma

-Mark I. Goode

-Arrangements

-William H. Carruthers

-Chicago

-Problems

-Publicity

-TV

-Arrangements

-Agnew

-Crowds

-Public relations work

-Effectiveness

-Clark MacGregor

-Morale

-Statements

-Attorney General

-Richard G. Kleindienst's replacement

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-18 (cont'd)

```
Second term reorganization
     -Clark MacGregor
           -New job
                 -[United Aircraft Corp]
                      -Conservatism
                      -Title
                            -Vice President
                      -Location
                            -Washington, DC
           -Duties
                 -Travel
                      -Compared to Ronald W. Reagan [job at General Electric]
                      -Explanation of relationship of business and government to
                       students
                 -Expense account
                 -New establishment
                      -"Georgetown salon"
                      -[Barbara Porter (Spicer) MacGregor]
                      -Thomas W. Braden
                            -Henry A. Kissinger
           -Possible judicial appointment
           -Attitude
                 -White House staff
White House staff
     -Attitudes
           -Complainers, leakers
     -Unknown person
           -Internal memorandum
                 -Writing
                      -Timing
                 -Leak
```

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-18 (cont'd)

```
1972 campaign
          -Letter to the President
               -Murray M. Chotiner
               -California
          -Crowds
               -Ohio
          -MacGregor
          -McGovern
               -Press coverage
          -James J. Kilpatrick, Jr.
               -Column
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
**********************
Haldeman left at an unknown time before 11:40 am.
                                                          Conversation No. 389-19
Date: November 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:15 am and 12:25 pm
Location: Executive Office Building
The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.
*************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
      1972 campaign
          -James J. Kilpatrick, Jr. column
               -Predicted figures
                    -The President's margin of victory
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-Pollsters -Charles W. Colson

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-19 (cont'd)

```
-Questioning the President's judgment
           -Candidates
           -The President's radio speech
           -The President's trips
                -California
                     -Burbank
                          -Stopover
                     -Headquarters
                     -Itinerary
                     -Remarks to public
                          -Crowd control
                          -Length
                          -Location
           -Republican candidates
                -Herbert F. DeSimone
           -Issues
                -Public interest
                -Amnesty
                -Busing
                     -Voter turnout
                -Problems
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
1972 campaign
           -George S. McGovern's speech in Chicago, November 3, 1972
                -Charges
                -Response
                     -McGovern's credibility
                     -Watergate
                          -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
                -The President's involvement in campaign
                     -The President's reaction to knowledge about Watergate
                     -Investigation
                          -Donald H. Segretti
                                -Activities
                                     -Timing
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

-John W. Dean, III -Clark MacGregor

-Dean

Conversation No. 389-19 (cont'd)

```
-Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
Charles W. Colson, Ronald L. Ziegler, and Henry A. Kissinger entered at 11:40 am.
************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
      1972 campaign
          -McGovern's speech in Chicago
               -Response
                    -Colson
                        -Report
                    -Agnew's statement
                        -Ziegler's review
                        -Agnew's style
                        -Wording
                             -McGovern's credibility
                        -Vietnam negotiations
                             -McGovern's proposals
                                  -Surrender
                             -The President's settlement
                        -Drafting
                        -Release
                             -Press conference
                             -Time
               -Agnew's schedule
                    -Face the Nation
                        -Cancellation
                    -George P. Shultz
                    -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
                        -Strike
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-19 (cont'd)

Ziegler and Colson left at 11:45 am.

Kissinger's schedule

-Unknown Canadian

1972 campaign

- -McGovern's speech in Chicago
 - -Response
 - -Press coverage

-New York Times, Washington Post

- -Media coverage
- -McGovern's credibility
- -Timing
- -Media coverage

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

Refreshment

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

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

Vietnam negotiations

- -Ellsworth F. Bunker
 - -Message
 - -Bui Diem's conversation with Charles Whitehouse
 - -Whitehouse
 - -Stewart J. O. and Joseph W. Alsop
 - -North Vietnamese army [NVA] in South Vietnam
 - -Paris
 - -Advisers
 - -Vietcong [VC]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-19 (cont'd)

- -Economics minister's conversation with Bunker
 - -Saigon bankers
 - -Investments
- -Diem
 - -Political orientation
- -Economics minister
- -Jim Deakin [?]
- -North Vietnamese
 - -Strategy
 - -Effect of US bombing
- -Military action
 - -Recent story
 - -North Vietnamese forces
 - -Tanks
 - -Cease-fire
 - -Offensive
 - -Number of divisions in South Vietnam
- -Settlement agreement
 - -Hanoi's posture
 - -1972 election
 - -The President's unknown speech
 - -Signing
- -Nguyen Van Thieu
 - -Kissinger's draft message
 - -Saigon
 - -Diem
 - -Recent activities
 - -Effect on 1972 election
- -US posture
 - -Settlement agreement
 - -Details
 - -Firmness
 - -Hanoi, Thieu
 - -National interest
 - -1972 election
 - -National interest
- -1972 campaign
 - -Settlement agreement
 - -Timing

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-19 (cont'd)

```
-Corruption issue
                    -McGovern's Chicago speech
                        -Effect
                             -Watergate issue
                             -Prices issue
                    -Timing
                    -Concessions
                    -Thieu
                    -US posture
                        -Hardline
     Press relations
          -Journalist
               -Identity
                    -Washington Post article
          -1972 campaign
               -McGovern
                    Thomas W. Braden's Los Angeles Times article
               -Hecklers
***********************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
      1972 campaign
          -Hecklers
               -Response
                   -Time
               -Agnew
                    -Washington Post
                    -New York Times
                    -R. Sargent Shriver
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
***********************
               -Vulgarisms
```

-Comparisons with Donald H. Segretti, Watergate

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-19 (cont'd)

- -Press coverage
- -Deprivation of free speech for the President, Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, [Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon, Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Tricia Nixon Cox, [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II, Edward R. F. Cox]

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Vietnam War

- -The President's "Silent Majority" speech, November 3, 1969
 - -Richard A. Moore
 - -Raymond K. Price, Jr.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-19 (cont'd)

- -Advance men
- -Vignette
- -Oklahoma City
- -Tulsa
- -Response
 - -Demonstrations
- -White House staff
- -Response
 - -November 4, 1969
- -May 8, 1972 decision
 - -Difficulty
- -Compared to the President's Cambodia speech, April 30, 1970
 - -Difficulty
- -Impact on US
- -Demonstrations
 - -Presidency
- -Impact on US presidency
- -Announcement
 - -Timing
 - -Advice of Cabinet, staff
- -Demonstrations
 - -US troop withdrawals
 - -Pace
 - -Church going
- -Impact on US
- -Historical importance
 - -Compared to Franklin D. Roosevelt's declaration of war
 - -Pearl Harbor
- -Impact on US
 - -Article
- -Tone
- -Compared to McGovern's Chicago speech
- -McGovern's Chicago speech
 - -Viewing by Kissinger, Haldeman
 - -Delivery
 - -Writing
 - -Irresponsibility

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-19 (cont'd) ************************ [Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift] -McGovern's campaign -McGovern's views 1972 campaign -The President's campaign -Predictions -Victory margin -Colson -Radio speeches -Amnesty issue -Predictions -Victory margin -Number of states -Losses -Massachusetts -Michigan -Wisconsin -Oregon -Hawaii -Michigan -California -Michigan -Poll -Labor unions -George C. Wallace vote -Robert P. Griffin -Thomas F. Eagleton -Wisconsin

-Polls

-Indiana

-John K. MacIver

-Importance

-The President's campaign -McGovern's campaign

-Catholic vote

-Massachusetts

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-19 (cont'd)

-Statements

-Effect

-Projections

-Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy

-Schedule

-Senior citizens

-Miami Beach, Florida

-Massachusetts

-Gerry E. Studds

-Association of American Medical Colleges

-Fontainebleau Hotel

-Senior Citizens for McGovern

-Miami

-Ohio

-Warren, Ohio

-United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of

-Charles J. Carney

-Reception

-Montgomery County, Maryland

-Connecticut

-Maloney High School

-Montgomery County

-Hartford

-Claiborne Pell

-Rhode Island

-Connecticut

-Studds

-Massachusetts

-McGovern

-Projections

-New York

-Projections

-Polls

-California

-Michigan

-Ohio

-Vermont

-Ohio

-Cleveland

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-19 (cont'd)

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

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

```
Vietnam negotiations
     -Settlement agreement
           -Press relations
                 -Journalists' frustrations
                      -Peace terms
                            -Quality
                            -1972 campaign
                      -1972 campaign
                            -Corruption issue
           -Signing
                 -State Department
                 -News summary
                 -William H. Sullivan's view
                      -Thieu's tenure
                      -Hanoi
           -Public support for the President
           -North Vietnamese posture
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-19 (cont'd)

- -North Vietnamese forces
- -Schedule
- -Press relations
- -Resumption of talks
 - -Forthcoming meeting
 - -Possible break off of talks
 - -Message

-November 8, 9, 1972

-US bombing

-Timing

-1972 election

- -Message to Moscow
 - -The President's posture
 - -Meetings
 - -Changes

-US bombing

- -Thieu
- -Residual forces

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

Kissinger's schedule

-Lodging

-Unknown place

-Haldeman

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

Conversation No. 389-20

Date: November 4, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:45 am and 12:25 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-20 (cont'd)

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Personal belongings

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

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

Conversation No. 389-21

Date: November 4, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:45 am and 12:25 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 33-34]

Conversation No. 389-22

Date: November 4, 1972 Time: 12:25 pm - 12:26 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 33-35]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-23

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

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

```
1972 campaign -Ronald I
```

-Ronald L. Ziegler

-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's statement

-Revision of draft

-Importance

-News coverage

-New York Times

-Washington Post

-George S. McGovern

-Front page coverage

-Photographs

-Los Angeles Times

-Television [TV] appearance

-Conversation with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

-Physical appearance

-McGovern

-Public sympathy

-Credibility

-Problems

-Statements

-Mistakes

-Permissiveness

-Supporters

-Radicalism

-The President's lead

-Massachusetts

-Abortion issue

-John F. Becker

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-23 (cont'd)

- -The President's rallies
 - -Rhode Island
 - -Italian-Americans
 - -Irish-Americans
 - -Hardhats
- -Congressional candidates
 - -John H. Chafee
 - -Dewey F. Bartlett
 - -Oklahoma
 - -Rhode Island
 - -New Mexico
 - -North Carolina
 - -Maine
- -Michigan
 - -Polls
- -Democrats
 - -Claiborne Pell
 - -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
- -The President's margin
 - -Issues
 - -Henry A. Kissinger
 - -Democrats
- -Massachusetts
- -Texas
- -States
 - -Herbert G. Klein
 - -Support for the President
- -The President's supporters
 - -Response to McGovern's criticisms
- -Hawaii
 - -The President's chances
- -Areas of weakness
 - -California
 - -Oregon
 - -Washington, DC
- -Polls
 - -Louis P. Harris
 - -The President's lead
 - -Figures
 - -Chicago

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-23 (cont'd)

-The President's trip

```
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*************************
      Vietnam negotiations
           -Settlement agreement
                -North Vietnamese posture
                    -1972 election
                         -McGovern
                    -The President's posture
                         -Firmness
                    -1972 election
                    -Military action
                         -Wire service story
                              -Antiaircraft fire
                                   -North and South Vietnam
                              -Radio report
                    -W[illiam] Averell Harriman's view
                         -Henry A. Kissinger line
                              -October 26, 1972 press conference
                         -William P. Rogers
                         -Pre- and post-October 8, 1972 positions of North Vietnam
                    -The President's May 8, 1972 proposals
                         -Cease-fire
                         -Prisoners of War [POWs]
                         -Coalition government
*************************
```

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

```
1972 campaign
     -Polls
          -Vietnam agreement
     -Commercials
          -Hardhat constituency
     -Busing
          -McGovern statement
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-23 (cont'd)

```
-Flyers
     -Distribution
     -Organization
-George C. Wallace
     -Supporters
     -Conversation with Colson
     -Credibility as a candidate
-Albert E. Sindlinger poll
-Undecided vote
     -Portion for McGovern
-Harris poll
     -Accuracy
-Polls
     -McGovern
-House of Representatives
     -Candidates
           -Robert C. ("Bob") Wilson
           -Quality
                 -Herbert F. DeSimone
           -Blacks
-Donald F. Rodgers
     -Los Angeles Times
     -California
-Congress
     -Antilabor legislation
     -Senate
-Democratic Party
-Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
     -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
     -Schedule
           -Miami
                 -Association of American Medical Colleges
           -Ohio
           -Maine
           -Connecticut
-New Jersey
     -Outlook
-New York
     -Outlook
-New Jersey
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-23 (cont'd)

- -Connecticut
- -Support for the President
 - -Frank L. Rizzo
 - -Influence in Philadelphia
- -Western Union
- -McGovern
 - -Publicity
 - -Problems
- -Enthusiasm
- -News media
 - -New York Times
 - -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
 - -Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.
 - -Howard K. Smith
 - -Networks
 - -Dan Rather
 - -James J. Kilpatrick, Jr.
 - -News summary item
 - -Watergate references
 - -Reasons
 - -Use by enemies
 - -The President's politics
 - -Liberalism
 - -Right wing
 - -Left wing
 - -Conservatism
 - -William F. Buckley, Jr. [?]
 - -Principles
 - -Issues
 - -Vietnam
 - -Welfare
 - -Amnesty
 - -Busing
- -Amnesty issue
 - -North Carolina
 - -Advantages for the President
 - -Blue collar workers

Ziegler entered at 1:09 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

-Agnew

Conversation No. 389-23 (cont'd)

```
-Call to Ziegler
                -Statement
                     -Revisions
                -Harassment
                -Hard work
                -1956 election
                     -Vice President
                -Statement
                -CBS
Ziegler left at 1:12 pm.
           -McGovern
                -Organized labor
                     -Opposition
           -Polls
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Watergate
           -Public relations [PR]
                -Staff complaints
                -Republican National Committee [RNC]
                     -Chairmanship
                          -Timing
                               -1972 election
                          -Press relations
                -Donald H. Segretti
                     -Dwight L. Chapin
                          -Advance work
                               -Flashiness
                                    -Mercedes
                               -Exceeding authority
                -Attack on Democratic campaign and Washington Post
                -Lack of coverup
                -Attack on Washington Post
                     -Partisanship
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 389-23 (cont'd)

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

Colson left at 1:15 pm.

Conversation No. 389-24

Date: November 4, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:15 pm and 1:34 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person.

Briefcase

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