



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Oct-06)*

Conversation No. 777-1

Date: September 14, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 3:41 pm and 3:49 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown woman.

John D. Ehrlichman's schedule  
-Timing of meeting with the President

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 3:49 pm.

Conversation No. 777-2

Date: September 14, 1972  
Time: 2:34 pm - 5:59 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman.

Greetings

Louis P. Harris

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 6m 39s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(*rev. Oct-06*)

Revenue-sharing bill signing ceremony

- Length and location
- Logistics
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- The President's speech
  - Proponents of bill
  - Nelson A. Rockefeller
  - Prominent citizens
  - Agnew's role
- Logistics
  - Crowd response
- Gifts for guests
  - Pens
- Historian speaker
  - Richard B. Morris
    - Columbia University
    - Speech for television
    - Historic perspective of bill
- Agnew
- Rockefeller
  - Possible speech
- Historian speech
  - The President's view
  - Media reaction
- Rockefeller
  - Role
  - Effect on Congress
  - Remarks
- Joe Peckman and Walter E. Heller
  - Efforts for George S. McGovern
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
  - The President's view
- List of invitees
  - McGovern
  - Bipartisanship
- Rockefeller
- Wilbur D. Mills
- Support for bill
- Rockefeller

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Oct-06)

- Signing ceremony
- History of bill
- Opening speech
  - The President's view
- Support for bill
- List of guests
  - Aid to Administration
    - Political benefits
  - Heller
  - Peckman
- Previous photographs of participants
  - Requests for photograph
  - Murray L. Weidenbaum
  - Administration's work on revenue-sharing
- Planning for ceremony
  - Passage through Congress
- Rockefeller
  - As proponent of bill

Tax policy

- John B. Connally
  - Ehrlichman's previous conversation with Connally
  - Ideas on tax policy
  - Increase in minimum tax
    - Connally's view
- Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Interest in tax policy

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:49 pm.

The President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:07 pm.

Tax policy

- Connally
  - Dividend
- Increase in minimum tax
  - The President's view
  - Need for action
- Ehrlichman's letter to *Washington Post*

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Oct-06)*

- Response to Carl T. Rowan column
- Administration's stance on taxes
- Wall Street Journal* article

Bull entered and left at an unknown time before 4:07 pm.

-H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman

Frank L. Rizzo  
 -Revenue sharing  
 -McGovern

George P. Shultz, Arthur F. Burns, Connally, Herbert Stein and Ziegler entered at 4:07 pm.

Greetings

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2  
 [Personal returnable]  
 [Duration: 55s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

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Tax reform discussion

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:07 pm.

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:59 pm.

Tax reform  
 -Proposals for tax reform  
 -Merits of choices  
 -Need for decision

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Oct-06)

- Property tax
  - Senior citizens
  - Middle-income sector
- Progressiveness of taxes
  - Income tax framework
    - Rise in federal revenue
    - Compared to actual income
- Minimum tax
  - 1969 proposal by the President
- Combination of programs
  - Fiscal merits
  - Achievement of the President's objectives
- Paper
  - Middle-income group target
  - Property tax program
    - Table
    - Credit on income tax
    - Income limits
      - Deduction
    - Possibility of variation of targeted groups
    - Senior citizen tax benefits
      - 1973 estimates of costs
      - Credits for income tax
      - Five-year program for reform
        - Beneficiaries
        - Older people
    - Middle-income tax benefits
      - Tax credits
    - Senior citizen program
      - Present property tax average
      - Credits toward income tax
      - Deduction for interest on mortgages
      - Charitable contributions
      - Revision of standard deduction

Property tax

- Income tax deduction
  - Effect on wealthy schools neighborhoods
- Maximum tax
- Phase-out
- Texas

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Oct-06)

- Effect on localities
  - Property tax increases
  - Effect on Federal Reserve System
  - Need for safeguards
- Grant approach
  - Grants payable on property tax payment
- Inclusion of renters in property tax program
  - Administrative problems
  - Standard deduction for renters
  - Gasoline tax
  - Land lords' possible role
    - Tenants
      - Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
  - Renters' problems with property taxes
- Reform program
  - Time frame
  - Need for goals
- Senior citizens
  - Phasing of taxes according to age

The President's 1969 tax reform proposals

- Minimum tax
  - Individuals
  - Corporations
  - Revenue
  - Political benefits
  - Complications of proposal
    - Municipal bonds' interest
    - Congress's past reaction
- Minimum tax proposal
  - Frederick W. Hickman
  - Edward S. Cohen
  - Taxpayers' reaction
  - Possible revision of present system
    - Retention of basic tax framework
  - Revenue
  - Parallels with old age property tax
  - Effect on budget
- Federal revenue
  - Growth over years
    - Labor force growth

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(*rev. Oct-06*)

- Inflationary effect
  - Proportional growth
  - Tax bracket progressivity
  - Rise in real per capita income
    - Productivity rise
- Milton Friedman
- Congress's revision of taxes
  - Shifting of tax bracket
  - End of progressivity effect
- Friedman theory
  - Presidential proposal of tax revision
- Minimum tax
  - Progressivity effect
    - Inflation progressivity
    - Real income progressivity
      - Use of funds
        - Offsetting property tax program
  - Projection of federal budget
    - White House five year budget projection
  - Brookings Institute study
  - Federal revenue spent
    - Need for increased revenues
      - Tax increases
  - Congress's tax policy
    - Traditional revision of tax brackets
    - Property tax
  - Elimination of inflationary effects
- Total revenue gains
  - Increase in federal revenue
  - Progressivity effect
    - Real income growth
    - "Progressivity dividend"
  - Deductions
  - Increase in real income
  - Description of revenues
    - Combination with property tax program
  - Spending budget
    - Part of program
- Potential problems
  - Maintenance of present tax rate
  - Property tax changes

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(*rev. Oct-06*)

- Aid to senior citizens
- Aid to middle-income group
- Minimum tax
- Tax equity factor
- Tax simplification program
  - Credit approach
  - Use in grant program
    - Effect on property tax for education
    - Advantages of grants
- Grant program
  - Effect on property tax
  - Shift of burden of tax
  - Attachment of conditions
    - Effect on property tax
  - Potential problems
  - Property tax variations
    - Conflict with state and county programs
  - Solution of problems
- Inflation progressivity effect
  - Lowering personal income taxes
    - Friedman
  - Capital gains tax
    - Differentiation between real and inflationary gains
  - McGovern's proposal for taxes
    - Shultz's press conference
    - Tables
      - Progressivity effect on capital gains
  - Application to income and capital gains
- Capital gains tax reform
  - Effect during election
- Tax form simplification
  - Short form
  - Package return for older taxpayers
- Political effects
  - Tax reform compared with tax increase
  - Complications of introducing new programs
    - Deductions
    - Loopholes
  - Congressional input
  - Public reaction



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(*rev. Oct-06*)

- Acceptance of reforms
- Fear of increase
  - Connally
- Wealthy people
- Tax system
  - Rewards for hard work
  - Loopholes and tax shelters
    - Use by taxpayers
    - Tax lawyers
  - Loophole use
    - Farmers
    - Cattle-growers
    - Housing developers
    - Oil drillers
    - Corporations
  - Impact of closing loopholes
    - Ranchers' concern
    - Capital gains
- Political effect of reforms
  - Effect on November 1972 elections
  - Political contributors
  - Misinterpretation of reforms
    - Need for tax equity
    - Equating of reforms with tax increase
    - Possible solutions
      - Reaction of public
  - Structural change compared to tax level change
    - Income tax revision
      - Value-added tax [VAT]
  - Property tax problem
    - Shultz's efforts
    - Need for solution
    - Need for progress
  - Fulfillment of promises on taxes
    - Property tax reform
    - Old age tax reform
    - Need for increase in revenues
    - Raising of taxes
    - Avoidance of issue
    - Old age income tax for 1974
      - Progressivity effect

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF****Tape Subject Log**  
(*rev. Oct-06*)

- Balancing of future budgets
- Congress's traditional adjustment of taxes
  - Capture of progressivity dividends
- Expenditure program
  - Future economic trends
- Property tax relief
  - Costs
  - Funding of program
    - Expenditure cuts
    - Tax reforms
      - Public reaction
- Five-year tax plan
  - Projection of revenues
  - History of planning
    - John Enoch Powell
      - Conservative Party rally address of October 1968
        - Decreases in taxes
          - Results
            - Burns's view
    - Burns's Senate testimony
      - William Proxmire
- Difficulties
- Need for defense outlays
  - Percentage of revenue
    - Vietnam
    - Arms control

**Budget-cutting proposals**

- Administration's progress
- Reasons for administration's results
  - 1968 victory margin
  - Democratic Congress
- The President's view
  - Community action programs
  - Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]
  - Job Corps
  - Education departments
  - Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
  - Food stamps program
- Big-spending programs
  - Administration's stance
  - Welfare
  - Education

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF****Tape Subject Log**  
(*rev. Oct-06*)

- Community action
- Incoming Congress
  - Outcome of 1972 presidential race
  - Relations with administration described
    - Need for budget revision
    - Connally
    - Agriculture Department
      - Cotton program
    - Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
- HEW budget
  - Subsidies for higher education
- OEO
- Community action program
- Urban renewal
  - Transportation programs
    - Budgetary revision for future
- Stein
- Possibility of deficits
- Need for fiscal responsibility in budget
  - Constraints
- Future opportunities for administration
  - Conservative philosophy
    - Government growth
- Commitments to cut budget
- Administration's goals
  - Spending cuts
- Group over 65 years old
  - Administration's aid
- Tax reform
  - Avoidance of tax increase
  - Progressivity effect
- Need for spending restraints
  - Balance-the-budget proponents
- Mills meeting
  - Support of the President's budget ceiling
  - Welfare program
    - Chances for reform in House of Representatives
    - Incoming Congress's view on welfare
  - Pledge of support for the President

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**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Oct-06)*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 2m 8s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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Administration policy

- Rockefeller
  - Domestic policy ideas
  - Program costs
  - Restructuring cost
- Direction after election
  - Continuation of first term trends
  - Foreign policy achievements
  - Domestic policy achievements
    - The President's view
    - Democratic Congress influence
  - Revenue sharing program
- New policies
  - Re-examination of older programs
    - The President's view
  - Hunger issue in America
    - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
    - Influence on Congress
    - Politicians
    - Journalists
    - White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health
      - Dr. Jean Meyor
  - Food Stamp program
    - Funding
    - Use of stamps
    - The President's view
- Changes in policy
  - Liberal stance
- McGovern's proposed budget
  - Programs
  - Compared to the President's budget
  - Effect of election on future policy
    - Connally's views

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
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- Appeal to public
- Health program
  - McGovern's proposal
  - White House program

Tax reform programs

- Options
  - The President's instructions
- Equity
- Old-age tax reform
- Progressivity effect
  - Stein
  - Connally's view
    - Ways and Means Committee
    - American taxpayer
  - Public opinion
- Property tax
  - Administration's pledge
    - Old age tax relief
- Cutting of expenditures
- Personal income tax
- Progressivity effect in taxes
  - Shultz's view
  - Influence on tax reform
- Charlie Lawles
  - the President's view
  - Duke University
  - Tax philosophy
  - Income tax to achieve social changes
- Grant approach
- Goals of tax reform program
  - Government's share of Gross National Product [GNP]
  - Societal shifts
  - Tax system attributes
    - Incentives
    - Effect of changes on society
  - Working papers
  - Treasury Department
- Deadlines for reform proposals
  - Presidential election
  - Property tax
    - Old-age tax relief
  - Tax form simplification

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**Tape Subject Log**  
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- Timing
- Deductions
- Effect on public
- Short form completion
- Old-age tax forms
- Accountants
- Avoidance of tax
- Long-range goals
  - Fiscal dividend
  - Stein's view
  - Public perception
- Business Week*
- Journal of Certified Public Accountants
- American Economists' Association
- Public perception
- Proper time for public proposal
- Increase in revenues
  - Increased returns for taxpayers
  - Budget deficit
  - Progressivity effect
- Tax reform program
  - Congress
  - Compared to tax increase
  - Aid to senior citizens
  - Phase-out of benefits
    - Income levels
    - The President's constituency
      - Machinists
      - Automobile workers
    - Homeowners compared to renters
      - Benefits
      - Comparisons
      - Administrative problems
      - Use of standard deductions
      - Deduction for renters
- Renters program
  - Presentation to Congress
- Phase-out of benefits
  - Income levels
  - Old-age benefits
    - Standard amount
  - Credit for taxpayer
    - First-year goals

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**Tape Subject Log**  
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- Proposals for reform
  - Timing
  - Possible modifications
- Old-age tax relief
  - Pro-rated with age
  - Early retirement
  - Social Security system
  - Navy retirement age
  - Tax credit
  - Senior citizens' opinion
    - Arthur S. Flemming
  - Number of people affected
- Overall program
  - Need for consistency in proposals
  - Congress's effect
  - Credit for the White House
- Old-age tax relief
  - Flexibility of age requirement
  - Credit approach compared with grant approach
    - Shultz's view
    - The President's view
    - Political effect
  - Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations [ACIR] report
  - Congress's approach
  - ACIR report
    - Study of taxation's effect
  - Need for solution
  - William D. McElroy
  - ACIR report
  - Relief from property tax for seniors
  - Appeal to young people
    - Republican National Convention
  - VAT program
    - Administration's policy
    - Efforts
    - ACIR
- VAT
  - Public stance
  - Efforts by administration
- Administration's public stance on tax increase
  - New tax proposals
  - VAT

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF****Tape Subject Log**  
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- Chairman of ACIR [William R. MacDougall]
  - Progress report on taxes
- Tax plan
  - John Kenneth Galbraith
    - New tax program by the President
- The President's stand on tax increase
  - Described
  - ACIR
  - Past policies
- Equity
- Tax preferences
  - Tax revisions
  - Reduction of rates
  - Alternative proposals
    - Minimum tax
      - Timetable for presentation
        - 1972 election
        - The President's previous press conference
- Congressional proposals
  - Tax reform discussions
  - Administration's counter proposals
  - Mills
- Administration proposals
  - Ways and Means Committee
    - House tax proposals
  - Timing of White House announcements
  - Capital gains tax
    - Inflation premium clause
    - Effect on taxpayers
    - Campaign contributors
    - Congress's view
    - McGovern's campaign proposals
- Capital gains tax
  - Homeowners
    - Advantages of capital gains
    - Political effect
    - Senior citizens
  - McGovern rebuttal
- VAT
  - Connally's view
  - The President's policy
  - Public's expectation
    - Property tax reform



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Oct-06)

- Opposition to tax increase
- ACIR position
  - Sales tax
  - Effect on local revenue
  - Media coverage
    - New York Times*

Revenue sharing bill

- Shultz's recent conversation with Ehrlichman
- Retroactivity
- Administrative procedures
  - Federal government-recipient ratio
- Treasury Department opinion
  - Shultz's view
  - Timetable for fund allotment
  - Governors
  - Mayors
  - Option for releasing funds
    - The President's view

Parting remarks

- Paper

The President's schedule

- Saturday appointment
- Trip to Texas

Connally's schedule

Ehrlichman, et al., left at 5:59 pm.

Conversation No. 777-3

Date: September 14, 1972

Time: 6:00 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Oct-06)*

The President's schedule  
-Recent meeting  
-Recent telephone call from Julie Nixon Eisenhower

The President talked with the White House operator at 6:00 pm.

[Conversation No. 777-3A]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule  
-Time of meeting

Bull left at 6:00 pm.

Conversation No. 777-4

Date: September 14, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 6:00 pm and 6:05 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule

The President talked with Julie Nixon Eisenhower between 6:00 pm and 6:01 pm.

[Conversation No. 777-4A]

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 1m 3s ]

[END OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION]

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Oct-06)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 6:01 pm.

The President's schedule

- Possible signing ceremony for National Heart, Blood Vessel, Lung, and Blood Act, September 20, 1972
  - Edward M. Kennedy bill
    - Invitation to Kennedy
    - American Heart Association
- Ray Charles
  - Press photograph
  - Sickle cell anemia
- Signing ceremony
  - Kennedy
  - Political effects

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 6:05 pm.

Vietnam War

- Negotiations
  - Interim agreement
  - Possible statement
  - Endorsement

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 6:05 pm.

Conversation No. 777-5

Date: September 14, 1972

Time: 6:05 pm - 6:08 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

Vietnam War

- Negotiations
  - Interim agreement
  - House of Representatives action

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Oct-06)*

- End the War vote
- Tally

The President's schedule

- Andrei A. Gromyko visit
- Office appointment
- Dinner
- Sir Alexander F. ("Alec") Douglas-Home
- Dinner

Foreign policy

- William P. Rogers
- Media's perception
- Henry A. Kissinger
- Negotiations
- Results
- Secretary of State's function

Haldeman left at 6:08 pm.