



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 7/07)

Conversation No. 712-1

Date: April 18, 1972

Time: 3:56 pm - 4:56 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman.

Greetings

Busing

- Ehrlichman's approach
- Article by Alexander M. Bickel in *New Republic*
  - Constitutionality
    - Impact on Congress
  - Circulation among opinion makers
    - Robert H. Bork
      - Press conference in Washington
- Press conference
  - Necessity
  - Controversy
- Irene McCabe
  - Intended action
  - Position
  - National Action Group
    - Pontiac, Michigan
  - Publicity
- Article in *National Journal*
  - Reprints
    - Circulation
  - Authority
  - McCabe
    - Article
    - Rally
      - Timing
  - Analysis
  - Topics

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 7/07)

Conv. No. 712-1 (cont.)

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 1m 48s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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- Bickel
  - Liberalism
- Opposition
  - Bork
    - Ivy League background
    - [Charles A. Wright]
      - Texas
    - Willingness to speak out
  - Southerners
    - Mobilization
    - Disbandment of bi-racial committees
    - Edward L. Morgan
- Court cases
  - Reopening
    - Impact
      - Richard G. Kleindienst
- Moratorium
  - Passage in Congress
- Congress
  - The President's opposition to busing
    - Publicity
    - Difference from George C. Wallace
      - Sympathy for blacks
    - Political benefits
      - Support of middle-of-the-rovers
    - Challenge to Congress
      - Moratorium
      - Constitutional amendment
      - Political advantages
  - Political support

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 712-1 (cont.)

- Answer
  - Ehrlichman's draft
    - Patrick J. Buchanan
    - Burden on Congress
    - Problems for children
- Article in *National Journal*
  - Quality of article
  - List of cities
    - Detroit
    - Indianapolis
    - Denver
    - Richmond
    - Suburbs
- Administration interventions
  - Publicity
    - Trips to communities
      - L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
      - Grand Rapids, Michigan
      - Ehrlichman
      - Morgan
      - Value
      - Arrangements
  - Gray
    - Kleindienst
  - Publicity
    - Ehrlichman's trip
    - Statement
  - Bork
- Legal arguments
  - Wright
    - Texas lawyer
  - Joseph T. Sneed
    - Duke University
    - Support for the President
    - Recruitment
      - Judgeship positions
      - Attorney General

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 712-1 (cont.)

## International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case

- Debates
  - Advantages
  - Peter M. Flanigan testimony

## Busing

- National Journal* article
  - The President's review
  - Analysis of congressional voting records
    - Changes
- Administration opposition
  - Impact on communities
    - Divisiveness
- Supporters of busing
  - Liberals
    - Time*
    - Reasons
      - Attacks on white middle class suburbanites
  - Children's schools
    - Investigation of journalists
      - Results
        - Use in press conference
  - Journalists
    - Residences
      - Suburbs
        - Compared to Washington, DC
    - Robert P. Novak
      - Kleindienst
        - Children's schools
- Democratic candidates
  - Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
    - Children in public school
  - Children
    - Schools
      - Publicity

## Crime

- Washington Post*
- Ehrlichman's briefing
  - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- Time*

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 7/07)

Conv. No. 712-1 (cont.)

- Publicity
- Business leaders in Washington, DC
  - Meeting
  - Impact of crime
- Washington, DC
  - Level
  - 1968 campaign
  - Decline
    - Credit for administration
- The President's law and order policies
  - Criticism
  - Law Enforcement Assistance Administration [LEAA]
    - Funds for Washington, DC
    - Funds for localities
    - Uses
- Illegal drugs
  - Issue for Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
  - Campaign

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Privacy]

[Duration: 18s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

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- Political benefits
  - Law enforcement and rehabilitation
  - Pushers

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 7/07)

Conv. No. 712-1 (cont.)

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[Privacy]

[Duration: 9s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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- Fact sheet
  - Drafts
  - Distribution
    - Agnew
  - Discussion and publicity
    - Republicans
      - Material for speeches
  - Publicity
    - Arrangements

Economy

- Latest figures
  - Inventory
  - Backlog of demand
    - Release
  - Progress
- Staff meeting
  - Herbert Stein
  - Ezra Solomon
    - Optimism
- Consumer Price Index [CPI]
  - Last month's figures
  - Wholesale food prices
- Food prices
  - Political issue
    - Life* magazine
    - Meat
      - Cheaper cuts
      - Chicken

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 7/07)*

Conv. No. 712-1 (cont.)

- Complaints from consumers
- Complaints
  - Substance
  - Inevitability
    - Depression of 1930's
  - Publicity
    - Life*
    - Timing
- Decline
  - Jawboning
  - Summer decline
- Earl L. Butz
  - Policies
  - Trip to Soviet Union
  - Statements
    - Criticism
    - Future statements
  - Benefits for Farm Belt
  - Work with administration
    - Political sensitivities
      - Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
      - Ehrlichman
  - Work with farmers
    - Success
      - Ehrlichman's trip to Denver
      - Article
    - Butz's talk with the President
  - Complaints
  - Current mood
    - Improvement
  - Cattlemen
    - Prosperity
  - Milk producers
- Jawboning
  - John B. Connally
  - Price Commission
    - Dr. C. Jackson ("Dan") Grayson, Jr.
  - Benefits
- Shoe prices
  - Jawboning by Peter G. Peterson
  - Level

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 7/07)

Conv. No. 712-1 (cont.)

- Price of hides
  - Scarcity
- Jawboning
- Jawboning
  - Timing with election
  - Effectiveness
    - Food prices
      - Decline
        - Market chains
          - Safeway
            - Ads
    - Fear of controls
      - World War II
- Cattle growers

## Other issues

- Crime
- Drugs
- Busing
- Prices

## Taxes

- Property taxes
  - School funding
  - Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations [ACIR]
    - Ehrlichman's meeting with Connally
      - Option paper
    - Connally's advice
  - Debt ceiling
    - Testimony
      - Connally, George P. Shultz and Stein
- Loopholes
  - Connally
  - Wilbur D. Mills
    - Hearings on Health bill
- Tax bill
  - Ways and Means Committee
- Revenue sharing
- House Resolution [HR] 1
  - Location in Congress
    - Senate Finance Committee

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 7/07)*

Conv. No. 712-1 (cont.)

- Confusion
- Republicans
  - Meeting at White House
  - Caucus
  - Opposition to Russell B. Long's changes
- Long's proposals
  - Costs
  - Criticism of the President by Long

ITT case

- Flanigan testimony
  - Conditions
    - Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.'s reaction
    - Long's reaction
    - Reasons

Revenue-sharing

- Senate Finance Committee
- Passage
  - Likelihood to be defeated
    - Shultz and Mills
- The President's efforts
  - Appreciation by local officials

Taxation

- Treasury Department
  - Connally
  - White Paper
    - Opposition to property taxes
      - Populism
    - Congressional resistance
- Tax reform
  - Democratic voting records
    - Publicity
  - Connally as spokesman
  - Speeches
    - Policy of administration
  - Property tax relief and relief for parochial schools
    - Value-added tax [VAT]
    - Administration credit
    - Alternatives

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 7/07)

Conv. No. 712-1 (cont.)

- Administration study
- Wallace telegram
  - Connally's answer
  - Challenge for answers
- Loopholes
  - Connally's views
  - Abolition
    - Problems
      - Mortgage deductions
      - Charitable exemptions
  - Capital gains
    - Abolition
      - Impact
  - Mortgage deductions
    - Edmund S. Muskie's position
    - Hubert H. Humphrey
  - Democratic opposition
    - Charity, home and family deductions
  - Gas tax deduction
  - Sales tax deduction
- US tax system
- Tax inequities
  - Congressional responsibility
  - Candidates
  - Wallace

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 3m 18s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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Budget

- Frank L. Rizzo
  - Federal money for Philadelphia
    - Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 7/07)

Conv. No. 712-1 (cont.)

- Defense funds
- Telephone call from the President
- Federal money
  - Law enforcement
  - Narcotics control
  - Child care
  - Benefits for Rizzo

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 8m 39s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

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Jews

- Golda Meir
- Israelis

Edward M. Kennedy

- Bill on Chappaquiddick
  - Staff work
- Political prospects
- Bill on Chappaquiddick
- Chappaquiddick
  - Press reports
    - Denver
  - Conviction
    - Driver's license
- Grand Jury proceedings
- Public interest
- First reports
  - The President's location
  - Ehrlichman's location
- Kennedy's speech

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 7/07)

Conv. No. 712-1 (cont.)

- The President's and Ehrlichman's locations
- Failure
  - Richard N. Goodwin
  - Public disbelief
- Compared with Checkers Speech
- Failure
  - Lack of validity

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 22s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

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Busing

- Administration position
  - Approach
  - The President's daughters
    - Integrated schools
    - Sidwell Friends
  - The President and Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
    - Integrated schools
  - Whittier schools
    - Quaker tradition
  - Smith and Finch Colleges
    - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - The President's decision
    - Publicity
    - Ways to improve education
  - Parental discretion
    - George H. Gallup poll results
      - Opposition
      - Blacks
        - Opposition

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 7/07)*

Conv. No. 712-1 (cont.)

- Candidates' supporters
  - Wallace, Nixon, Muskie
- Views on busing
- Regional breakdown
- Public response
  - Wide agreement on opposition
  - Experts
    - Uncertainty about benefits
- Parental discretion
  - Racialism
  - Parents versus courts and sociologists
    - Administration position
- Experts

Ehrlichman left at 4:56 pm.

Conversation No. 712-2

Date: April 18, 1972

Time: Unknown between 4:56 pm and 5:00 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez and Alexander P. Butterfield.Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:00 pm.

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

-Location

-John B. Connally

[Signing of document]

-Housing issue

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 5:00 pm.

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 7/07)

Conv. No. 712-2 (cont.)

Conversation No. 712-3

Date: April 18, 1972

Time: Unknown between 4:56 pm and 5:00 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-22]

Conversation No. 712-4

Date: April 18, 1972

Time: Unknown between 4:56 pm and 5:03 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

*Sequoia*

-Availability

-Arrangements

The President talked with Clark MacGregor between 5:00 and 5:01 pm.

[Conversation No. 712-4A]

[See Conversation No. 23-23]

[End of telephone conversation]

*Sequoia* arrangements

-Time

-Dinner

-Sailing

The President left at an unknown time before 5:03 pm.

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 5:01 pm.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 7/07)

Conv. No. 712-4 (cont.)

- The President's schedule
- Sequoia* trip
- Time
- Telephone call

Bull and Butterfield left at an unknown time before 5:03 pm.

Conversation No. 712-5

Date: April 18, 1972  
 Time: Unknown between 5:01 pm and 5:03 pm  
 Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

Cancellation of buzzer request signal

Conversation No. 712-6

Date: April 18, 1972  
 Time: Unknown between 5:01 pm and 5:33 pm  
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

- The President's schedule
- Dinner on *Sequoia*
- Departure time
- Sequoia*

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
 [Personal returnable]  
 [Duration: 38s]

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 7/07)*

Conv. No. 712-6 (cont.)

CLARK MACGREGOR ENTERED AT 5:03 PM.

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:32 pm.

ITT [International Telephone and Telegraph] case

- Senate committee
  - Session
    - Republican senators
    - Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
      - Help for administration
  - Robert C. Byrd
    - Cooperation
  - Democrats
    - Byrd's role
    - John V. Tunney and Edward M. Kennedy faction
  - Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
    - Vote
    - Trip to conference in Oxford, England
  - Vote
    - James O. Eastland, Ervin, and Byrd
    - Mathias
      - Majority
      - Byrd
        - Paul J. Fannin
          - William P. Rogers briefing
          - Meeting with Ervin
          - Meeting with Byrd and Ervin
        - Alignment with Kennedy, Tunney, Philip A. Hart, Birch E. Bayh, Jr. and Quentin N. Burdick
        - Likely vote
- Testimony
  - MacGregor's conversations with Edwin Reinecke and Edgar Gillenwaters
  - Jack Gleason

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 7/07)*

Conv. No. 712-6 (cont.)

- Order of appearance
  - Gillenwaters
    - Position
    - Availability
  - Harry D. Steward
    - Questioning
      - Gillenwaters
- Peter M. Flanigan
  - Preparation
    - John N. Mitchell
      - Eastland
    - MacGregor
      - Roman L. Hruska, Edward J. Gurney and Marlow W. Cook
  - Questions by Kennedy and Tunney
    - Eastland rulings
    - Republican objections to questions
      - Executive privilege
      - Henry A. Kissinger
    - Discretion
  - Executive privileges
    - Pitfalls
  - Coaching by MacGregor
    - Problems
  - Questioning
    - Answers
      - Tone
    - Coaching
      - H. Chapman ("Chappie") Rose, Bryce N. Harlow and MacGregor
  - Questions to avoid
    - Background on Richard W. McLaren policies
      - Administration disaffection
      - Legitimacy of antitrust suits
        - Arthur F. Burns
- ITT Company
  - Growth under John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson
    - Rate
      - Publicity of figures
  - Acquisitions
    - Figures

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 7/07)

Conv. No. 712-6 (cont.)

- Inaction
- Administration's record

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 5:03 pm.

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 27s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:32 pm.

ITT case

- ITT Company
  - Growth
    - Administration's record on antitrust
      - Compared with Johnson and John F. Kennedy
  - Antitrust
    - Debate in administration
      - Acknowledgement
        - Justice Department
          - John B. Connally and Maurice H. Stans
      - Consent decree
    - Harold S. Geneen
      - Protests against Administration policies
        - Publicity
  - Flanigan testimony
    - Justice Department decision
      - Defense
        - Concern for economy
          - Government agencies
            - Secretaries of Treasury, Commerce, Council of Economic Advisors [CEA]

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 7/07)*

Conv. No. 712-6 (cont.)

- Attacks on business
- Administration policies
  - Points to make
- Criterion of case
  - ITT windfall
  - Role of unknown White House aide
    - Work with lobbyists
    - Meetings with journalists
      - Suit against networks
  - Lobbyists with administration
    - Labor unions
    - Universities
    - Black caucus
- Flanigan testimony
  - ITT settlement
    - Justification
    - Bigness of business
- Antitrust cases and lobbyists
  - Postal rates
    - Media protests to White House
  - Newspaper mergers
  - Protests
    - Administration's openness
    - Administration handling
      - Referral to departments
- Conglomerate decision
  - Settlement
    - McLaren and Erwin N. Griswold roles
    - Johnson and John F. Kennedy inaction
- Administration counterattacks
  - Important questions
    - Malfeasance
      - Sheraton Corporation of America
    - Geneen
      - Contribution
      - Repercussions
- Flanigan testimony
  - Impulsiveness
- Edward Kennedy and Tunney
  - Intellects

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 7/07)

Conv. No. 712-6 (cont.)

Edward M. Kennedy

- Harvard University
- Examination
- Social life

[Unintelligible]

MacGregor's activities

- Trip to Minneapolis
  - Republican group
  - National Alliance of Businessmen [NAB] breakfast
    - Speech
    - Turnout
    - Meeting with President on April 10, 1972

Edward Kennedy

- Bill on Chappaquiddick
  - The President's talk with John D. Ehrlichman
  - Congressional Record*
    - MacGregor's conversation with William E. Minshall
  - Public interest
  - Origin of bill
    - Size of staff
  - Reasons

Charles W. Colson

Vietnam

- Democratic critics
  - Counterattack
  - Vulnerability

Kleindienst

- Confirmation
  - National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC] question for MacGregor

Vietnam

- Bombing
  - NBC question from MacGregor
    - Risks
      - Hanoi

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 7/07)*

Conv. No. 712-6 (cont.)

- Haiphong
- Results
  - Accomplishments
    - Middle East, Soviet Union, Berlin and People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Critics
  - Handling
    - 1800 election
      - Thomas Jefferson's identification with France
        - Near defeat
      - John Adams
        - Identification
      - Federalist mistakes
        - Alien and Sedition Acts
      - Jeffersons' narrow margin of victory
    - Identification with enemy
      - Johnson
        - North Vietnamese invasion
      - Betrayal of American soldiers
      - Lack of criticism of North Vietnam
  - William P. Rogers's testimony
    - MacGregor's sister-in-law and brother
      - Reaction
    - Handling
      - MacGregor's call
        - Encouragement
        - The President
    - Rogers
      - Reluctance to fight
        - Melvin R. Laird
- ITT case
  - Senate committee
    - Termination of hearings
      - Time
    - Executive session
      - Edward Kennedy and Tunney
        - Criticism of Ervin
    - Testimony
      - Flanigan
      - William E. Timmons

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 7/07)*

Conv. No. 712-6 (cont.)

- John D. Ehrlichman
- Edward Kennedy and Tunney
  - Attack on Ervin
  - Counterattack
    - Cook
    - Gurney
  - Hawkishness
- Report from Wallace H. Johnson
  - Conversation with Hruska
    - Reinecke's and Gillenwaters's testimony
- Gleason testimony
  - Avoidance
  - Delays
    - Gillenwaters
  - Objections
    - Hruska
- Testimony
  - Steward
  - Substitutes
    - Reinecke and Gillenwaters
    - MacGregor's statement

## Senate

- Irresponsibility
  - "War Powers" debate
- Lyndon Johnson's tenure
- Foreign Relations Committee
  - Reaction to fund cut-off bill
    - George D. Aiken
    - Age

## MacGregor

- Political experience
- Work with the President
  - 1972 election

## Senate

- Work as a body

Stephen B. Bull entered at 5:32 pm.

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

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Conv. No. 712-6 (cont.)

-Departure of senators

MacGregor left at 5:32 pm.

The President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:33 pm.

Conversation No. 712-7

Date: April 18, 1972

Time: Unknown between 5:32 pm and 5:33 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-24]

Conversation No. 712-8

Date: April 18, 1972

Time: 5:33 pm - 5:34 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Julie Nixon Eisenhower.

[See Conversation No. 23-25; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation]

Conversation No. 712-9

Date: April 18, 1972

Time: Unknown between 5:35 pm and 11:59 pm

Location: Oval Office

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
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Unknown persons [Secret Service agents] met.

The President's schedule  
-Location

[Unintelligible]

The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.