



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 76-1

Date: September 17, 1971

Time: Unknown after 2:30 pm until 4:24 pm

Location: Cabinet Room

John G. Tower, Wallace F. Bennett, William Proxmire, Allen J. Ellender, Milton R. Young, John J. Sparkman, Norris Cotton, Harrison A. Williams, Jr., Jacob K. Javits, Herman E. Talmadge, Jack R. Miller, Robert C. Byrd, Hugh Scott, Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield, Wright Patman, George H. Mahon, Frank T. Bow, William L. Springer, Albert H. Quie, William R. Poage, Page Belcher, [Thomas] Hale Boggs, Gerald R. Ford, Carl B. Albert, George P. Shultz, Herbert Stein, Charls E. Walker, Clark MacGregor, and William E. Timmons met

[General conversation/Unintelligible]

The President entered at 2:38 pm

Schedule

- Meetings attendees
- Late arrivals

[General conversation/Unintelligible]

Meeting agenda

- The President's briefing
- Shultz's briefing
 - Views on current developments
- Members of House and Senate present

Economic policy

- Meeting on post-freeze action
 - Organized labor
 - Business
 - Agriculture
 - State and local officials
 - Consumer groups
 - The President's role
 - Miscellaneous interest groups
 - Cost of Living Council members
- Value of meetings
 - Broad range of views on issues and options
 - Representation of public view

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-Labor, agriculture

John [B. Connally?] entered at an unknown time after 2:38 pm

Greetings

Economic policy

- Differing focus of each special interest group
 - Need for wide base of support
 - Wage-price freeze
 - Phase II
- Input for post-free options
 - September 30 through mid-October time frame
 - Date for further action
- Purpose of present meeting
 - Congressional concerns
 - Tax package
 - Freeze coverage
 - Restraint
 - Shultz's overview
 - Budget
 - Economy
 - Future action
 - Questions
- The President's announcement of the freeze
 - Establishment of freeze
 - Actions in field
 - Cost of Living Council
 - Administration of freeze
 - Office of Emergency Preparedness
 - General George A. Lincoln's group
 - Wage-price controls
 - Supply of detailed personnel by the Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
 - Agricultural Service County Agent System
 - Other miscellaneous agencies
 - Total personnel
 - Questions
- Wage-price freeze
 - Cost of Living Council
 - Policy statements
 - Public questions
 - Interpretations

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- Three principles
 - Consistency of application across the board
 - Wage, rent, price, salary situations
 - Policy statements
 - Cost of Living Council
 - Support
- Stringency of applications
 - Walker
 - Exceptions
- Reasonableness
 - Variations
- Support for freeze
 - Letters
 - Number of complaints
- Unnamed governor
- Unnamed business
 - Dividends
 - Wages, salaries, prices, rents
- Statistics on the effectiveness of the freeze
 - August 1971
- Freeze's effectiveness
 - Post-freeze period
 - General consensus
 - Success
- Duration of freeze
 - Long term freeze
 - Effects
 - Inequities
 - Short term freeze
 - 90 days
- Freeze announcement
 - Focus
 - Phase II
 - Public view
 - Situation after freeze
 - Greater comprehensiveness
- The President's meetings with different groups
- Cost of Living Council meetings
 - Acceptance of freeze
 - Administration policy in meetings
 - The President's decision on Phase II
- Open discussion

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- Program after freeze
 - Labor
 - Wages
 - Prices
 - Need for voluntary cooperation
 - Government sanction
- Views of members of the Senate and House of Representatives
 - Differences
- Views of labor organizations
 - Application, organization
 - Wages
- Views of agricultural groups
 - Application, organization
 - Wages
- Length of next phase
 - 90 days
 - Indefinite period
- Present group's views on the international economic situation
 - Agriculture group's questions
 - Effect of international situation on agricultural exports
 - Duration of surcharge
 - Javits
 - Previous leaders' meeting
 - Direction of administration policy
- Views and criticism of group present
 - Wage-price freeze
- Focus of the House of Representatives
 - Automatic deferral of federal employees benefits
 - House Committee reports
 - Post Office and Civil Service subcommittee
 - Resolution
 - Impeachment
 - The French Revolution
 - Congressman
 - Sensitivity of issue
- The budget
 - Administration's position
 - 90-day freeze
 - Effects on private industry
 - September 16 meeting with governors, mayors, county executives
 - Wage freeze application to mayors, county executives
 - Effects on teachers

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Tape Subject Log

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- Salaries of government employees
 - General Schedule [GS] employees
 - Yearly review
 - Changes in GS
 - Comparability standard
 - Application to military personnel
 - Blue collar employee Wage Grade [WG] system
 - Adaptation of system
 - Postponement of wage increase
 - Comparability principle
 - Phase I
 - Private sector restraint
 - Administration policy
 - Employers and employees
 - Private
 - State and local
 - Federal
- Low number of employees
 - Goal
 - Control over budget outlays
 - Effects on fiscal and monetary policy
 - Lack of controls
 - Success
- Federal employees compared with private industry
 - Government employees rights
 - Strike job actions
 - Increases
 - Building trades
 - State and local levels
 - Number of employees
 - New York City
 - Wage demands
 - Effects on cost of living
 - The United States
- Albert and Boggs
 - October announcement date for further action
- Tripartite board
 - Voluntary controls
 - Government controls
 - Labor and management representatives
 - Government employees and teachers
 - Discrimination

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- Representation of government
- Cost of Living Council
 - Industrial labor spokesperson
 - Inequities
 - Representation of state and local governments
 - Teachers, state and local employees
 - Stein
 - Views of teachers
 - Representation by the American Federation of Labor-
Congress of Industrial Organizations [AFL-CIO]
 - Relations with government employees
 - Unrepresented, unorganized employees
 - Management
 - Small groups
 - Farmers
- Government control
 - Freeze or other type of control
 - Price system
 - Farm organization
 - Black market
 - Beef prices
 - Hog prices
- Farm area representation
 - Nationwide distribution
 - Miller
 - New York State
 - Californians
 - Communications with agricultural economic sector
 - Effect of agricultural surcharge
 - Effect on foreign countries
 - US favorable balance with agricultural exports
 - Long term developments
- Budget
- International monetary action
 - Long term solutions
 - International monetary crisis
 - Unnamed New York banker
 - Gold
 - Short term solutions
 - Recurring issues
 - Connally
- Effects on competitors and the United States

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Tape Subject Log

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- Adjustments
 - Revaluation of currency
 - Trade barriers
 - Non-tariff barriers
 - Europe and Asia
 - Japan
 - US role in the world
 - US costs of defending the free world
 - Surcharge
 - Permanent solution option
 - US products and investments
 - Balance of payment
 - International crisis
- Agriculture as beneficiary
 - Revaluation of currency
 - Competitiveness of US products
 - Europe and Japan
 - Balance of payments
 - Short term view
 - Connally
 - Negotiations
 - View of the world

International economics

[To listen to the segment (2m20s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-556.]

- Legislation
- Phase II
 - Congressional action
 - Economic Stabilization Act
 - Legislative authority
 - Arthur F. Burns
 - Presidential power
 - Guidelines
 - Bipartisan action

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Congressional action
- Comparison with World War II-era economic freeze
 - Experience in Congress
 - Inflation
 - Equal law
 - Equitable action
 - Interest rate rise
 - Price rise
 - Wage rise
 - Cooperation with the President
 - Congress
 - Effects of war and patriotic fervor
 - Peacetime efforts
 - Wages, prices
 - Dangers of currency inflation
 - Post-World War I example in Germany
 - France
- Interest rates
 - Shultz
 - Dividend rates
 - Excess profits
 - Business bonuses
 - Interest rate decline
 - Meeting with Proxmire
- Current status
 - Relation to wage-price action
 - Housing
 - Mortgage interest rates
 - Consumer credit
 - Borrowers
 - Bankers
 - Effect of ceiling in interest
 - Loans
 - Collateral
 - Effects of forced low interest rates
 - 1932 comparison
 - President Herbert C. Hoover
 - Reconstruction Finance Corporation legislation
 - Banks, railroads, insurance companies
 - Loans
- Needed investment
- Views of economists

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Excess profits tax
- Limit on profits
- Effectiveness of Phase II
- Business, labor, governors, mayors, agricultural interests
 - Meetings with the President
 - Profits question
 - Discipline on costs
- Unemployment
 - Industrial expansion
 - 5 million unemployment
 - Industrial capacity
 - Industrial economic stimulation
 - Tax cut
 - Social Security tax
 - Welfare reform
 - Profit freeze
 - Wage increase
 - Relation to productivity
 - Price decrease
 - Profit ceiling
 - Profits as residue
- Phase II's effects on gross profits
 - Control of net profits
 - Increased wages
 - Excess profits control
 - Labor
 - Increased wages
 - Excess profits
 - Net profit basis
 - Growth profit control
 - Wage-price control
 - Management ingenuity
- Mansfield
 - Profits
 - Dividends
 - Profits
- New capital investment
 - Creation of new jobs
 - Expansion, profits
- Percentage of Federal government dollar
 - Welfare reform

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Tape Subject Log

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- Revenue sharing
- Economy's status in relation to full capacity
 - Increase capacity
 - Investment tax credit
 - Job development credit
 - Depreciation allowance
- John F. Kennedy's request for excess profit tax
 - Investment tax credit
 - US economy
 - Tax revenue
 - 1961
 - US economic capacity
 - Less than 1971
 - President Kennedy's economic advisors
- US plant capacity
 - Accelerated depreciation
 - Efficiency
 - Competition in world market
 - Short range plans
 - US industrial plant
 - Comparisons
 - Japan and Germany
 - Steel plant locations [Japan?]
 - Coal unloading
 - Cleanliness of Japanese plant
- Effects of World War II
 - US industries
 - Germany's and Japan's new industry
 - Governments
 - Ludwig Erhard
 - Stimulating plans for plant development
 - Investments for world competition
 - Creation of more jobs for the US
 - Tax incentives
 - Effects on business, general public
 - White House business contacts
- Investment tax credit
- Job development credit
- Productivity Council
 - Agriculture
 - Productivity
 - Modernizing plants

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- Small business
- Modernizing workers
- Power
 - Wartime
- No strike pledge from labor
- Local productivity council
 - Workplace issues
 - Absenteeism
 - Alcoholism
 - Rebuilding
- Labor
- Interest rates
 - Causes
 - Bankers
- Phase I
 - Political effect
 - Reason for 90-day freeze
 - Duration
 - The President's voluntary program
 - Competitors
 - Wage freeze
 - Options
 - Support for the President
 - Recommendations for subsequent legislation
 - Announcement of Phase II
 - Effect of politics
 - Congressional leaders
 - Mansfield
 - Albert
 - Ford
 - Freeze announcement
 - Timing
 - International monetary issue
 - Prior consultation
 - Phase II announcement
 - Cooperation of group
 - April 30 deadline for law
 - Duration of Phase II
 - Extension of deadline
 - Sparkman
 - Ford and Albert
 - Program need for legislation

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Tape Subject Log
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- Revenue sharing
- Bills relating to controls
- Support for the President
- Byrd
- Legislation
- New legislation

Gifts

[General conversation/Unintelligible]

[General conversation/Unintelligible]

The President, *et al.* left at 4:24 pm

Conversation No. 76-2

Date: September 17, 1971

Time: Unknown between 4:24 pm and 4:26 pm

Location: Cabinet Room

Unknown people met

Departure from the Cabinet Room

The unknown people left at an unknown time before 4:26 pm

Conversation No. 76-4

Date: September 20, 1971

Time: 3:01 pm - 4:40 pm

Location: Cabinet Room

The President met with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, William P. Rogers, Melvin R. Laird, John B. Connally, General George A. Lincoln, John N. Mitchell, Richard M. Helms, Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, David Packard, John N. Irwin, II, Henry A. Kissinger, General Alexander

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M. Haig, Jr., Colonel Richard T. Kennedy, John H. Holdridge, and [Name withdrawn]
[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security]

[Duration: 12m 43s]

VIETNAM

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[To listen to the segment (43m17s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-556, E-557.]

- Focus on issue
 - Detroit News*
 - Possible demonstrators
 - Report, President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
 - Thursday demonstration
 - Detroit
 - Vietnam
 - Response
 - Possible speech by Rogers at the United Nations
- Scheduled fall demonstrations
 - Congressional views
 - Caucuses
 - Democrats and Republicans
 - Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
 - Amendment
- Congressional action
 - Military procurement bill
 - Amendments
 - Foreign Assistance Act

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

-Senate

US foreign policy

The President left at 4:40 pm*[To listen to the segment (31m46s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-557.]*

Agnew, et al, left at an unknown time before 5:02 pm

Conversation No. 76-6

Date: September 21, 1971

Time: 9:36 am - 11:13 am

Location: Cabinet Room

The President met with Virginia H. Knauer, Eunice P. Howe, Dr. Carmen Busquets, George A. Johnson, Dr. Stewart M. Lee, Dr. Jean Mayer, Janet J. Rathe, Jacob Clayman, Dr. Wilma Donahue, Dr. Stewart Lee Richardson, Jr., Solomon Harge, Gary K. Nelson, Mrs. Oscar C. Sowards, Donald Livingston, Foster J. Pratt, Lucille H. Shriver, Joseph Smith, James P. Sullivan, Thomas G. Walters, Colston E. Warne, and Don S. Willner; 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]

[General conversation/Unintelligible]

Economics

-Group meetings in the Cabinet Room following the August 15, 1971 economic
 action

- Organized labor
- Business
- Leaders of Congress
- Governors

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Mayors
- County officials
- People of the US
 - Consumer group
- Groups as representatives of the nation
- Agriculture
 - Farmers
- Impact of wage-price freeze
 - Effects on consumers
- Budgets
 - Federal, state, county, city
- Consumer attitude
- Top White House advisors
 - Secretary of the Treasury
 - Council of Economic Advisors [William E. Simon]
 - George P. Shultz, Knauer
- Appreciation for the President
- The US economy
 - Consumer Advisory Council
 - Background
 - Inflation
- White House meeting
 - Congressional leaders meeting
 - First meeting as group
 - Howe
 - Background
 - Automobile salesperson
 - Automobile insurance
 - Phase I economic action
 - Prices
 - 1972
 - Consumer discipline
 - Cost of Living Council
- Consumer representatives
 - Voluntary member consumer organizations
 - Suggestions
 - Public members
 - Lee
 - Background
- International Trade Commission
- Simon [?]
 - Free enterprise

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- University of Chicago
 - Phase II
 - Economic policy
 - Effects on democracy
 - Producer and consumer interests
 - Minority views
 - Economic well-being of consumer majority
 - Economic well-being of producers minority
 - Effects on imports
 - Effects on quality and price competition
 - Domestic production
 - Effects on inflation
 - Domestic producers
 - Need for liberal import policy
 - US goods
 - Competition with imports
- Commission's long-range goals
- The President's speech to Congress
 - The President's policies
 - Effects on consumers
 - Effects on US spirit
- John B. Connally
- Major US labor and business leaders
 - Protectionist policy
 - Lobby
 - Free trade
- Commission on trade
 - Minority report on labor
 - Free trade
- Regional attitudes throughout the US
 - Surcharge
 - New England
 - Oil
 - Textile industry
 - Free trade
 - Effects on jobs and industry
 - Hong Kong
 - Italy
 - Spain
- US world competition
 - Effect on the US
 - Consumers

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Effects on US political forces
- Washington
- American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations [AFL-CIO]
- Automobile industry
 - Japanese imports
 - Surcharge
 - Profits of US corporations
 - World trade
 - Competition
 - US labor
 - Congress
 - Stability of US dollar
- Warne
 - Background
 - Controls
- Phase II
 - Resolution
 - Consumer Federation of America
 - Overall price freeze
 - Selectivity
 - Ceilings
 - Consumer knowledge
 - Enforcement of orders
 - Office of Price Administration [OPA] World War II precedent
 - Participation of consumers local price board
 - Educational effect
 - Community support
 - Consumer responsibility
- Proposed legislation
 - Price increases in concentrated industries
 - Carey Estes Kefauver
 - Capacity
 - Proposal
 - Accounting
 - Hearings
 - Orders
- Low index prices
 - Low import quotas
 - Massachusetts
 - Protected prices
 - Competition
 - Airfares

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Hotels
- Consumer's union experience
 - Amount of homes
 - Influence of business
- OPA
- Social Security
 - Augmentation of payments
 - Purchase of bonds
 - Current wage freeze
 - Pressure
 - Excess profit tax
 - Advertising
 - Impact on purchasing levels
 - Impact on savings levels
- Savings institutions
 - Objectives of the President's program
 - Consumption
 - Effects of advertising
 - Social objectives
- Harge
 - Background
 - Consumer Protection Association
 - New member of Consumer Advisory Council
- Work
 - Cleveland, Ohio
 - Funding
 - Consumer Protection Association
 - National and state levels
 - Interest groups
 - Business
 - Labor
 - Enforcement of wage-price freeze
 - Wage increase
 - Supermarket prices
 - Consumers
 - Present system
 - Independent and consumer organizations
 - Bureaucracy
- Willner
 - Consumer Federation of America
 - Membership
 - Phase II

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Tape Subject Log

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- Freeze
 - Questions
- Universal burden-sharing of sacrifices
- Enforcement machinery
- Consumer representation
 - All levels
 - Washington, DC
 - Councils
 - Decisions
 - Advice
- Federal government
- National policy
 - Local participation
- Consumer income increase
 - Freezing of prices
- Smith
 - Neighborhood Consumer Information
 - Consumer union
 - Long-term investment
 - Business
 - Labor and wages
 - Productivity increase
 - Effect on business
 - Industry and business
 - As competitors
 - Product quality standards
 - Consumer union
 - Advertising
 - Sanctions
 - Local agencies
 - Enforcement authority
 - Revenue
 - Consumer
 - Decisions
 - Tax reinvestment
 - Employment
 - Product quality
 - Agriculture
- Richardson
 - Louisiana State University
 - Louisiana Consumer League
 - Wage-price freeze

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Spirit of the US
- Market
- Successful ways
- Consumer participation
 - Unknown volunteer
 - Effects on prices
 - Plumbing
 - Buses
 - Used cars
 - Food
 - Health care
 - Representatives
- Consumer involvement
 - College students
 - Wholesale scale
 - Manufacturing scale
 - Visibility to other consumers
 - Voluntary surveillance
 - Average prices
 - Louisiana
 - Used cars
 - New houses
 - New products
 - Loopholes
- Nelson
 - Attorney General of Arizona
 - National Association of Attorneys General
 - Supreme Court
 - Football
 - Results of game
 - Field goal
 - Federal government
 - Agency for consumer protection
 - Consumer protectionists
 - Enforcement
 - Connally
 - Robert Martin
 - Attorney General for Texas
 - Antitrust measures
 - Department of Justice
 - Local prices
 - Competition

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- Public relations
- Consumer protection and information
- Wage-price control
 - Consumer education
 - High prices
- Budget
 - Problem solving
 - Low income
 - New consumers
 - Poverty level
 - Wage increases
 - Contrast of wages
 - Inflation
 - Retroactive rules
- Women's liberation
- Sowards
 - Citizens' Commission for Consumer Protection [Kentucky]
 - Consumer affairs
 - Women's issues
 - Food costs
 - Health and nutrition
- Phase II
 - Foreign trade balance
 - Cost of Living
 - Food products
 - Ways and means of handling
 - Subsidies
 - Consumption
 - Venezuela
 - Manufacturers and consumers
 - Increased competition
 - Tax deduction
- Livingston
 - Department of Consumer Affairs, California
 - Phase II structure
 - National Council
 - Public members
 - Representation
 - Business
 - Labor
 - Consumers
 - Members of community

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- Impact
 - Wage-price freeze
 - Credibility need
 - State and local levels
 - Federal, state relationships
- Enforcement machinery staffing
- Public Employment Act
- National Council
- Walters
 - National Association of Retired Federal Employees
 - Impact of economic action
 - Membership
 - Fixed income
 - Wage increases
 - Food, rent
 - Permanent bureaucratic structure
 - Support of the President's program
 - Two-thirds of Federal government retirees
 - \$350.00 per month
 - Percentage of women
- Pratt
 - American Association of Retired Persons
 - Price freeze
 - Support for the President
 - Phase II
 - Inflation
 - Program
 - Consumers
 - Poverty levels
 - Retired citizens action
- Busquets
 - Member White House Consumer Advisory Council
 - Associate Professor of Agricultural Education, University of Puerto Rico
 - Specialty training
 - Freeze
 - Situation in Puerto Rico
- National Federation of Business and Professional Women's clubs
 - Shriver
 - Tax structure
 - Single and retired people
 - Social Security
- Consumers

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- Consumer League
- Portland
 - Model Cities Program
 - Budget
 - Wage-price freeze
 - Psychological action
 - Inflation
 - Effect of strikes
 - West Coast dock strike
 - Bill before Congress
 - Legislation
 - Strikes
 - Railroad
 - Competition
 - Longshoremen
 - Oregon
 - San Francisco
 - Los Angeles
 - Seattle
- Shipments
 - Vancouver
- Pollution control

The President's schedule

- King of Norway
 - Forthcoming meeting
- Congressmen and Senators
 - Delays in beginning meetings

Wage-price freeze

- Phase II
 - Previous experience with controls
 - Support
 - Bipartisan
 - Public
 - Prices
 - Product control
 - Productivity Commission
 - Quality of work
 - Suggestions
 - Shultz
 - Mayors and governors

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- State and local level
- Productivity
- Government services
- Commission
- Public members
- Labor
- Business
- Agriculture
- Civil service
- Consumer group

Presidential seal cufflinks

Presidential seal compacts

Knauer

[General conversation/Unintelligible]

The President left at 11:13 am

Conversation No. 76-7

Date: September 21, 1971

Time: 12:17 pm - 12:23 pm

Location: Cabinet Room

The President met with Andrew C. Tartaglino, George Belk, Walter H. Buck, John W. Warner, Perry A. Rivkind, Dr. Edwin Rock, Dr. Ernst Hoffman, Andre Thirty, Leon Francois, Gordon Tomalty, Reginald Pruneau, Jose Nieto, Esbjorn Esbjornsson, Jean Benoit, S. T. Charles, W. Rogers, H. B. Spear, Alex Haslund, Jean Ducret, Honore Gevaudan, Jacques Reillac, Michel Noquet, Dr. Karl Heinz Gemmer, Jurgen Jeschke, Manlio Vinale, Antonio Fariello, Hicham Kourayten, Antoine Saade, Numa Wagner, Sten Grindhaug, Lucien Aube, Egil ("Bud") Krogh, Jr., Walter Minnick, and Geoffrey C. Shepard

[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

Drug abuse

[To listen to the segment (5m26s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-557.]

The President left at 12:23 pm