



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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

[Conversation No. 082-001](#) [Conversation No. 082-002](#) [Conversation No. 082-004](#)

Conversation No. 082-001

Date: November 4, 1971

Time: 5:06 pm - 6:23 pm

Location: Cabinet Room

The President met with Samuel L. Devine, Carleton J. King, Delwin M. Clawson, William L. Dickinson, John E. Hunt, John H. Kyl, James M. Collins, Robert H. Michel, John Roussetot, Clark MacGregor, William E. Timmons, Richard K. Cook, Alexander P. Butterfield, and John D. Ehrlichman

General conversation

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

- Record as Governor of Maryland
- White House staff concerns
 - Firing by the President
- Meeting, September 23, with Congressmen
 - Rowland Evans and Robert D. Novak column, October 26
 - Statement regarding possible candidacy in 1972
 - Marriott Hotel
 - Attendees

John B. Connally

- Loyalty
- Knowledge of economics
- Spokesman

[*This segment was declassified on 02/28/2002.*]

[National Security]



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[082-001-w001]

[Duration: 27s]

Trips to Vietnam and Japan

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/13/2017. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[082-001-w002]

[Duration: 1m 31s]

Vice President Agnew

- Republican popularity
- Support of administration
- Fundraising
 - Satisfying donors
- Hurt base if replaced
 - Connally [?]
- Possible candidacy in 1972

The President's Supreme Court nominees

- Constituents' reaction
- Lewis F. Powell, Jr.
 - Speeches
 - Contrasted with William O. Douglas
- William H. Rehnquist
 - Past statements
- The President's opponents' reaction
 - Powell



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- Rehnquist
 - Contrasted with Byron R. (“Whizzer”) White
 - Record

- Rehnquist
 - Views of counsel of Arizona State Central Committee
 - Views of Justice Department lawyers
 - Handling of Pentagon Papers case
- Future appointments

Busing

- Supreme Court decision
- Popular opinion

Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]

- Money for child care
 - Possible veto
- Hunt
- Director
- Constituents
- Pending legislation
- Constituents’ view in Camden County, New Jersey
 - Dwight D. Eisenhower
- The President’s conversation with Frank C. Carlucci
- Pending legislation
 - Possible veto

Busing

- John N. Mitchell’s intervention
 - Texas, Tennessee, and Michigan
- Possible constitutional amendment
 - Howard H. Baker, Jr. and Robert P. Griffin
- The President’s schedule
 - Mitchell
 - Florida
- Possible legislation
 - Ehrlichman and Mitchell



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- Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.'s amendment
- Constitutionality
- Joseph Alioto's election
- Indictment
- Stand on busing
- Griffin's views
- Ehrlichman's role
- Rehnquist
- Options
- Possible constitutional amendment
- Role of the President
- Possible legislation
- Democrats' possible votes
- Possible constitutional amendment
- California Constitution
- Ruling of Alabama state court
- Mitchell's possible action
- Federal court in Birmingham

Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]

- Pending legislation
- Child development
- Possible veto
- Legal aid

Busing

- Possible statement by the President
- Justice Department intervention
- The President's conversation with Mitchell
- De facto* versus *de jure* segregation
- Pasadena, California case
- Possible Supreme Court decision
- Northern states
- Pontiac, Michigan decision

United States' role in world



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- Conservative House members' views
- Foreign aid
 - Senate vote
 - United Nations' vote on Taiwan
 - Robert J. Dole

United Nations vote on Taiwan

- Delegates' reaction
 - George H. W. Bush

Bush

- Speeches

[*This segment was declassified on 02/28/2002.*]

[National Security]

[082-001-w003]

[Duration: 11m 20s]

Foreign aid program

- Views of J. William Fulbright and Frank Church
- The President's meetings with Kofi A. Busia and Indira Gandhi
- Military vs. economic assistance
- Korea
 - Reduction of forces
- Thailand and Japan
- United States Treaty Obligations
- Military Assistance
- Upper Volta
- Liberals' view
 - Greece
 - Yugoslavia and Rumania
 - Greece
- Greece



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- NATO members' views
- Turkey
- Thailand
- Cambodia
 - Nixon Doctrine
 - Media coverage of military situation
 - Washington Post, New York Times, CBS
 - United States presence
- Laos
- Thailand
 - Effect of fall of Southeast Asia
 - Cambodian military effort

Vietnam

- Negotiations
- United States aid program
- Military capability

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 10/13/2017. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]

[082-001-w003]

[Duration: 3s]

- Casualties
 - Bob Mann[?], head of the president's secret service detail

- Death of son, 11/3
 - Contrasted with situation in January 1969
- Views of Fulbright, Church, Clifford P. Case, Alan Cranston and Birch Bayh
- The President's Program
- Foreign Aid Program



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- Possible Continuing Resolution
- Effect on Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Korea

Japan

- Situation in world
- Possible actions

Foreign Aid

- Importance

Foreign Aid

- Anti-Ballistic Missile [ABM], Minute Men, Polaris
- Possible inclusion of military aid in Defense Department budget
 - The President's conversation with Melvin R. Laird
- Senators' votes
 - Hawks and doves
- J. William Fulbright
- Continuing resolution
 - George H. Mahon, Frank T. Bow
 - Rules Committee
 - Cooper-Church Amendment
 - Prisoners of War [POWs]
 - Presidential powers

Vietnam

- Southern Democrats
- The President's opponents
 - Edmund S. Muskie and Hubert H. Humphrey
- Democrats' program contrasted with the President's
 - South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos
- Prisoners of War [POWs]



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[This segment was declassified on 02/28/2002.]

[National Security]

[082-001-w004]

[Duration: 16s]

Vietnam

-Negotiations

-North Vietnamese position

-Nguyen Van Thieu

-Possible congressional action

-Prisoners of War [POWs]

-Withdrawal

-The President's handling

-Cambodia and Laos operations

-Importance

-Winston S. Churchill's account of March 21, 1918

-British commanding general, [Forename unknown] Jackson

-Erich F. W. Ludendorff and Paul von Hindenburg's offensive

[This segment was declassified on 02/28/2002.]

[National Security]

[082-001-w005]

[Duration: 52s]

Laos operation

-Negotiations

-Prisoners of War [POWs]



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-Possible action against North Vietnam

- Eisenhower
- Congressional action
- Troop withdrawals
- Congressional action

Corn

- Strategic reserves
 - William R. Poage
 - Pending legislation
 - Carl B. Albert
 - Possible administration action
 - John C. Whitaker
 - Possible grain sale to the Soviet Union
- Possible grain sale to the Soviet Union
 - Administration negotiations with maritime unions
- Loan program
 - Dock strike
- Possible grain sale to the Soviet Union
 - Henry A. Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- Prices
- Dock strike
- Effects on states
 - Contrasted with wheat states
 - Charles A. Halleck
 - Corn-hog ratio
- Pending legislation

Dock strike

- Mobile, Alabama
 - Soybeans
- Possible Taft-Hartley injunction



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-George P. Shultz

-Soybeans

-National Labor Relations Board [NLRB] injunction

-Soybeans

Grain elevator strike

-Taft-Hartley injunctions

Dock strike

-Transportation legislation

-Mobile

Busing

The President's forthcoming trips to the People's Republic of China [PRC] and the Soviet Union [USSR]

United Nations [UN]

-Taiwan

[*This segment was declassified on 02/28/2002.*]

[National Security]

[082-001-w006]

[Duration: 11m 18s]

Taiwan, the President's Forthcoming Trips to the People's Republic of China [PRC] and the Soviet Union [USSR]

-Purpose

-United States military strength compared to the Soviet Union

-Arms control agreement

-Middle East

-Vietnam

-The President's knowledge of communism

-Chou En-Lai, Mao Tse-Tung, Leonid I. Brezhnev and Aleksei Kosygin



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- Popular apprehension
- Role of state department
- Indira Gandhi
 - Meeting with the President
- The President's conversations with Charles de Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer in 1967
- Japan
- State Department reaction
- Effect on South Pacific nations
 - The President's conversation with prime Minister William McMahon of Australia
 - Singapore
 - Lee Kuan Yew's view
 - Malaysia
 - Tun Razak's view
 - Taiwan
 - United States' treaty obligations

Presentation of gifts by the President

- Bella S. Abzug

Congressmen's voting records

- White House lists
- Foreign policy

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 10/13/2017.]

[Unintelligible]
 [082-001-w007]
 [Duration: 30s]

Unknown person's trip to Miami



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Defeat in polls

General conversation

Possible assassination of the President
-Vice President Agnew

Corn issue

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 10/13/2017.]

[Unintelligible]

[082-001-w008]

[Duration: 36s]

General Conversation

Russians

The President, et al. left at 6:23 pm

Conversation No. 082-002

Date: November 12, 1971

Time: 5:03 pm - unknown before 11:59 pm

Location: Cabinet Room



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The President met with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, William P. Rogers, Melvin R. Laird, General George A. Lincoln, John N. Mitchell, John N. Irwin, II, Richard M. Helms, [Name withdrawn], General John D. Ryan, Ronald I. Spiers, Gerard C. Smith, Philip J. Farley, Spurgeon M. Keeny, Jr., John J. McCloy, General Royal B. Allison, J. Graham Parsons, Paul H. Nitze, Colonel Richard T. Kennedy, Dr. K. Wayne Smith, Helmut (“Hal”) Sonnenfeldt, Henry A. Kissinger, General Alexander M. Haig, Jr., and Gardiner L. Tucker

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 10/13/2017.]

[Unintelligible]

[082-002-w002]

[Duration: 2m15s]

General conversation

Work place

Briefs



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[National Security]

[082-002-w001]

[Duration: 1h 13m 53s]

Arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union

- William P. Rogers's press conference
- Anti-Ballistic Missile [ABM]
 - United States's position
 - Extent of Soviet system
 - Extent of Safeguard system
 - Soviet proposal
 - Possible United States response
 - Possible hard site defense
 - United States position
- Possible Soviet position
 - SS 9
- Difficulties
- Value
- Anti-Ballistic Missile [ABM]
 - Possible Congressional action
 - Soviet proposal
 - Value
 - Effect
- Submarines (SLBM)
 - Soviet capacity
 - United States program
 - Vs. Anti-Ballistic Missile [ABM]
 - Popular opinion
- United States position
 - Melvin R. Laird
 - Alaskan Seals
 - Popular opinion
- Submarines



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- Soviet capability vs. United States capability
- Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles [ICBMs]
- Submarines
 - Soviet capability vs. United States capability
 - The President's discussion with Andrei Gromyko
 - Soviet Union's intentions
- Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles [ICBMs]
- United States strategy
- Submarines
- United States strategy
 - Possible congressional action
 - Administration's possible public position
- Soviet views
- Soviet capability vs. United States capability
- Possible congressional reaction
- United States strategy
- Issues being negotiated
- Soviet capability
- Possible Congressional reaction
- The President's schedule
- Anti-Ballistic Missile [ABM]
- Timing
- Submarine-launched Ballistic Missile [SLBM]
- The President's schedule
- Submarines
 - United States building program
- Joseph Alsop's columns

The President, Rogers, and Kissinger left at 6:22 pm



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[Unintelligible]

[082-002-w003]

[Duration: 2m48s]

General conversation

Gerard C. Smith

General George A. Lincoln

Publicity

Gerard C. Smith

The Vice President, et al. left at an unknown time before 11:59 pm

Conversation No. 082-004

Date: November 15, 1971

Time: Unknown between 12:00 am and 3:36 pm

Location: Cabinet Room

John B. Connally met with Paul W. McCracken, Arthur F. Burns, J. Philip Campbell, Maurice H. Stans, James D. Hodgson, George W. Romney, George P. Shultz, Virginia H. Knauer, General George A. Lincoln, Herbert Stein, Peter M. Flanigan, Joseph Mullaney, Earl D. Rhode, Richard B. Cheney, Albert E. Abrahams, Marvin H. Kusters, Joseph E. Malaga, Richard J. Alfultis, William I. Greener, Jr., James T. Lynn, Laurence H. Silberman, Donald A. Paarlberg, and J. Charles Partee

National economy



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- Price adjustments
- Vote

The President, Donald H. Rumsfeld, Dr. C. Jackson (“Dan”) Grayson, Jr., and George H. Boldt entered at 2:02 pm; members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting

National economy

- Cost of Living Council
 - President’s schedule
 - Connally
- Pay Board and Price Commission
 - Accomplishments
 - Success of the President’s program
 - Prospects for 1972
 - Phases I and II
 - Television appearance
- Connally’s view
- The President’s program
 - Roles of McCracken and Burns
 - Success of Phase I
 - Congressmen’s comments
 - Movement into Phase II
 - Rumsfeld
 - Inflation

Pending continuing resolution

- Senate action
- Effect of non-passage

The President left at 2:13 pm

Vote on option 2

Question on option 2

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 3:36 pm