



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

[Conversation No. 081-001](#)

[Conversation No. 081-002](#)

[Conversation No. 081-004](#)

Conversation No. 081-001

Date: October 22, 1971

Time: Unknown between 10:38 am and 11:59 pm

Location: Cabinet Room

George H. Boldt met with Arnold R. Weber, Dr. Neil H. Jacoby, William G. Caples, Kermit Gordon, Rocco C. Siciliano, Virgil B. Day, Robert Bassett, Leonard F. McCollum, Benjamin F. Biaggini, George Meany, I[lorwith] W. Abel, Leonard Woodcock, Floyd E. (“Red”) Smith, Frank E. Fitzsimmons, Dr. C. Jackson (“Dan”) Grayson, Jr., William W. Scranton, John William Queenan, William T. Colman, Jr., Marina von N. Whitman, J. Wilson Newman, and Robert F. Lanzillotti

[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

National economy

- Pay Board
- Price Commission
- Inflation
- Price Index
- Wage-price freeze
- Weber

[Breaks in conversation]

The President entered at 10:52 am

Greetings

National economy

- Government regulation
- Office of Price Administration [OPA]
- Initiation of Pay Board and Price Commission
- Voluntary support



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- Effect of controls
- Public support for wage-price freeze
- Controls and sanctions
- Success or failure
- White House support

### The President's previous meeting with Republican women

- End of Vietnam War
  - Comparisons
  - Long-term peace initiatives
    - [Thomas] Woodrow Wilson and League of Nations
    - United Nations [UN]
- Importance of United States' relations with Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] and People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Foreign policy
- Threat of nuclear war
- Challenge of peace
  - Paavo Nurmi
  - Running strategy

### World situation

- Germany, Japan
- Europe
- People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Taiwan
- Singapore
- Hong Kong
- USSR
- US, Western Europe, Eastern Europe/Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR], People's Republic of China [PRC], China
- Latin America, Africa
- US government
  - Competitiveness
  - Economy

### National economy



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- The President's August 15, 1971 speech
- High tariffs
- Roles of Pay Board and Price Commission

The President left at 11:09 pm

Conclusion of the meeting

[Recording is cut off while the conversation is in progress]

Boldt, et al. left at an unknown time before 11:59 pm

Conversation No. 081-002

Date: October 27, 1971  
Time: 3:48 pm - 5:22 pm  
Location: Cabinet Room

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman, John N. Mitchell, John B. Connally, George P. Shultz, Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger, Charles W. Colson, Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., Edwin L. Harper, Lewis A. Engman, and H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

Polls

- National issues
- Economy
- Vietnam
- Other issues
- Louis Harris, George H. Gallup
  - Comparison
- Personal issues
  - Economy, Vietnam
  - Other issues
  - Taxes, education



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Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[081-002-w001]

[Duration: 57s]

Issues used by Democratic candidates

- Focus on economy
- Other issues
  - Crime and drugs
  - Veterans
  - Agriculture
  - Environment
  - Education
  - Health and aging
  - Vietnam
  - Women's rights

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National economy

- Harris poll
- Unemployment projections for 1973

Projected 1972 domestic issues

Possible new programs for 1972

Research and development

- Vocational education

Proposals and programs before Congress



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### Polls

- Federal budget spending
  - Program areas
  - Education
  - Taxes
    - Types

### Taxes

- Problem areas
  - Property taxes
  - Parochial school aid
  - Value-added Tax [VAT]
    - Education
    - Equal Protection
      - California Supreme Court decision
  - Federal budget
- Support for schools
  - Property taxes
- Crime, health
  - Percentage of local taxes
- Federal
  - Value added Tax [VAT]
    - Percentage to states
    - Effect on school funding
      - Property tax
      - New York
  - Use
  - Rate
  - Effect on families
  - Income redistribution
  - Progressive compared with a flat rate
  - Key states
  - Advantages
  - Disadvantages
  - Areas eliminated
  - Effect on property taxes



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- Political accountability
- Effect on state taxes
  - Income tax
  - Sales tax
- Effect on constituency

### Aid to parochial schools

- Possible Congressional actions
  - Tax credit
  - Constitutionality
  - Cost

### Taxes

- Value added Tax [VAT]
  - Non-residential property
  - Effect on state and local taxes
- Possible use of tax credits
  - Popular perceptions
- The President
- Wilbur D. Mills
- Russell B. Long
- Possible Congressional action
  - Compared to welfare reform and revenue sharing

### Welfare reform

- Popular opinion
- Work requirements, family assistance

### Revenue sharing

- Popular opinion
- State and local government interest

### Government reorganization

### Possible Congressional actions

- Welfare reform, revenue sharing, reorganization



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- The President's opponents
- Value added Tax [VAT]

Parochial school aid

- Popular opinion
- Importance
- Political value
- Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's [HEW] views
- National Education Association's [NEA] views
- The President's constituency
  - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
  - Blue-collar Catholics
- The President contrasted with possible Democrat opponents
- Value

The President's programs

- Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
- Popular appeal
- Economic issues
- Changing political values
- Taxes
- The President's constituency
  - Domestic programs
  - Foreign policy

Polls

- Catholics
  - Harris

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/17/2017.*

*Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[081-002-w002]



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[Duration: 44s]

- Harris poll
  - The President vs. Kennedy or Edmund S. Muskie
  - 1968 election
    - Humphrey
    - Catholic vote

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- Parochial school aid
  - Compared to tax credits
  - Bible-belt Congressmen

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/17/2017. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[081-002-w003]

[Duration: 1m 55s]

- Catholic voters
  - 1960 election
    - John F. Kennedy
    - Roper and Gallup polls
  - Key states
    - New York
    - New Jersey
    - Ohio
    - Illinois
    - California
    - Pennsylvania
  - Texas



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Polls

- Catholic voters' concerns
- Total Catholic vote
  - New Jersey
  - New York
  - Pennsylvania
  - Connecticut

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Education

- Spending
- Budget concerns
- Significance as an issue
- Lobby
- Public concern
  - Taxes
- "Gut" issues
- Value added Tax [VAT] approach
  - Effect on state taxes
- Parochial school aid
  - Report
  - Popular opinion
  - Supporters
- Effect of post-World War II baby boom
- Teacher shortage
- Current situation
- Votes on bond issues
- Compared with other issues
- Property taxes
  - MacElroy Commission
  - California Supreme Court decision

Property taxes

- As an issue



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- Effect on local officials
- Education
  - Blue-collar Catholic voters

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/17/2017. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[081-002-w004]

[Duration: 1m 57s]

1970 state by state analysis of Catholic vote

- Income
- Republican versus Democrat
- Blue-collar
  - New York
    - James L. Buckley
    - Charles E. Goodell
    - Thomas J. Dodd, Lowell P. Weiker, Jr.
  - New Jersey
  - Connecticut
    - Lawyers vote
- Property taxes

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Taxes

- Value added Tax [VAT]
- Balanced federal budget
- Other taxes
- Value added Tax [VAT]
  - Sales tax
  - Property taxes



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- Education
- Titling of legislation
  - “Property Tax Relief Act”
- Aid to parochial schools
- Taxes on farm property
- Property taxes
- State taxes
- Titling of legislation

### Education

- Public and private schools
- University of California
- Whittier College
- Catholic schools
  - Fordham University
  - School prayer
- Effect of possible closing of parochial schools
- University of Texas’ investments
- Private versus public schools
- Prayer, busing
- Southern white schools

### National economy

- Balanced federal budget
  - Value added Tax [VAT]
  - Uncontrollable expenses

### Taxes

- Value added Tax [VAT]
  - State taxes
  - Political effect
  - California

### Federal judges

### Taxes



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- Value added Tax [VAT]
  - Business community
  - Effect on other taxes
  - Popular opinion

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 3:48 pm

The President's schedule

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 5:22 pm

Taxes

- Value added Tax [VAT]
  - Fiscal responsibility
  - Effect on local property taxes

Congressional vote

The President's law firm

- Bonds

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*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 10/17/2017.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[081-002-w005]  
[Duration: 26s]

David Packard  
-Opinion

General conversation

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The President, *et al.* left at 5:22 pm

Conversation No. 081-004

Date: November 2, 1971  
Time: 3:37 pm - 4:35 pm  
Location: Cabinet Room

The President met with Rogers C. B. Morton, Maurice H. Stans, James D. Hodgson, Elliot L. Richardson, George W. Romney, George P. Shultz, J. Philip Campbell, David Maxwell, John D. Ehrlichman, Frank C. Carlucci, Egil G. ("Bud") Krogh, Jr., William L. Gifford, Neal Ball, Geoffrey C. Shepard, and Dwight Ink

[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

Government reorganization

- Rural Electrification Administration [REA]
- Forest Service
- Farm Home Administration
- Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
- Fragmentation of US Department of Agriculture [USDA]
- Handling jurisdictional disputes between Congressional committees
  - William R. Poage
  - Department of Natural Resources [DNR]
  - John D. Dingell, Jr.
  - Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW] as example
  - Possible Congressional reorganization
    - US Department of Agriculture [USDA], Department of Labor, Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
  - Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW] as example
  - Forthcoming testimony before Holifield Committee
  - The President's Congressional experience
- US Department of Agriculture [USDA] reorganization
  - Farmers' view
  - Titles



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- Community development
- Titles
- Executive pay schedules
- Ranks and titles
  - California example
  - Service department examples
- Titles
- Congressional Committees' jurisdiction
- National Journal* article
- Bureaucrats' interaction with constituencies
  - Transportation
  - John A. Volpe
- Oil company support
  - Energy
  - Department of Natural Resources [DNR]
- Senate Public Works Committee
  - Tennessee Valley Authority [TVA]
  - Regional commissions
  - Revenue sharing
  - Joseph M. Montoya
- Community Development
  - Abraham A. Ribicoff
  - Chet Holifield
    - Hearings
- Natural resources
  - Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
    - Hearings
    - Department of Natural Resources [DNR]
- John L. McClellan
  - William L. Gifford
- Holifield
- Frank J. Horton
- The President's 1955 trip to Latin America
  - Pan-American highway
  - Bureau of Public Roads
  - Bureaucracy



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[Unintelligible]

[081-004-w001]

[Duration: 3m 8s]

General conversation

George W. Romney

-Schedule

-Meet the press

The President's schedule

-Meeting with Alexander M. Haig

One percent of bill

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The President, *et al.* left at 4:35 pm