

August 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: HONORABLE WILLIAM P. ROGERS
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS
SUBJECT: Arrangements for the
1972 Republican National Convention

A total of four seats have been reserved for your use on the Re-Election Committee charter plane departing Washington on August 19. Please have your secretary call 456-2535 with the names of individuals who will use these charter seats. You should plan on arriving not later than 9:30 a.m. at the Washington National Airport, Page Terminal, using the Commuter Entrance at the south end of the facility. A map of the airport and completed luggage tags to be affixed to your baggage are enclosed. You are requested to check in with the Eastern Airline receptionists at curbside. A lounge on the second floor of the terminal will be available for your convenience. An early lunch will be served during the flight.

The charter will arrive in Miami at 12:15 p.m. Transportation will be provided from the airport to the Doral On-the-Ocean, (the Presidential Headquarters Hotel).

A one-bedroom suite and three additional rooms at the Doral have been reserved for you and your staff.

A Cabinet support office will be located in the Balboa Room on the Mezzanine floor of the Doral. Mr. Alexander Butterfield will head this office which can provide you with secretarial help, convention information, and any personal arrangements you may require. An Information Booklet containing specifics of the various services available will be distributed when you arrive.

Two box seats will be reserved for you for each of the five Convention sessions. Additionally, two seats in the reserved section behind the boxes will be available to your staff. Requests for additional gallery tickets during the convention should be made through Mr. Butterfield's office.

A motor pool will operate at the hotel and sufficient cars will be available for your use.

Your return charter aircraft will depart Miami the afternoon of August 24 and transportation to the airport will be provided.

You will be asked to participate in a number of State and voting bloc caucuses, Convention floor interviews and other events helpful to the President.

A word about expenses: The Committee to Re-Elect the President is furnishing round-trip transportation and has prepaid the hotel rooms. However, meals, room charges, and all incidentals for you, your family and staff will be your personal responsibility.

If you have any questions please contact Mr. Stan Anderson, 456-2246.

August 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: HONORABLE GEORGE SHULTZ
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS
SUBJECT: Arrangements for the
1972 Republican National Convention

A total of four seats have been reserved for your use on the Re-Election Committee charter plane departing Washington on August 18. Please have your secretary call 456-2535 with the names of individuals who will use these charter seats. You should plan on arriving not later than 9:30 a.m. at the Washington National Airport, Page Terminal, using the Commuter Entrance at the south end of the facility. A map of the airport and completed luggage tags to be affixed to your baggage are enclosed. You are requested to check in with the Eastern Airline receptionists at curbside. A lounge on the second floor of the terminal will be available for your convenience. An early lunch will be served during the flight.

The charter will arrive in Miami at 12:15 p.m. Transportation will be provided from the airport to the Doral On-the-Ocean, (the Presidential Headquarters Hotel).

A two-bedroom suite and two additional rooms at the Doral have been reserved for you and your staff.

A Cabinet support office will be located in the Balboa Room on the Mezzanine floor of the Doral. Mr. Alexander Butterfield will head this office which can provide you with secretarial help, convention information, and any personal arrangements you may require. An Information Booklet containing specifics of the various services available will be distributed when you arrive.

Two box seats will be reserved for you for each of the five Convention sessions. Additionally, two seats in the reserved section behind the boxes will be available to your staff. Requests for additional gallery tickets during the convention should be made through Mr. Butterfield's office.

A motor pool will operate at the hotel and sufficient cars will be available for your use.

Your return charter aircraft will depart Miami the afternoon of August 24 and transportation to the airport will be provided.

You will be asked to participate in a number of State and voting bloc caucuses, Convention floor interviews and other events helpful to the President.

A word about expenses: The Committee to Re-Elect the President is furnishing round-trip transportation and has prepaid the hotel rooms. However, meals, room charges, and all incidentals for you, your family and staff will be your personal responsibility.

If you have any questions please contact Mr. Stan Anderson, 456-2246.

August 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

HONORABLE FRANK SHAKESPEARE

FROM:

WILLIAM E. TIMMONS

SUBJECT:

Arrangements for the
1972 Republican National Committee

Two seats have been reserved for you on the Re-Election Committee charter plane departing Washington on August 19. Please have your secretary call 456-2535 to confirm you will use this charter. You should plan on arriving not later than 9:30 a.m. at the Washington National Airport, Page Terminal, using the Commuter Entrance at the south end of the facility. A map of the airport and completed luggage tags to be affixed to your baggage will be sent to you soon. You are requested to check in with the Eastern Airline receptionists at curbside. A lounge on the second floor of the terminal will be available for your convenience. An early lunch will be served during the flight.

The charter will arrive in Miami at 12:15 p.m. Transportation will be provided from the airport to the Doral-on-the-Ocean, (the Presidential Headquarters Hotel).

A room at the Doral has been reserved for you and your wife beginning August 19.

An Administration support office will be located in the Balboa Room on the Mezzanine floor of the Doral. Mr. Alexander Butterfield will head this office which can provide you with secretarial help, convention information, and any personal arrangements you may require. An Information Booklet containing specifics of the various services available will be distributed when you arrive.

Two seats will be reserved for you for each of the five Convention sessions. Requests for additional gallery tickets during the convention should be made through Mr. Butterfield's office.

A motor pool will operate at the hotel and sufficient cars will be available for your use.

Your return charter aircraft will depart Miami the afternoon of August 24 and transportation to the airport will be provided.

You may be asked to participate in a number of State and voting bloc caucuses, Convention floor interviews and other events helpful to the President.

A word about expenses: The Committee to Re-Elect the President is furnishing round-trip transportation and has prepaid the hotel rooms. However, meals, room charges, and all incidentals for you, your family and staff will be your personal responsibility.

If you have any questions please contact Mr. Stan Anderson, 456-2246.

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

August 7, 1972

Dear Mr. President:

I appreciate your offer to keep me currently informed of national security developments, including those relating to the war in Southeast Asia, during the course of the campaign this fall.

I am aware that arrangements of this kind have been made in the last several presidential elections for the purpose of permitting the campaign to be carried forward vigorously, but without inadvertent harm to the conduct of public business. As I understand it, these briefings have been arranged without prejudice to the freedom of action of either side. The incumbent undertakes no obligation to consult the opposition party, and the challenger accepts no restrictions on his right to speak out on the issues or to make use of information and advice which he may obtain from independent sources. This is, of course, especially important in a year in which national security matters will play a prominent role in the campaign.

On this basis, I welcome and accept your offer. To facilitate regular and secure communication in the context of a hectic campaign schedule, I would like to appoint Mr. Paul Warnke of Washington, formerly Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, to be my representative at briefing sessions. If this is agreeable, I will ask him to contact Dr. Kissinger to arrange procedures for transmitting information on a current and timely basis.

With appreciation for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

George McGovern

Honorable Richard M. Nixon
The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

cc: Mr. Paul Warnke
Dr. Henry Kissinger

APB
FYI

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 11, 1972

Dear Art:

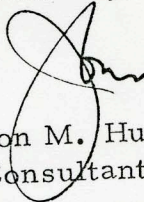
I was most delighted to learn of your recent election as President of CBS. You can be very proud of the accomplishments you have attained.

I was pleased several months ago when you and some of your associates from International Paper visited with me here at the White House. Just recently, I have left the White House Staff and returned to my own private businesses, however, I have been asked to remain as a Consultant at the White House on a part-time basis.

One of my companies is involved in the record and tape cassette business and because of this our people do considerable business with CBS records.

I do hope our paths will cross again. I extend to you every good wish in your new position.

Sincerely,



Jon M. Huntsman
Consultant to the President

Mr. Arthur Taylor
President
Columbia Broadcasting Systems
52 West 51st Street
New York, New York

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

The Western White House
San Clemente

August 30, 1972

Dear Admiral McCain:

The history of the United States Navy is more than a story of proud ships and brave men. It is a glorious tradition of service to country and devotion to freedom. The McCain name is deeply rooted in that tradition, for few families in this century have given as much so that our Navy may be led by strong and wise captains.

Your father, an Admiral in his own right, was one of those intrepid captains whose aircraft carriers roamed the Pacific, overpowering a formidable enemy. No less daring and determined, you scored your full share of hits as a distinguished submariner during that World War II period, adding further honor to the Silent Service. You have capped your career with command of the world's most powerful fleet. Your son, a brilliant aviator and courageous leader, was a member of that fleet, performing with the same zeal and heroism that have become a hallmark of the McCain saga. We pray for his early return.

Our Nation has been favored with resolute seamen in times of peril. Hull, Farragut, Sims, Nimitz and Lockwood are but a few of those illustrious leaders who made America a world power. The McCains

have carried on that inspiring tradition, and as you give way at the helm of CINCPAC and prepare for a well-earned and honored retirement, a grateful Nation is pleased to say in the traditional language of the Navy, "Well done."

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Richard Nixon", written in a cursive style.

Admiral John S. McCain, Jr.
Commander-in-Chief
Pacific Forces
FPO San Francisco 96610

September 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

RAY PRICE

FROM :

H. R. HALDEMAN

The President emphasized after the breakfast this morning the enormous importance of Mel Laird's point that every talk or appearance must have one grabber in it - a quotable phrase that gets picked up for the news. This criterion should be applied to everything we supply to all surrogates, etc.

Also, it's important to follow Bill Rogers' point of using exact quotes - especially in referring to things that the opposition has said.

~~cc: Pat Buchanan~~
cc: Pat Buchanan

September 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM :

H. R. HALDEMAN

The President informed the Cabinet and Leaders Breakfast group this morning that we would be scheduling another such breakfast meeting about a month before the election. He suggests that we tentatively plan to have another one just before Congress adjourns, whenever that turns out to be.

On another subject, he suggests that in the girl's scheduling, we work to get them into soroptimist and women's clubs, as well as Kiwanis-type meetings.

He feels strongly they should not do colleges because you are just running the opportunity of embarrassment with no attendant gain.

He urges more consideration of ethnics, labor groups, and if we have to do organizations, go for Elks, Moose, Masons, Knights of Columbus, etc.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 14, 1972

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS **BT.**

SUBJECT: Congressional Strategy

T-E et al
General strategy has been to push for your legislative program in hope of greater accomplishments and keeping issues alive for the fall campaign.

No This is stupid strategy
Since the stage has been set for good campaign issues over the Democratic Congress' failure to consider many of your legislative proposals and in light of your excellent showing in the polls, it would appear to be in our best interest to have Congress adjourn sine die as quickly as possible.

Current leadership plans still call for September 30 adjournment but only the most optimistic believe that date will hold.

There is a lot of very bad legislation waiting in the wings and if Congress remains until late October -- or returns for a post-election session -- you may be faced with difficult decisions on bills designed by the opposition to embarrass you. Also, with Congress in session, the Democrats have a ready forum for attacks on your leadership, more committee investigations, etc. *Right*

Therefore, I recommend we shift tactics and try to achieve an early adjournment by: *By every possible means*

1. Privately telling GOP leaders to work for a quick sine die adjournment.
2. Encourage the House Rules Committee to set a terminal date next week for all committee reports to be acted on this year. (Senate Democratic leaders have set this Friday for final committee reports, but the feeling is that this will not stand up under pressure.)
3. Reduce Administration criticism of Congress' performance until adjournment. Repeated demands for action on Presidential initiatives tend to keep congress in session. There will be plenty of time to make the record clear after adjournment.

E - absolutely correct

4. Weigh into any veto decisions their effect on adjournment. This should not be overriding consideration, but a factor. *yes*
5. Lull Congress into false security with some appearance of accomplishments. Signing ceremonies on Revenue Sharing and a number of small bills may result in Congress' self-satisfaction over the session. *good -*

There are arguments against the quick adjournment strategy which should be considered:

1. By encouraging, or even permitting, Congress to leave without final action on your proposals, Congressional inaction is more difficult to use as an issue. Attacks on Congress now will pay dividends in November. *- not very good for the President*
2. With Congress in session in Washington Republican challengers have better opportunities to pick up incumbent Democratic seats back home.
3. You are in a better position to refuse to be pulled into the political campaign with Congress still in session. This would be more difficult with adjournment. *No problem*
4. Why stop the pressure when there is probably only two or three weeks difference between the earliest and latest possible adjournment dates anyway?

1. APPROVE QUICK ADJOURNMENT STRATEGY *all the way*
2. DISAPPROVE. KEEP HEAT ON _____
3. OTHER _____

* Colson, Cole, Ehrlichman and Weinberger recommend.

September 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM :

H. R. HALDEMAN

For the documentary that we may use on Monday night before the election, we should take the highlights of "Nixon the Man", highlights of "The Nixon Years", and then add some additional film - perhaps a little bit of the talk at the Michigan high school, a little bit from the Marine Stadium, and very definitely the Mame Eisenhower bit about four more years.

September 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM :

H. R. HALDEMAN

The President has a strong feeling that the way to do the farm area is to motorcade through a series of small towns in farm country, without a planned stop, but just crowds along the way and maybe some opportunities for unplanned stops here and there. This would be the southern Illinois, or Ohio motorcade.



September 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

RAY PRICE

FROM :

H. R. HALDEMAN

Attached is a copy of the text of a speech John Connally is going to give on Mutual Radio.

The President asked that you and your troops read this text very carefully. He feels that it is very well done for a political speech and that this kind of style and tone is what we should be working for.

It has the grabbers and the quotable lines. It has no wasted words or high blown rhetoric, but makes all of the points.

It is high level, hard-hitting, and simple. This is a combination that he hopes we can work for and material for all of the surrogates, the Vice President, and whatever speeches the President may make during the campaign.

September 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

JOHN EHRLICHMAN

FROM :

H. R. HALDEMAN

What was done on the Post Office check regarding McGovern mail?

The President is concerned about the Patman hearings and feels that you should get the minority together to raise hell regarding jeopardizing the rights of defendants and so forth. Make the point to Gerry Ford that the President can't talk to you about this but it must be done. Ford should brace Widnall and the rest of the committee members.

Probably you should get Garry Brown and Ford in together since apparently Garry Brown is being helpful to us on this.

You should cover all the legal points, etc., in your meeting with them.

~~_____~~

September 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DAVE PARKER

FROM :

H. R. HALDEMAN

On Family scheduling, the President seriously questioned the advisability of having Tricia Nixon in New Jersey on one day and Mrs. Nixon in New Jersey the next day. Obviously there's a reason for this, but this kind of doubling up should be avoided wherever possible.

He also questioned having Julie in Columbus, Ohio one day this week and Tricia in Columbus on ~~Saturday~~ for the registration drive.

cc: Dwight Chapin

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

ADMINISTRATIVELY
CONFIDENTIAL

WASHINGTON

(6902)

September 20, 1972

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HENRY A. KISSINGER

May 90

SUBJECT:

Burundi - population 3.5 million

As had happened often in the past, on April 29 a group of Hutus tried to precipitate a revolt against the ruling Tutsi tribe. The revolt failed but touched off a bloody reprisal that led to possibly over 100,000 Hutu deaths, and to nearly a half-million Hutu widows and orphans.

Tribalism was at the root of the Burundi warfare. The Hutus, who represent 85% of the population, wanted to overthrow the tall Tutsi (Watusis) who make up 15% of the people. The Hutu rebels killed every Tutsi that they ran across during their initial rampage which triggered the Tutsi decision to exterminate all Hutus with any semblance of leadership, i. e., those who could read or write, or those who wore shoes. Sixty thousand Hutus fled the country.

The Burundi tragedy appears to have been a strictly internal, tribal matter. Except for Zaire, which at first assisted the Burundi Government because it believed the invading rebels were connected with former Congolese dissidents, there was no African intervention. In fact, no African leader spoke out publicly against the massacres nor sought to involve the UN or the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

The United States, for humanitarian reasons and due to some Congressional concern (Senators Kennedy and Tunney), tried to interest the Africans in taking the matter to the OAU. Only Mobutu contemplated such action. Leaders such as Selassie, Ahidjo and Nyerere did not want to intervene in Burundi's internal affairs. We also urged the UN to establish a humanitarian presence hoping that this would lead to an end to the repression. Such a presence came too late.

Burundi's former colonial master, Belgium, publicly denounced the Burundi genocide, stopped military aid and slowed down their economic assistance. This had little effect on the Tutsi Government. Other Europeans, particularly the French, maintained a hands-off posture.

ADMINISTRATIVELY
CONFIDENTIAL

ADMINISTRATIVELY
CONFIDENTIAL

There is no evidence that the PRC or USSR have played any role in Burundi, or that they seek to profit from the situation.

The outlook for the future seems bleak. Reconciliation between the Hutus and Tutsis seems impossible, and it is hard to imagine a stable situation before the majority Hutus prevail, as they have in neighboring Rwanda.

Our own interests in Burundi are microscopic (we buy some coffee). We have 150 citizens there, mostly missionaries. There has never been any threat to the safety of Europeans, whose protection the Burundi Government assured to avoid outside intervention.

It is present US policy to give humanitarian assistance to Burundi if we can assure its distribution to all the population. Otherwise, we are assisting refugees outside the country.

H-

This is one of the most
Cynical callous reactions of
a great govt to a terrible human
tragedy I have ever seen.

When Balu try to put down a
rebellion in E. Balu - the world
screams. When Indians Kill a
few thousand Balu no one cares -

Biops stir us because of Catholic
the Israeli Algerians because of Jews
the North V. Nam bombs because of
Communist leanings in our establish

ADMINISTRATIVELY
CONFIDENTIAL

But when 100,000 (1/2 of the people of a black
country) are murdered - we say "do nothing"

K -

This is one of the most cynical, callous reactions of a great government to a terrible human tragedy I have ever seen. When Paks try to put down a rebellion in East Pakistan, the world screams. When Indians kill a few thousand Paks, no one cares. Biafra stirs us because of Catholics; the Israeli Olympics because of Jews; the North Vietnam bombings ~~stir us~~ because of Communist leanings in our establishment. But when 100,000 (one-third of all the people of a black country) are murdered, we say and do nothing because we must not make blacks look bad (except, of course, when Catholic blacks are killed).

I do not buy this double standard. Tell the weak sisters in the African Bureau of State to give a recommendation as to how we can at least show moral outrage. And let's begin by calling back our Ambassador immediately for consultation. Under no circumstances will I appoint a new Ambassador to present credentials to these butchers.

September 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: RAY PRICE

FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

The President reviewed the cancer speech Sunday and feels that Heubner did a very good job on it, that it was done on a very dependable basis and had more flair. He's made very few changes and was very pleased with it.

He wants a statement for the Statue of Liberty -- a statement that would be released ahead of time and then he'll speak without a text. The statement should refer to the fact that Eisenhower started this whole thing and he'd like a lead-line pulled out of the statement as we did in Laredo so that he can use it in his speech.

He is concerned that in all of the political stuff for the fund-raising dinners, there was no mention in any of the suggestions of using the "new majority" and there was no use of good quotes from the acceptance speech.

He wants to be sure that in the BART statement and/or remarks we give credit to the other people who are involved in creating BART. It should not all be tied to just our Administration.

He still feels it would be a good idea to do radio in Atlanta but thinks we should do it for the southern regional network, and that it should be pitched to Democrats, using the same approach as the Connally dinner remarks which should be re-worked for this purpose, building on defense, patriotism, character, a high-level appeal for votes in the south.

For Boston, he would do the same kind of thing in a regional New England network and talk about the problems of the New England area, how much New England has to offer the country, that they won't be neglected, that we are taking care of jobs in that area, and that sort of thing.

~~██████████~~

September 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: DWIGHT CHAPIN
FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

As I mentioned to you, the President feels Connally's greatest use to us and to himself is to leave the organization to others and get out and talk to the country on a properly advanced, thoroughly scheduled basis. He should spend three days in California, some time in West Virginia, Massachusetts, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and perhaps South Dakota.

This should be meetings with the Democrats for Nixon in New York and Los Angeles, separate from the meeting with the Nixon Reelection people. If possible, John Connally should be there.

We should consider Warren, Michigan as a possibility. There is a huge federal facility that can be dedicated there that has something to do with water. Maybe we could motorcade a couple of suburbs including Warren.

We should also consider going into Minnesota. If so, St. Paul would probably be the place to go.

Don't do pictures with individuals anymore at any of these meetings. We can do one group picture of the whole crowd and that's it.

On the Massachusetts motordade, we should consider doing east Boston and south Boston, then going to Quincy, Massachusetts for the federal contract announcement that is available there. Be sure to check with Laird immediately and turn him off on putting out any announcement on the Quincy deal on the basis that the President may want to do it.

The President's feeling now is that we should do radio in Atlanta, but that it should be a southern regional network rather than a national network. He still feels that an event might be better than radio but he likes the idea of radio with a pitch to Democrats and to the south on a high-level appeal for southern votes.

In Boston, by the same token, he would do a regional radio thing talking about the problems of the northeast area with so much to offer the country and that they won't be neglected, and so forth.

He is still looking for a plan for three or four towns in southern Illinois then maybe flying to Indiana and doing three or four towns in Ohio, moving from the Indiana border.

He has a real question as to whether going back to Texas is in our interest and that also the problem with the Astrodome in that we would have to feature Republicans and the gubernatorial candidate, etc. I'm going to talk to Connally about this, raising the question of whether we ought to drop the idea of going back to Texas.

September 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHUCK COLSON
FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

It is important that MacGregor, Dole, and other appropriate speakers keep hitting McGovern for writing off the south. Obviously they have given up there and they should be needed on it constantly.

~~SECRET~~

September 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHUCK COLSON
FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

It is important that MacGregor, Dole, and other appropriate speakers keep hitting McGovern for writing off the south. Obviously they have given up there and they should be needed on it constantly.

~~SECRET~~

LUCI JOHNSON NUGENT
2706 Macken Street
Austin, Texas 78703

*wasen
prepare note from
Rn to ✓*

Dear Luci

Dear President Nixon -

*Particularly pleased
to get her high evaluation of
S.S. +*

My family has just returned from a trip 2/3 of the way around the world - covering nine countries. Through your generosity we received immeasurable assistance from the five Secret Service agents.

*our
representative
abroad etc*

S/A/I/C Jim Goodenough
S/A Bill Mattman
S/A Bill Morrow
S/A L. T. Oden
S/A Stanley Bomar

They expedited transportation arrangements in a way that made the chores of travel infinitely less and the pleasure of touring intensely greater. But not only were they competent in all areas - they were a joy to be around!

Two of the agents, Jim Goodenough and L. T. Oden served on my detail during my father's presidency, and I have maintained a life long respect and affection for them. Thus I was elated to have them included on the detail for this trip.

S/A Bill Mattman, an agent from the Paris office, is an excellent linguist who speaks six languages fluently -

- 1) English
- 2) French
- 3) Spanish
- 4) Swiss
- 5) German
- 6) Diplomacy

H. note

Although we did not travel in a Spanish speaking country, I guess because ironically enough I speak the language, Mr. Mattman's fluency in

the five other languages enhanced our ability to appreciate our vacation to the degree that there is no end to our desire to sing his praises.

The other two agents came from my father's detail - and they worked five weeks of midnights - a feat and a sacrifice I will long admire and appreciate.

The wonder of it all is that under such close travel conditions there was not one moment of friction. I frankly believe that a large amount of the credit goes to the agent in charge, Jim Goodenough -- who all the other agents and I agreed was the most pleasant man to work with and for in our experience with protective service.

The Secret Service agents were not the only assistance we received because of your thoughtfulness.

The embassies and consulates bent over backwards to be helpful - and all of them were! They were thorough, thoughtful and competent, especially Mr. Roy Hermesan and Mrs. Robert Velh in Munich, Mrs. Nancy Gordon in Florence, Gerry Vanden Heuvel and Francis J. Hazard in Rome, the entire staff of Arthur Day's, Consulate General Jerusalem, and Owen Zurhellew Charges de Affaires in Tel Aviv as well as Jack Kubisch from the Paris Embassy.

Although I wrote each one of the above individuals before leaving the country where they are so ably serving America's interests and relations - I felt that you as their President would want to know how considerate they were and how deeply appreciative I am that through your generosity I received their magnificent assistance.

I recognize that these are days when much of what you hear is of what went wrong or what insurmountable tasks await - and I wanted you to know, for what little pleasure it may bring to a burdensome day, that OUR family enjoyed the vacation of a lifetime - 1000 percent - and largely due to your kindness.

Everywhere we went from Paris to Israel those persons we encountered who represent our government did so with distinction - and a report that reflects well on our country and its leaders and people. One of these highlights was to be the guests of the Henry Tasca's - Ambassador to Greece. His dedication to America and his President is most admirable - and his hospitality was most generous.

All in all as you can see, ours was the opportunity of a lifetime. When I graduated from high school my parents promised me a trip to Europe - as a sort of incentive to graduate, I think. However the summer of my graduation was the summer of the peak of the gold flow problem - and so as you so surely understand, "I saw America first." It's been more years than I like to think since the time when a trip abroad would broaden my father's problems - and I subsequently postponed indefinitely the venture.

Thus it is my great privilege to thank another president for making possible for our family what would have been an awkward situation for my family so many years ago.

Please give Mrs. Nixon, Tricia and Julie my affection and respect.

Sincerely,

(Sg.) Luci Nugent

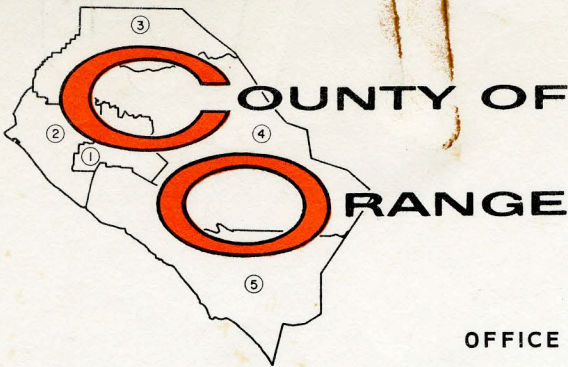
Rec'd. Sept. 25, 1972

**RICHARD NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION



DAVID G. HITCHCOCK
REGISTRAR OF VOTERS

P. O. BOX 11298
SANTA ANA, CALIFORNIA 92711

TELEPHONE: 834-2244
AREA CODE 714

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF VOTERS

October 10, 1972

Mrs. Richard M. Nixon
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Nixon:

An absentee ballot application for the November 7, 1972
general election is enclosed for your convenience.

If your commitments will require you to be absent from
your precinct on election day, please sign the application
form and return it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

Very truly yours,

David G. Hitchcock
Registrar of Voters

je

Encl.

1972 OCT 10 PM 11 30

CARBONIZED — Please complete & return both copies immediately

APPLICATION FOR ABSENT VOTER'S BALLOT

TO: REGISTRAR OF VOTERS P. O. BOX 11298, SANTA ANA, CALIF. 92711

This application must be received by the Registrar on or before October 31, 1972

First day ballots will be available for mailing, October 9, 1972

I HEREBY APPLY FOR AN ABSENT VOTER'S BALLOT FOR THE **GENERAL ELECTION**, NOVEMBER 7, 1972

I WILL BE UNABLE TO GO TO THE POLLS FOR REASON CHECKED: ☐ Expect to be ABSENT from my precinct on election day.

☐ Because of PHYSICAL DISABILITY.

☐ I reside more than 10 miles from nearest polling place.

☐ My religion prevents me from attending.

☐ I reside within a 30 or less precinct.

PRINT Patricia NIXON
First Name Initial Last Name
4100 Calle Isabella
Residence Address as shown on affidavit of registration
San Clemente Ca. 92672
City State Zip

MAIL  Mailing Address
Ballot City State Zip

SIGNATURE _____ DATE _____
Applicant **MUST SIGN HERE**

If your residence address is other than that shown on your Affidavit of Registration, you must complete the following:

I MOVED ON _____ FROM THE ADDRESS
month day year

THAT IS SHOWN ON MY AFFIDAVIT TO:

NEW address: _____ (street) _____ (city)

If you have moved prior to October 8, 1972, you must reregister before you can obtain an absentee ballot. (A voter moving within this county or to another county within 30 days prior to this election may obtain an absentee ballot. A voter moving within this county or to another county over 30 days and who has not registered prior to the registration closing date for this election is not eligible to vote.)

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS AREA

For Office Use Only

PARTY AFFILIATION _____

PRECINCT 48-146

AFFIDAVIT NO. B826104

BALLOT NO. _____ GROUP NO. _____

DATE OF MAILING
OR DELIVERY _____

BALLOT RETURNED _____

TYPE

☐ Regular Mail

☐ War Voter + Affidavit

☐ Air Mail

☐ Voted In Office

☐ War Voter

☐ Took Ballot

DAVID G. HITCHCOCK
REGISTRAR OF VOTERS
P. O. BOX 11298
SANTA ANA, CALIFORNIA 92711

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

NO POSTAGE STAMP NECESSARY IF MAILED IN THE UNITED STATES

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY:

DAVID G. HITCHCOCK, REGISTRAR OF VOTERS

P. O. BOX 11298

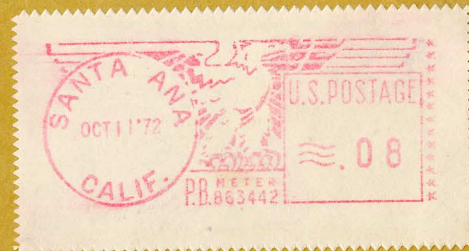
SANTA ANA, CALIF, 92711

FIRST CLASS

Permit No. 963

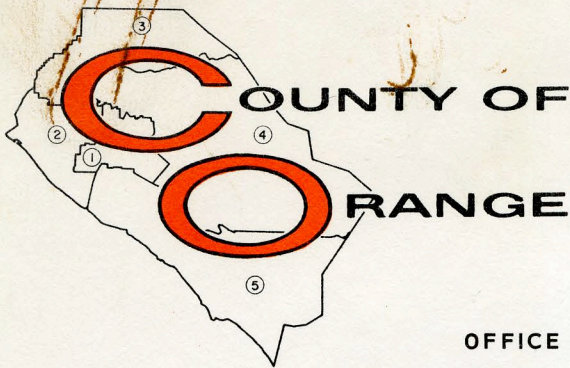
Santa Ana, Calif.

REGISTRAR OF VOTERS
P. O. Box 11298
Santa Ana, California 92711



FIRST CLASS

Mrs. Richard M. Nixon
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500



DAVID G. HITCHCOCK
REGISTRAR OF VOTERS

P. O. BOX 11298
SANTA ANA, CALIFORNIA 92711

TELEPHONE: 834-2244
AREA CODE 714

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF VOTERS

October 10, 1972

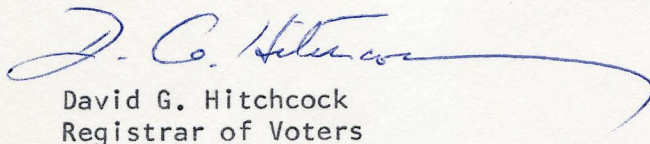
JD-1
President Richard M. Nixon
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

An absentee ballot application for the November 7, 1972
general election is enclosed for your convenience.

If your commitments will require you to be absent from
your precinct on election day, please sign the application
form and return it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

Very truly yours,


David G. Hitchcock
Registrar of Voters

je

Encl. ✓

CARBONIZED — Please complete & return both copies immediately

APPLICATION FOR ABSENT VOTER'S BALLOT

TO: REGISTRAR OF VOTERS P. O. BOX 11298, SANTA ANA, CALIF. 92711

This application must be received by the Registrar on or before October 31, 1972

First day ballots will be available for mailing, October 9, 1972

I HEREBY APPLY FOR AN ABSENT VOTER'S BALLOT FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 7, 1972

I WILL BE UNABLE TO GO TO THE POLLS FOR REASON CHECKED: ☐ Expect to be ABSENT from my precinct on election day.

☐ Because of PHYSICAL DISABILITY.

☐ I reside more than 10 miles from nearest polling place.

☐ My religion prevents me from attending.

☐ I reside within a 30 or less precinct.

Richard M. NIXON
PRINT First Name Initial Last Name
4100 Calle Isabella
Residence Address as shown on affidavit of registration
San Clemente Ca. 92672
City State Zip

MAIL Ballot  Mailing Address
City State Zip

SIGNATURE _____ DATE _____
Applicant **MUST SIGN HERE**

If your residence address is other than that shown on your Affidavit of Registration, you must complete the following:

I MOVED ON _____ FROM THE ADDRESS
month day year

THAT IS SHOWN ON MY AFFIDAVIT TO:

NEW address: _____ (street) _____ (city)

If you have moved prior to October 8, 1972, you must reregister before you can obtain an absentee ballot. (A voter moving within this county or to another county within 30 days prior to this election may obtain an absentee ballot. A voter moving within this county or to another county over 30 days and who has not registered prior to the registration closing date for this election is not eligible to vote.)

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS AREA

For Office Use Only

PARTY AFFILIATION _____

PRECINCT _____ 48-146

AFFIDAVIT NO. _____ A826102

BALLOT NO. _____ GROUP NO. _____

DATE OF MAILING
OR DELIVERY _____

BALLOT RETURNED _____

TYPE

☐ Regular Mail

☐ War Voter + Affidavit

☐ Air Mail

☐ Voted In Office

☐ War Voter

☐ Took Ballot

DAVID G. HITCHCOCK
REGISTRAR OF VOTERS

P. O. BOX 11298

SANTA ANA, CALIFORNIA 92711

FIRST CLASS

Permit No. 963

Santa Ana, Calif.

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

NO POSTAGE STAMP NECESSARY IF MAILED IN THE UNITED STATES

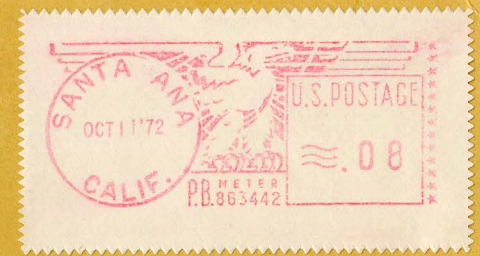
POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY:

DAVID G. HITCHCOCK, REGISTRAR OF VOTERS

P. O. BOX 11298

SANTA ANA, CALIF. 92711

REGISTRAR OF VOTERS
P. O. Box 11298
Santa Ana, California 92711



FIRST CLASS

President Richard M. Nixon
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

APR 14 1972

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

APB

October 13, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RAY PRICE

FROM:

BRUCE KEHRLI *BK*

SUBJECT:

Vermont Royster Comments

10/14

Attached is Dick Moore's memorandum on Vermont Royster's ideas covered in your memorandum to the President of September 29.

Bob has reviewed the Moore memorandum and agrees with his comments. He would like to discuss this with you in the near future and will contact your office as soon as his schedule permits.

Thank you.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 4, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR BRUCE KEHRLI

FROM: DICK MOORE *mu*

SUBJECT: Presidential Posture During Next Six Weeks:
"In general, the only thing the campaign needs now is 'a little spiritual uplift'--something that goes beyond the programmatic and gets to ideals, to principles, and again, to deep concern."

At this stage, it can be argued that the campaign does not "need" anything new, that if the President continues to concern himself with presidential affairs, he will win easily. Indeed, McGovern may even hurt himself by getting more desperate as the President stays more presidential.

Nevertheless, I agree with Mr. Royster that the one element which the people are looking for and waiting for is a major expression of the President's aspirations for America, through and beyond his second term and the nation's 200th Birthday.

Having just had occasion to review the President's speeches and statements of the past four years, it occurs forcefully to me that few really recall the number and quality of the inspirational talks which he has given.

Now, as he goes before the American electorate for the last time, and as he faces the culminating years of his political life and leadership, I think a major re-statement of his vision for America and the principles which will keep it great will be the most important single thing he can do. However, there is still time to decide the wisdom of such a course, as well as the timing and the format.

* For the present, the most important thing is to keep the options open and be prepared to deliver such a message at the right time and place -- or it may even be a series of two or three messages.

On the timing, consider this: In 1940, Election Day was November 5. Yet FDR did not announce until October 18 that he was going to make five campaign speeches beginning October 23. This was before TV or jet planes, yet in those five speeches he had the country quoting "Martin, Barton and Fish" (which was first uttered October 28 at Madison Square Garden), and had succeeded in undercutting Willkie completely on the one inroad he was making, the war issue. ("I have said this before but I will say it again and again and again".)

My point is that unless there are fairly drastic developments of some kind, RN does not have to announce any specific campaign plans until at least October 20, and the last ten days will be more than sufficient time to penetrate the minds of America with whatever major theme he wishes to express.

With those dates in mind, it is still necessary to crystallize the options now and to take whatever steps are needed to take the position to exercise those options on short notice.

One of those options, for example, would be a major address on network television on which the President sets forth his vision of hopes for America and restates the principles which should continue to guide the American character and spirit. This should probably be scheduled during the week between October 23 and 28. It could be a Fireside Chat from the Oval Office, or it could be delivered at a major rally in a forum like Madison Square Garden. I realize that the President does like to read speeches at a rally. In this instance, however, there are some excellent precedents for doing just that, namely, the President's acceptance speeches at the National Conventions in 1960, 1968 and 1972, all of which had such powerful impact. (FDR's five speeches in 1940 were all delivered from scripts at major rallies.)

Another approach might be three or even four 15 minute personal statements each delivered in a different city in a symbolic part of the country, the South (Atlanta), the East (New York, the Midwest (Cleveland or Chicago) and finally the Far West (San Clemente on Election Eve). In each case the nighttime "Fireside Chat" could be preceded by a midday motorcade. During the afternoon, the President could be in his hotel working on his speech and then deliver it during prime time from the local television studio.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

Each speech could begin with some local regional references, but the major portion would be devoted to a high level subject. One might be the search for Peach, another the America of tomorrow, a third, The American Spirit of Character, and the Election Eve address would probably emphasize the democratic process and the obligations to vote for a better future.

A third format could be a series of three or four radio speeches.

Whatever the format, a message of inspiration and uplift can be important for several practical reasons, such as the following:

1. We can expect that our opponents will have some success with an anti-landslide theme ("I hate to vote for McGovern but I am afraid of what Nixon will do if he has a landslide.") An eloquent statement of the reasons why a mandate is so important in the current state of the world could undercut this landslide argument to a considerable degree.
2. We can expect to hear and read that RN is taking the votes for granted and will ~~not~~ be content to win a negative victory based on McGovern's inadequacy rather than on the Nixon leadership. This is a displeasing concept which could cost votes. An inspirational and affirmative appeal by RN in the closing days can undercut and even negate the argument that he is content to "back into the Presidency".
3. The second term will be the culmination of RN's service to the nation, the last time he will ask the voters of America to entrust their future to him. From a historical sense (and that is usually good politics) it will be appropriate and reassuring for him to go to the people with a personal statement of his beliefs and his hopes for America.
4. Because they lack any other real issue, we can expect the McGovernites to increase their emphasis on the issue of integrity and to intensify their charges of cynicism.. Although the Watergate case has not caught on as a voting issue, the repetition of charges about this, the so-called grain deal and ITT will necessarily have some effect on doubtful voters. The kind of approach which Mr. Royster suggests can have a very important effect in defusing this entire issue.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

5. I have a theory that some Democrats can vent their feelings by "voting" against McGovern in the Gallup Poll, or by telling their friends that they are going to vote against him, and they may mean it at the time. But in many such cases, the actual breaking of a lifelong habit, or overcoming a long-time antipathy toward RN, may become difficult to do at the moment of truth in the voting booth. This problem gets reinforced in the closing days by pressure from union leaders, or from their peers generally. For example, many people who were mad enough to say they ~~are~~ ^{were} going to vote for Wallace ended up reverting to the Democratic candidate at the final moment.

In the closing week of the campaign, I think these are the votes we are most likely to lose. By the same token, they are the votes we might be able to retain by an inspirational appeal by RN in the closing days.

6. This kind of appeal will encourage workers to get the vote out.

RECOMMENDATION:

For at least two more weeks (unless there is some unexpected turn of events) I think the President should maintain his present posture and pattern of presidential activities, emphasizing "event" more than talk. But starting now, we should be preparing speech material and examining locations and logistical matters, so that we may be in a position to make whatever moves we think wise in the final ten or twelve days.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Bruce

October 10, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI *BAK*
SUBJECT: Vermont Royster Comments

The comments contained in the attached memorandum (Tab A) from Ray Price to the President by Vermont Royster were staffed to Ziegler, Moore, Safire, Colson, Chapin, Ehrlichman and Buchanan. Ehrlichman did not respond and Colson claimed that his response was covered in a previous memo, but the others are included at Tab B.

To summarize, none of those contacted felt that the speech proposed by Royster was a good idea. All thought that the President should maintain the robe he now wears -- the Presidential robe. There were, however, some interesting comments from Dick Moore on other possibilities for speeches between now and the Election. You should read Moore's memorandum in its entirety. As for the memorandum to the President, recommend that it not go in.

not sent

agree
send Moores memo to Price.
by note that I agree
I would like to discuss
with him.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: RAY PRICE *RS2*
SUBJECT: Vermont Royster

When I talked with Royster yesterday, he mentioned that he'd written me a letter the day before but not mailed it because he hadn't been able to pin the ideas down satisfactorily on paper -- but the essence of the ideas was this:

The only thing McGovern has going for him is when he puts on his ministerial robes. When he talks defense, budgets, economics, etc., he unravels. But when he puts on his ministerial robes, and jumps on us about Watergate or the wheat deal, when he talks honesty, integrity, etc., he registers.

Vermont has a "vague feeling" that you would help yourself if you would put on your "ministerial robes" and give an "uplifting" kind of speech -- not about taxes or the budget or Vietnam, but "I think that a President, when he gets things flopping around under him like the Watergate, has to let people know that he personally is for honesty, integrity, etc. That kind of uplift speech would be a good thing."

He's not at all sure that the speech should directly address Watergate, etc. (though he feels it would have been better to have jumped in immediately, and declared, in effect, that that's the sort of thing "up with which I will not put," to borrow Churchill's famous phrase -- anyone who runs a big organization is going to have things like that happen, but the important thing, when they do, is to get on the side of the angels, quick).

This might, he suggests, be handled not in a speech but rather in a press conference, with the TV cameras.

In general, he feels that the only thing the campaign needs now is "a little spiritual uplift" -- something that shows a real concern for people, for the future, for integrity -- something that goes beyond the programmatic and gets to ideals, to principles, and again, to deep concern.

#

APPB

October 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK

FROM:

BRUCE KEHRLI *BK*

SUBJECT:

Phone Call Program
for Ed Nixon

The attached list of proposed phone calls for Ed Nixon has been approved.

Please contact him -- stressing that it was the President's idea for him to make these calls and that he is calling on behalf of the President. You will probably want to give the telephone numbers to your operators over there so that they can place the calls for him. Please keep me advised as to how this program is going because we should try to program ten calls apiece per week for Tricia and Ed Nixon between now and the election. These are the first week's calls and we should have next week's on Friday -- depending on how this batch goes. Please advise on this last point.

Thank you.

CALLS FOR ED NIXON

1. Jack Huss -- North Dakota: GOP State Chairman -- canvass coordinator for North Dakota. As of October 2nd canvass effort, had covered over half the state.
2. Doug Lewis -- Kansas: Executive Director Kansas CRP. Taken charge of voter registration, voter identification and voter turn-out efforts for entire state.
3. Barbara Ogden -- West Virginia: Outstanding job done in organizing for canvassing effort.
4. Judy Peachee -- Virginia: Precinct Organization Director for State. Best precinct organization of all the Southern states - outstanding worker.
5. Julie Robens -- Missouri: Secretary, Missouri State Committee, CRP. Worked extremely hard, very long hours, only secretary in the state CRP.
6. Tom Evans -- Kentucky: Assistant to Campaign Director. Doing a good job getting our canvass results and organizing canvass effort.
7. Butch Gallagher -- North Carolina: Canvass and Field Director. Has organized eleven fieldmen and is really accomplishing our canvass.
8. Bill McConkey -- Illinois: Bill has directed the 35 fieldmen in Illinois. Through his efforts 779,000 households have been canvassed door to door, number one state in the country in canvassing.
9. Jim Erwin -- Maine: Chairman, Maine CRP, State of Maine Attorney General. Done an excellent job of building a good campaign organization.
10. Brady Keyes -- Pennsylvania: Black supporter and a former professional football player, now an entrepreneur assisted by SBA and OMBE. Mr. Keyes has been very helpful in enlisting the support of Pennsylvania Blacks.

TELEPHONE NUMBERS FOR CALLS BY ED NIXON

1. Jack Huss 701/255-0030 (o)
2. Doug Lewis. 316/265-9307 (o)
316/684-4774 (h)
3. Barbara Ogden 304/623-3611 (o)
304/623-3184 (h)
4. Judy Peachee. 703/644-7661 (o)
703/272-8902 (h)
5. Julie Robens. 314/725-0797 (o)
6. Tom Evans 606/255-8726 (o)
7. Butch Gallagher 704/372-9500 (o)
8. Bill McConkey 312/263-2416 (o)
9. Jim Erwin 297/289-3661 (o)
10. Brady Keyes 412/341-9470 (o)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 16, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: DAVE PARKER
FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI *BK*
SUBJECT: Phone Call Program
for Tricia

Attached is the approved list of ten phone calls for Tricia to make this week. This is the program we discussed last week and when covering it with her you should stress that this is the President's idea and she will be calling on behalf of the President.

Based on the success of these ten calls, we will have about ten calls per week between now and the election. These will be coming over from the Committee on Friday for use beginning the following Monday.

Again, the purpose of this program is to boost the morale and reward some of the harder working people in the campaign who would not normally receive this type of recognition. These can be a great boost to not only the individual but all the workers in that particular office or campaign headquarters.

I will be sending the list of names and phone numbers to the operators so they will have them in case Tricia wants to make the calls.

Let me know her reaction to this program after you have a chance to cover it with her.

CALLS FOR TRICIA NIXON COX

1. Joe Gaylord -- Iowa: Canvass coordinator directing canvassing effort throughout the state.
2. Ray Tierney -- New Jersey: Heading up the ballot security program for the state: he has worked virtually full time coordinating labor, veterans, ethnic groups, retired police and firemen to protect the polls.
3. Mrs. Nodine Henninger -- Ohio: State Telephone Chairman. Doing an outstanding job.
4. Barbara Caldwell -- West Virginia: Assistant to Regional Chairman; tremendous job in pulling together organization in Charleston.
5. Georgeann Hedges -- Missouri: CRP Co-Chairman, Jackson County. Great job in Jackson County in volunteer recruitment.
6. Barbara Durrell -- Missouri: Telephone Canvass Chairman, Green County. Outstanding worker - produced an excellent organization.
7. Mimi Kennedy -- Tennessee: Telephone Hostess Chairman. In addition to the hostess program, Mimi has joined in directing half our canvass effort in the state.
8. Bill Duvall -- Illinois: Executive Director CRP. Bill took leave of absence from Borg-Warner Corporation in August and has done an excellent job in giving management leadership to the Illinois campaign.
9. Mrs. Marilyn Heffernan -- Illinois: Marilyn is the director of the state telephone program.
10. Mrs. Helen Evans -- Ohio: Mrs. Evans is a Black Senior Citizen who has helped make the Black vote activities in Ohio one of our proudest successes.

Brubaker

Tell Mort et al

that I am constantly amazed at the

NEWS SUMMARY

October 25, 1972

(nets, wires, columns)

brilliant work done

in preparing the news summary

It is invaluable for all of us

The major stories of the day:

- The "hard-line," "tough" Thieu speech, RN's meeting w/ HAK (film on all) about which WH said little and McG's challenges as to why VN wasn't settled before dominated the nets. ABC only net w/ film of RN signing vets' bill. Thieu increasingly seen as obstacle to accord w/ Cronkite saying it's ironic but US/NVN seemed to have reached settlement but Thieu won't go along. However, ABC's Koppel found "resignation to the inevitable" in his analysis of Thieu speech. And NBC pointed out that despite Thieu's description of coalition as suicide, both he and VC seem to be preparing for ceasefire. ... McG on 2 nets w/ strident, pointed questions of RN on VN, Watergate etc. -- as if he were an "acid-tongued evangelist" challenging the devil, said CBS. ... Brinkley said if war is ended -- after all the deceit and "entertainment" the government has provided in recent years -- the 1st task is to restore public trust in Washington.
- All nets noted speculation that bombing cutback over North was tied to talks and on WH orders. Also the heaviest B-52 attacks ever in Saigon area were noted by all.
- VP on NBC/CBS -- 1 as he received applause at Brigham Young defending US role in VN; the other w/ film as he whistled heckler to silence. Shriver on NBC w/ less-than-spectacular street reception but the Mayor's boys are apparently back in tow.
- Tricia/Volpe on NBC/CBS dedicating a "people mover" in Morgantown. NBC emphasized protest and the election-timing of ceremony for a project which won't be operable for a year while CBS focused on the technological advance. On both nets Tricia effectively handled rabble as she pointed

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 29, 1972

Dear Mr. President:

I have just completed a careful reading of the October 28, 1972 memorandum entitled "Memorandum Re: Radio Hanoi's Broadcast on October 26, 1972 and Dr. Kissinger's Press Briefing on October 26, 1972." As I have informed you, Dr. Kissinger has spoken and continues to speak on my behalf. There has not been nor will there be any distinction between his views and mine. As I wrote to you in my letter of October 16, "Dr. Kissinger's comments have my total backing."

With specific reference to the points raised in this memorandum, we are astonished to be asked to comment on claims emanating from Radio Hanoi. Dr. Kissinger gave a full and detailed explanation of the ad referendum character of his discussions with the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Therefore, the Government of South Vietnam should not ask itself why theoretical planning dates were given to the DRV; it is patently obvious that they were ad referendum since none of these dates have been carried out.

With respect to your concerns about my messages of October 20 and October 22 to the Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, you will recall that Dr. Kissinger specifically referred to the content of these messages during his discussions with you in Saigon. These messages essentially concerned three matters concerning South Vietnam and two matters concerning Laos and Cambodia. With respect to South Vietnam, we informed Hanoi that we rejected any claim regarding your resignation and insisted on the replacement and prisoner provisions which you have seen. With respect to Laos and Cambodia, we demanded assurances with

respect to ending the conflict in these countries. Dr. Kissinger, in the presence of Ambassador Bunker, told you that in their replies the North Vietnamese yielded on all these points. I consider that you were fully informed.

Concerning the current status of the draft agreement, Dr. Kissinger has made a solemn commitment to you to obtain the maximum number of changes reflecting the views expressed to him during his visit to Saigon. With respect to the inclusion of reference to the "three" countries of Indochina, Dr. Kissinger explained to you that the use of "three" was simply inadvertent and we would demand of the North Vietnamese to have it deleted from the present text.

With respect to the National Council, Dr. Kissinger made amply clear in his press conference, as he did in his talks with you, that it has no governmental functions. All American and foreign observers have seen its real meaning -- a face-saving device for the communists to cover their collapse on their demands for a coalition government and your resignation. It is therefore incomprehensible to me why your government has chosen to portray the Council as a structure which encompasses governmental functions. This constant reiteration by your officials of misleading comments may bring about what we have struggled so hard to avoid.

Our position continues to be that we can live with an "administrative structure" which in English clearly implies advisory functions and not governmental ones, but that we reject the North Vietnamese translation which would imply that the structure is endowed with governmental powers and functions. This is precisely what Dr. Kissinger meant when he referred to language problems in his press conference. This is what we will clarify when we meet the North Vietnamese next. We chose the phrase linguistic ambiguity to give everybody a face-saving way out. You and I know what is involved.

Dr. Kissinger's press conference was conducted on my detailed instructions. He was doing his utmost to prevent you from being

portrayed as the obstacle to peace with an inevitable cutoff by Congress of U.S. funds to the Government of South Vietnam and the creation of unmanageable impediments to continued U.S. support for you and your Government. Constant criticism from Saigon can only undercut this effort. We will continue our efforts to present a united front, but they cannot succeed without the cooperation of your associates.

Beyond these specific points I cannot fail to call to your attention the dangerous course which your Government is now pursuing. You know my firm commitment to the people of South Vietnam and to you personally. As Dr. Kissinger and Ambassador Bunker have informed you, I would like to underline this commitment by meeting with you within one or two weeks after the signing of this agreement. It is my conviction that the future depends on the unity which exists between us and on the degree to which we can make clear our unequivocal support to do what is necessary in the days ahead to insure that the provisions of a peace settlement are strictly enforced. Just as our unity has been the essential aspect of the success we have enjoyed thus far in the conduct of hostilities, it will also be the best guarantee of future success in a situation where the struggle continues within a more political framework. If the evident drift towards disagreement between the two of us continues, however, the essential base for U.S. support for you and your Government will be destroyed. In this respect the comments of your Foreign Minister that the U.S. is negotiating a surrender are as damaging as they are unfair and improper.

You can be assured that my decisions as to the final character of a peace settlement are in no way influenced by the election in the United States, and you should harbor no illusions that my policy with respect to the desirability of achieving an early peace will change after the election. I have taken this opportunity to comment on the memorandum of October 28 so that there can be no doubts in Saigon with respect to the objectives sought by me and my Government.

I urge you again, Mr. President, to maintain the essential unity which has characterized our relations over these past

difficult four years and which has proven to be the essential ingredient in the success we have achieved thus far. Dis-unity will strip me of the ability to maintain the essential base of support which your Government and your people must have in the days ahead, and which I am determined to provide. Willingness to cooperate will mean that we will achieve peace on the basis of what I consider to be a workable agreement -- especially with the amendments which we are certain to obtain. From this basis, we can move with confidence and unity to achieve our mutual objectives of peace and unity for the heroic people of South Vietnam.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Nguyen Van Thieu
President of the Republic
of Vietnam
Saigon