Conversation No. 51-1

Date: March 23, 1971
Time: 10:35 am - 11:25 am
Location: Cabinet Room


[Transcripts of the following conversation may be found in Record Group [RG] 460, pp. 1-51; Statement of Information [SI], Book VI, Part 2, pp. 566-616 (1-51); Final Report of the Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, US Senate, pp. 830-842]

[The conversation continues (for 24 seconds) after the end of the transcript]

[End of transcript]

The President, Hardin, et al. left at 11:25 am

Conversation No. 51-2

Date: March 23, 1971
Time: 3:00 pm - 4:45 pm
Location: Cabinet Room


[General conversation/Unintelligible]
Hays’ chair
  - Father, Will Hays
    - Postmaster General (1920s)

Revenue sharing
  - Effects of special programs on cities
  - Mayors’ feedback
  - Agnew
    - Travels
  - Current meeting
    - Tate, Lugar
  - Agnew’s background
    - Charles L. Shultze
  - Weinberger
    - Budgetary considerations
  - Remarks by Tate
  - Mayors’ position
    - Congress
  - Funding
  - Remarks by Stokes
  - Congress
    - Republicans
    - General program
      - John W. Byrnes and Wilbur D. Mills
        - Position
    - General versus special
      - Confusion over terms
      - Walter W. Heller
      - Definition of terms
      - Control of programs
  - Administration efforts
    - Agnew’s travels
      - Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations, mayors’ and governors’ conferences
    - Weinberger
      - Budgetary considerations
      - California background
        - Position
  - Office of Management and Budget [OMB]
    - Jurisdiction
      - Congress
  - Federal budget
Nixon Presidential Materials Staff

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

-Congress
  -House Appropriations Committee
  -Outlay ceiling for Fiscal Year [FY] 1970
  -Debt ceiling
    -US Treasury
 -Inflation
 -Control
  -President
  -Construction
  -Dwight D. Eisenhower administration
  -Lyndon B. Johnson administration
  -Current administration
-Urban mass transit funds
  -Congressional authorization
    -Department of Transportation budget
    -Continuing resolution
    -Amount
  -Administration position
  -Congress

Urban renewal
  -Remarks by Alioto
  -1970 presentation by mayors to Congress
  -Finances
    -Congress
    -Department of Housing and Urban Development
    -Congress
    -1970 presentation by mayors to Congress
  -Political considerations
  -Finances
  -Needs
  -Finances
    -Staffing
      -Oakland - San Francisco

Revenue sharing
  -Mayors’ position
  -Weinberger’s previous statements
  -Uses
    -Public housing, Office of Economic Opportunity, urban renewal, water and sewer programs
Urban renewal
-Remarks by Weinberger
-Finances
  -Amounts
  -Effects of revenue sharing
-San Francisco
  -Joseph Hamilton [?]
    -Talk with Weinberger
-Release of funds
-Increase in outlays
  -California
-FY 1971
  -Availability
-Revenue sharing
  -Model Cities program
  -Public housing construction
-Availability of funds
  -Effects
    -On mayors
    -On support for revenue sharing
    -On Alioto, D’Alesandro
-Congressional restraints
  -Effect on federal budget
  -Romney’s appearance before Congress
    -William Proxmire
  -Dwight D. Eisenhower administration
  -Outlay ceiling
    -Executive branch
  -Proxmire’s position
  -Effects
-FY 1972
-Pre-FY 1972
-Amounts

Revenue sharing
-Remarks by Haskell
-Transition to special programs from categorical grants
-Mayors’ position
-Needs
-Congress
-Needs
-Management by mayors
- John [Surname unknown]
- Political considerations
  - President’s position
  - Democrats
  - Executive branch versus Congress
    - Mills, Byrnes
    - President’s position
- Transition from categorical grants to special revenue sharing
  - Previous meeting between mayors and Romney
  - Funding
  - Effect on Alioto’s problems
- Time lag in receiving funds
- Formulas
  - Urban Community Development Program
- Priorities vs. resources
  - Highways, Model Cities, urban renewal funds
- Provisions of program
- Urban redevelopment program
- Special programs
  - Education programs
  - Congressional alternatives

Unemployment
- Remarks by Gribbs
- Detroit
- Inner city
- Youth
- Emergency Employment Bill
- Manpower revenue sharing
- Youth
  - Summer Jobs
  - Department of Labor youth training program
    - Jacob K. Javits, Edward W. Brooke, Philip A. Hart, and Clifford P. Case
- Funds in previous year
  - Meeting with Agnew, November 1970
- Emergency funding
- Youth
  - Summer jobs
  - Recreation
  - Summer jobs
  - Trends
  - Programs
-Priority
-Private sector and local involvement

Transportation
-Relation to unemployment
-Summer programs
-Remarks by D’Alesandro
 -Work with Agnew
-President’s program
 -Urban Mass Transit Act of 1970
-Finances
 -Congressional authorization
   -OMB actions
   -Restraints
   -House Ways and Means Committee
-Urban Mass Transit Act of 1970
 -Localities’ requests for funds
-Availability of funds
 -Supersonic Transport [SST] funding
   -FY 1972
 -Congressional restraints
-1972 budgetary requests
-Availability of funds
   -FY 1971-FY 1972

Mayors
-Remarks by Lindsay
 -Meeting with Russell B. Long and Carl B. Albert
-US Conference of Mayors
  -Tate’s appointment of legislative action committee, December 1970, in Atlanta
    -Purpose
    -Meeting with Congressmen
    -Travel
      -Washington
      -New Jersey
    -Purpose
      -Compared with Kerner Commission
-Revenue sharing
-Need
 -City employee cuts
 -Legislative action committee
 -Property taxes
- New York City
- Legislative action committee
  - Congress
  - Summer programs
  - Matching grants
  - Unemployment and underemployment
  - Direct funding
  - Public service employment
    - Need
- Meetings with Congressmen
  - Results
  - Byrnes, Mills
    - Results
- Support for President’s programs
- Congress’ responsibility
- Prospects
- Need

Administration’s position on issues
  - Weinberger
  - Romney
  - President’s knowledge of budgetary matters
  - Lindsay’s presentation
  - Federal versus local
  - Overall policy
    - Vietnam War
  - Economy
    - FY 1972 budget
      - Deficit spending
      - Congressmen’s view
      - President’s view
      - Full employment
  - Monetary policy
  - Urban employment
  - Prospects for future
  - Stock market
    - American Stock Exchange
  - Employment prospects
- Political considerations
  - Heller
- General versus special revenue sharing
  - Tate, Lugar
- Effects
  - Importance of cities
  - Needs for cities
  - Importance of local control

Mayors
  - President’s previous meeting
  - Turnover
    - Reason
  - Problems of localities
    - Compared with President’s problems
    - Financial
    - Administration concern

Presidential gifts
  - Cufflinks
  - Bows
  - Bureau of the Budget

[General conversation/Unintelligible]

The President, et al. left at 4:45 pm

Conversation No. 51-3

Date: Unknown between March 23 and March 25, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:45 pm, March 23, and 10:12 am, March 25, 1971
Location: Cabinet Room

Unknown people met

Preparation for an upcoming meeting
  - Placement of a chair
  - Movement of an unknown object

The unknown people left at an unknown time before 10:12 am, March 25, 1971
Conversation No. 51-4

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: 10:12 am - 11:15 am
Location: Cabinet Room


BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security]
[Duration: 31m 9s]

TAIWAN

PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA [PRC]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[To listen to the segment (34m59s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-512.]

The President, et al. left at 11:15 am

Conversation No. 51-5

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:15 am and 11:25 am
Location: Cabinet Room

John B. Connally (?) met with an unknown man

[Unintelligible]

Connally (?) and the unknown man left at an unknown time before 11:25 am

Conversation No. 51-6

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:15 am and 11:25 am
Location: Cabinet Room

Unknown men met

[Unintelligible]

The unknown men left at an unknown time before 11:25 am

Conversation No. 51-7

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: 11:25 am - 11:30 am
Location: Cabinet Room

The President met with John B. Connally

Forthcoming press briefing
  - Connally’s role
  - President’s role
    - Costs, effectiveness [of reorganization plan?]

Farm prices
  - Possible solutions
  - Importance
    - John D. Ehrlichman
- Wilbur D. Mills
- Connally’s forthcoming comments
  - Food stamps, welfare
  - New York City

Forthcoming press briefing

Supersonic Transport [SST]
  - Clinton P. Anderson
  - Margaret Chase Smith
  - Importance

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Europe

[To listen to the segment (46s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-512.]

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US public opinion
  - Military
  - Space program
  - Military research and development
  - SST
  - President’s strategy

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An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 11:25 am

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 11:30 am

Vietnam

[To listen to the segment (15s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-512.]
President’s schedule
   -Forthcoming meeting with Connally

The President and Connally left at 11:30 am

Conversation No. 51-8

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:30 am and 5:00 pm
Location: Cabinet Room

Unknown men entered

[Unintelligible]

The unknown men left at an unknown time before 5:00 pm

Conversation No. 51-9

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:30 am and 5:00 pm
Location: Cabinet Room

Unknown men met

[Unintelligible]

The unknown men left at an unknown time before 5:00 pm

Conversation No. 51-10

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:30 am and 5:00 pm
Location: Cabinet Room

Unknown people [a tour group] met

Roosevelt Room [?]

Cabinet Room
   -A picture
   -President’s chair

The unknown people [tour group] left at an unknown time before 5:00 pm

Conversation No. 51-11

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:30 am and 5:00 pm
Location: Cabinet Room

Unknown people [a tour group] met

Cabinet Room
   -President’s chair
   -A button
   -Roosevelt Room
   -Cabinet Room
   -Chairs
      -Cost

The unknown people [tour group] left at an unknown time before 5:00 pm

Conversation No. 51-12

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: 5:00 pm - 6:30 pm
Location: Cabinet Room

[General conversation/Unintelligible]

Meeting agenda

Diggs
- Chairmanship of Congressional Black Caucus

Blacks’ concerns
- A position paper by the Black Caucus
- Black Caucus
  - Approach
  - Representation, scope
  - Goals
    - Employment
    - Housing
    - Civil rights guarantees
    - Affirmative Action
    - Business and community development funds
    - Participation in decisionmaking
    - Health care
- US involvement in Indochina
- Purpose of meeting
- Recommendations of the Black Caucus
  - Employment
    - Federal job programs
      - Youth unemployment
      - Types of jobs
  - Poverty
    - Office of Economic Opportunity programs
      - Organization, history
      - Need
  - Military
    - Remarks by Chisholm
    - Treatment of black soldiers
      - Defense Department organization
- Justice, State, and Defense Department coordination
- Frank Mendary
- John [Surname unknown]
- State and Defense Department representation
- Melvin R. Laird

-Civil rights
  - A previous meeting with Laird
  - Assistant Secretary Roger T. Kelley
  - Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
  - Black judicial appointments
  - Crime Control Bill
  - No-knock policy
  - Mississippi

Meeting with President
  - Expectations
  - Purpose

Blacks’ concerns
  - Foreign policy
    - South Africa, Mozambique, Africa
  - Portugal, France

Meeting with President
  - Views of black community

Blacks’ concerns
  - Criminal justice system
    - Jesse L. Jackson
  - Voter registration
    - Richard Hatcher
    - Justice Department
  - Richard Henry
    - Republic of New Africa in Mississippi
      - Police harassment charges
  - Frustrations
    - Integration versus segregation
  - Drugs
    - Remarks by Rangel
    - Relation to other social problems
    - Sources of supply
      - Possible US measures
- Methadone program
  - Results in Harlem
- Scope of problem
- Sources of supply
- Impact on blacks and Puerto Ricans
- Administration policy
  - Possible US measures
- Housing
  - "Black tax"
- Recommendations
  - Release of funds for public housing
  - Implementation of relocation legislation
- Local jurisdiction over low and moderate income housing
  - Baltimore County, Maryland, legal opinion
- Revenue sharing
  - Remarks by Stokes
  - Black Caucus’ voting record
  - Needs in black community
  - Release of appropriated funds
  - Urban renewal, water and sewer, mass transit
- Employment
  - Emergency Public Services Employment Bill
  - Detroit and Cleveland experiences
  - Bureau of Labor Statistics figures
    - National average
    - Youth unemployment
- Welfare nationalization and reform
  - Need
  - Possible change in administration legislation
  - Distribution formula
    - Grosse Point Woods, Michigan
    - Palm Beach, Florida
    - Wellesley, Massachusetts
    - Beverly Hills, California
    - Baltimore
    - Chicago
    - Los Angeles
    - St. Louis
- Application of Titles VI and VII of Civil Rights Act
- Welfare reform
  - Caucus’ position paper
- US involvement in Indochina
-Remarks by Dellums
-Use of funds
-Caucus’ position
-Use of funds

Vietnam
-US involvement in 1961
-US involvement in 1969
-Clark M. Clifford’s statement
-President’s record
-Funds
-Troop levels
-Casualty level
-An April 1971 announcement
-President’s record
-Vietnamization
-Cambodian operation
-President’s goals
-Troop withdrawal
-Use of funds domestically
-President’s record

US foreign policy
-Africa
-Compared with US policy in Japan, Latin America, and the Middle East
-Importance to blacks
-French, British, and Portuguese policies in Africa

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[To listen to the segment (12s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-512.]
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Meeting with President
-Length
-Attendance

Blacks’ concerns
-Caucus’ position paper
- Welfare
- Administration attention

Meeting with President
- Attendance
  - Romney
  - State, Defense, and Justice Departments
  - Previous meeting with John G. Veneman
- Caucus’ position paper
- Attendance
  - Justice Department
    - Veneman
    - Finch’s (?) acquaintance
  - Health, Education, and Welfare Department
  - Shultz
  - Donald H. Rumsfeld
- Follow-up
  - MacGregor’s office
  - Finch’s office

Blacks’ concerns
- Concerns regarding funds
  - President’s previous meeting with mayors
    - Carl B. Stokes
    - Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
  - Shultz
  - Weinberger
  - Shultz, Weinberger’s responsibilities
- Housing
  - Department of Housing and Urban Development policies
  - Urban distribution
  - Justice Department

President’s schedule
- President and Patricia R. (“Pat”) Nixon’s 6:15 reception

Blacks’ concerns
- Administration contacts
  - Office of Management and Budget
  - Rumsfeld, Finch, Brown, Garment
  - Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
  - Brown, Garment, Finch, Rumsfeld
-Shultz
-MacGregor
-Possible solutions
-Legislation
-Black Caucus’ meeting with President
-Purpose
-Possible follow-up
-Previous promises
-Possible future meetings with officials
-Political considerations

President’s 1948 election

Press briefing

[General conversation/Unintelligible]

The President, et al. left at 6:30 pm

Date: March 26, 1971
Time: 10:02 am - unknown before 11:12 am
Location: Cabinet Room


[Discontinuities appear in the original recording]

Meeting agenda
- State and Defense Departments
- Construction costs
- Ehrlichman
- Previous meetings
Inflation
- Remarks by McCracken
- Consumer Price Index and Wholesale Price Index figures
- Rate in recent years
- Public opinion
- Wage rates
  - Importance
  - Rates in recent years
  - Effect on prices
  - Bargaining agreements
    - Experience in recent years
- Administration options
  - Status quo
    - Market action, fiscal and monetary policy
  - Change in pace of current measures
  - Intervention in economic process
- Administration actions
  - Wage and price adjustments
    - President’s June 1970 speech
  - National Commission on Productivity
  - Purchasing Regulations Review Board
    - Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
  - Crude oil price investigation
    - General George A. Lincoln
    - Executive Order
  - Steel prices
    - Bethlehem Steel
  - Suspension of Davis-Bacon Act
  - Benefits
  - Effects
  - Disadvantages
- Administration options
  - Change in intensity of effort
    - Deregulation of transportation
    - Legislation affecting construction
    - Liberalization of import quotas
    - Change in Social Security
Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

-Effect
  -McCracken’s meeting with an unnamed business leader, March 25, 1971
  -Advantages and disadvantages
    -Davis-Bacon Act
-Intervention
  -Wage and price controls
    -Trade board within Justice Department
    -Review board
    -Arthur F. Burns’ December 1970 speech
  -Purpose
  -Powers
  -Advantages and disadvantages
    -Canadian experience
  -Problems
  -Wage/price board
  -Increases

-Administration programs

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 11:12 am