



## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

### Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 120-1

Date: May 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 3:10 pm and 11:52 pm

Location: Cabinet Room

The President met with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, William P. Rogers, George P. Shultz, Elliot L. Richardson, Rogers C. B. Morton, Frederick B. Dent, Peter J. Brennan, Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger, James T. Lynn, Claude S. Brinegar, Roy L. Ash, Anne L. Armstrong, John A. Scali, J. Philip Campbell, Richard G. Kleindienst, William P. Clements, Jr., George H. W. Bush, William E. Timmons, Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., Henry A. Kissinger, Peter M. Flanigan, Ronald L. Ziegler, Kenneth W. Clawson, William J. Baroody, Jr., Richard A. Moore, W. Richard Howard, David R. Gergen, Patrick J. Buchanan, David N. Parker, Frederic V. Malek, Lawrence M. Higby, Bruce A. Kehrli, Stanley S. Scott, Stephen B. Bull, Rose Mary Woods, Arthur J. Sohmer, Lee W. Huebner, Jerry H. Jones, Donald F. Rodgers, General Brent G. Scowcroft, Herbert G. Klein, Thomas C. Korologos, Gerald L. Warren, Andrew T. Falkiewicz, Max L. Friedersdorf, Lyndon K. ("Mort") Allin, Fred F. Fielding, Michael J. Farrell, James H. Falk, Richard M. Fairbanks, III, James H. Cavanaugh, Dana G. Mead, Geoffrey C. Shepard, and C. Gregg Petersmeyer

[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

#### President's schedule

- Cabinet members' questions for President
- Meeting purpose
  - White House organization

#### White House staff

- Cole
  - Role
  - Domestic Council
  - Scheduling
- National Security Council [NSC]
- Scheduling
  - Bull
    - Daily schedule
  - Parker
    - Long-term schedule
- Personnel
  - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  - Office of Management and Budget [OMB]
  - Ash
- Departures of Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

President's schedule

- Cabinet meetings
- NSC meetings
- Domestic Council
- NSC
  - Rogers, Kissinger
  - Foreign policy issues

Departures of Haldeman and Ehrlichman

- Reaction of Cabinet and White House staff
- Comparison with Sherman Adams and Dwight D. Eisenhower
  - Rogers
  - Reaction of Cabinet and White House
- President's workload
  - Cabinet
  - Foreign policy
    - Soviet Union
  - Domestic issues
    - Prices
  - Shultz
- Changes in personnel
- Effect on White House staff
  - Cole
  - Bull and Parker
    - Scheduling
  - OMB
    - Ash

Watergate

- Richardson, William D. Ruckelshaus
- Special prosecutor
  - Richardson
- Possible staff involvement
  - President's knowledge
- Haldeman and Ehrlichman
- Possible staff involvement
  - Leaves of absence
- Cooperation with investigators
- Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] guards outside offices of Haldeman and Ehrlichman
  - President's reaction

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

- Cabinet
  - Support for President
  - Duty
  - Personal conduct
- President's previous speech on April 30, 1973
  - Rogers' view
- Kleindienst's service
- President's conversation with Richardson
  - Attorney General
  - Responsibility
- Richardson
  - Kleindienst
  - Watergate investigation
- FBI guards outside offices of Haldeman and Ehrlichman
  - President's reaction
  - Investigation
- Cabinet
  - President's defense
- Haldeman and Ehrlichman
- FBI guards outside offices of Haldeman and Ehrlichman
  - New York and Washington press
- President's previous speech on April 30, 1973
  - Weinberger's view
  - Contrast with President's other concerns

[A transcript of the following portion of the conversation was prepared under court order from February through March, 1988, for Special Access [SA] 89, *US v. Kenneth Moses Loud Hawk, et al.* The National Archives and Records Administration produced this transcript. The National Archives does not guarantee its accuracy.]

[End of transcript]

Morton's position

Watergate

- Armstrong's comments
  - Family
  - Popular perceptions
    - President's visit to Mississippi
    - Margaret Chase Smith and Russell B. Long
- President's remaining time in office

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

Kleindienst

-Forthcoming speech

Kleindienst left at an unknown time before 3:41 pm

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 1m 44s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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Watergate

-Press

-Possible distortions

-President as target

-Ash

-President's defense

-Future

-Charles H. Percy's statement

-Purpose

-Cabinet

The President left at 3:41 pm

[General conversation/Unintelligible]

Recording ends at an unknown time before 11:52 pm, while the conversation is in progress

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

Conversation No. 120-2

Date: May 2, 1973

Time: Unknown between 8:11 am and 9:10 pm

Location: Cabinet Room

George P. Shultz met with Herbert Stein, John T. Dunlop, I[orwith] W. Abel, Frank E. Fitzsimmons, Pat Greathouse, Paul Hall, [Joseph] Lane Kirkland, Edward W. Carter, R. Heath Larry, Oscar A. Lundin, John F. O'Connell, and Walter B. Wriston; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting  
[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

Wholesale price index

The President entered at 3:21 pm

Greetings and introductions

-Participants

[General conversation/Unintelligible -- Camera noise]

Economic stabilization

-Work of committees

-Appreciation

-Labor and management

-Dunlop

-Inflation

-Wage and price controls

-Food prices

Labor-Management Advisory Committee

-Meeting in Miami

-Wages

-Dunlop's figures

-Committee's efforts

-Action by administration

-Wage and price freeze

-Success

-Problems

-Auto workers and Henry E. Ford, II

-American worker

-Wages

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

-Need for reassurance

Economic stabilization

- Public understanding
  - Rule of committee
  - Shultz
- Price freeze
  - President's view
    - Attractiveness
    - Public support
  - Extent
  - Wage settlements
  - Prices
  - Wages
    - George Meany
    - Steel settlement
  - Long-term problem
    - Wages
      - Upcoming settlements
      - Business attitudes
      - Meany
- Phase III
  - Forthcoming Presidential statement
  - Pre-notification
    - Problems for management
    - President's justification
- Shultz and Dunlop
  - Efforts
- Freeze
  - Views of business
- President's program
  - Timing
  - Views of business
  - Public understanding
- Current controls
  - Price increases
    - Success
  - Long-range solution
    - Business perception
      - Wages and labor unions
    - Impact of inflation
    - Economy

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

- Management
- Cooperation between business and labor
- Business views
  - Lack of controls on interest rates and farm prices
  - Outlook
- Wage settlements
  - Price controls
- Committee
  - Statements
    - Dunlop's role
  - Investigations
    - Kirkland's suggestions
    - Wage settlements
      - Phase II
  - Employment costs
    - Effect on other prices
  - Differing views within the committee
- Business community
  - Compliance
- Construction industry
  - Dunlop's efforts
  - Hall's view
    - Need for time
- Freeze
  - Committee's belief
    - Solution
    - Rollback
    - Dunlop and Shultz's role
- Public perception
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower's phrase "price-wage spiral"
  - Phase I
    - Presidential authority
  - Cost of living figures
    - Stein
  - Public confidence
  - Phase II
    - Controls
      - Cooperation between labor and business
  - Phase III
    - Increases
  - Forthcoming wage negotiations
    - Labor position

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

- Rollback
  - Options
- Freeze
  - Outlook for success
- Steel negotiations
  - Imports
  - Cost of living increase
  - 1959 negotiations
    - President's role
  - Strikes
    - Arbitration
    - Abel
  - Resolution
    - Benefits

Labor-Management Advisory Committee

- Efforts
  - Productivity
  - Statesmanship

National economy

- Performance
- Administration's actions since 1971
  - Phases
- Controls
- Prices
  - Grocery prices
  - Family budget
  - Effect on low-income people
- President's reasoning

Labor-Management Advisory Committee

- Work with administration
- President's position on arbitration
  - 1959 strike
  - Australia
    - Voluntary participation
- Australia
- Management-labor talks
  - Committee's suggestions
- Need for popular reassurance
- 1971



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

- Recession and inflation
  - Effect of administration's actions
  - Economic growth

National economy

- Boom and inflation
  - Administration goals
  - Inflation
- Jobs
  - Brennan's view
  - Effect on economy
  - President's anti-inflation program
- Administration's goals
  - Employment
  - Price controls
- Cost of Living Council
- Administration's goals
  - Employment
  - Economic growth
  - Inflation
- President's actions
- Work of committee

The President left at 4:13 pm

[Unintelligible]

Recording ends at an unknown time before 9:10 pm

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

Conversation No. 120-3

Date: May 10, 1973

Time: Unknown between 7:58 am and 9:17 pm

Location: Cabinet Room

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew met with William P. Rogers, George P. Shultz, Elliot L. Richardson, Rogers C. B. Morton, Earl L. Butz, Frederick B. Dent, Peter J. Brennan, Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger, James T. Lynn, Claude S. Brinegar, Roy L. Ash, Anne L. Armstrong, John A. Scali, John B. Connally, George H. W. Bush, Dr. James R. Schlesinger, William E. Colby, Herbert Stein, General Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Peter M. Flanigan, William E. Timmons, Ronald L. Ziegler, and Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting

[General conversation/Unintelligible]

The President entered at 9:09 am

Watergate

- Personnel changes
  - Cabinet briefing
  - The President's previous briefing with Congressional leaders
- Richardson
  - Role in Watergate investigation
- Special prosecutor
  - Richardson's view
  - Qualifications
  - Authority
  - Attorney General's authority
  - Role in current Watergate investigation
    - Richardson's directives
    - Staff
  - Indictments and immunity
    - Timing
- Confirmation of Richardson
- Senator's statement
- Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.'s statement
  - Legislative investigation compared with judicial process
    - Fair trial prospects
  - Questions for Richardson
    - Hearing delay
- Ervin Committee

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

- Beginning of hearings
- Prejudicial publicity
  - Effect on Special Prosecutor
- Possible injunction on hearings
  - Reasons
- Effects of hearings on judicial process
- Effect of witnesses' immunity on prosecution
- Possible testimony
  - Rights of accused
- Special Prosecutor
  - Selection process
    - Richardson
- President's speech on May 9, 1972
  - Impact on presidency
    - President's election mandate

Cabinet

- Richardson
- Schlesinger
  - Background
    - President's conversation with Edward W. Brooke concerning base closings

Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]

- Schlesinger's view
- Colby
  - Background
    - Vietnam
- Confirmation hearings
  - Statements

Haig

- Henry A. Kissinger's staff
- Role on White House staff

Connally

- Role on White House staff
  - Availability

Procedures

- Subcabinet appointments
  - Haig
  - Ash

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

- Qualifications
- Candidates for positions
- Ash's comments
  - Status
- Departures of H. R. ("Bob ") Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman
  - Effect on White House operation
- Cabinet relations with White House
  - President's conversations with Haig, Ash, and Shultz
  - Changes
  - Responsibilities
    - Congressional relations
    - Program development and implementation
  - White House staff and Cabinet
- Comparative responsibilities and roles
- Additional White House staff
  - Congressional relations
    - Congressional votes
- Cabinet responsibilities
  - Congress
- Roles compared to previous administrations
- Policy development
- Position of Counselor to the President
  - Role
    - Chain of command
      - Cabinet
- Cabinet and White House responsibilities

Vice President

- Role
  - President during Eisenhower's administration
  - Cabinet
    - Attendance
  - Domestic Council

Congressional relations

- Cabinet relationship with White House
- Richardson's confirmation hearing
- Future
- Cabinet members' efforts
- Partisanship
- Republicans
- Democrats

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

- Cooperation
- Congress's desire for respect
  - Rogers' testimony on Cambodia
- President's schedule
- Agnew's schedule
- Cabinet members' schedule
  - Meetings with congressmen
- Richardson's meeting with Samuel L. Devine
  - Meeting of Devine's group
    - William P. Clements, Jr.
- Legislation
  - Timmon's efforts
    - Meeting with congressmen
  - Possible improvements
  - Conflicting statements from administration
    - Coordination
  - Cole, Ash, and Cabinet
  - Bush and Morton
    - Meetings with congressmen
- Morton's meetings with congressmen
  - Congressional support for President
- Cabinet relations with committees
  - Conflicting statements from administration
  - Importance of coordination
    - Office of Management and Budget [OMB]
    - Example

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 3m 37s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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Congressional relations

- Connally's view

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

- Cabinet officers
- Committees
  - Members
  - Executive departments
- Ziegler's announcements
- White House relations with Cabinet
  - Congress

Press

- Relations with administration
- Relations with Cabinet
  - Scali's view
  - Impact
- Improvement of relations
- Cabinet meetings
  - Leaks
- Statements to press
- Concerns of common people

Bureaucracy

- Constituent-oriented momentum
  - Cabinet members

Congressional relations

- 1972 election mandate
  - Government spending
  - Possible pitfalls in second term
    - Model cities program
    - Great Society programs
    - Budget
    - Administration's goals
  - Relations with Congress
- Spending
- Spirit of cooperation compared with weakness
  - Connally's view
- Watergate
  - American people
  - Effects
- Budget
- Aims of administration

Bureaucracy

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

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*(rev. 10/08)*

- Support for President in 1972 election
- Morale
- Need for cooperation
- Contacts
- Loyalty
- Feelings concerning administration's attitude
- Award programs

Administration's attitude

- Press coverage of administration
  - Effect on morale
  - Watergate
    - New York Times*, *Washington Post*
  - Administration's reaction
  - Administration's comments
  - Effect on public and Congress
- Administration's mandate
  - Program development and implementation
  - Administration's efforts
  - Role of Cabinet members

Watergate

- Administration's investigation
- Staff changes
- Ervin Committee
  - Effect on individuals' rights
  - Harry S Truman and Eisenhower's conflict with Senate committees
- Administration's program

Administration's attitude

- Programs
- Rogers' forthcoming trip to Latin America
- Forthcoming Soviet summit

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[End of transcript]

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

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*(rev. 10/08)*

- Energy and inflation
- Campaign finance legislation

Foreign policy

- President's Role
- World Peace
  - US role
  - US strength vis-a-vis the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Middle East
  - Vietnam War, Cambodia
- President's policies
  - Capitalists and communists
  - President's role
  - Vietnam War
  - China summit
  - Russian summit
  - Forthcoming European summit
  - Vietnam
  - Middle East

Watergate

- Daniel Ellsberg break-in
  - President's doctor
- Historical perspective
- Administration's investigation
- Administration's election mandate
- Response to possible press questions

Appreciation to Cabinet, staff

[General conversation/Unintelligible]

The President left at 10:47 am

Recording ends at an unknown time before 9:17 pm, while the conversation is in progress