

Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 121-1

Date: May 15, 1973 Time: 8:42 am - 9:38 am Location: Cabinet Room

The President met with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, Elliott L. Richardson, Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield, Robert C. Byrd, Hugh Scott, Robert P. Griffin, Howard W. Cannon, Marlow W. Cook, Carl B. Albert, Thomas P. ("Tip") O'Neill, Jr., Gerald R. Ford, John J. McFall, Leslie C. Arends, William L. Dickinson, General Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Leonard Garment, Raymond K. Price, Jr., Ronald L. Ziegler, William E. Timmons, Thomas C. Korologos, Max L. Friedersdorf, and Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.; 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]

Federal election reform -Bipartisan meeting -The President's conversation with Nelson A. Rockefeller, May 14 -Federal Election Commission -Scope -Presidential message -President's position -Changes in laws -Campaign financing -Commission -Possible charter -Scope -Membership -Composition -Bipartisan -Richardson -Participation -Department of Justice [DOJ] assistance -Terms of office -The President -Dwight D. Eisenhower -President's view -House of Representatives -President's view -Cost of campaign

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Term in office -Lyndon B. Johnson -Eisenhower -Senators' view -Views of Peter W. Rodino, Jr. and Emanuel Celler -Three specifications of possible joint resolution -Scope of commission -Membership of commission -Need for recommendations and action -Timing of commission's recommendations -1974 elections -Congressional action -Timing -Content of possible joint resolution -Sections -Scope of commission -Charter -Investigations -Commission -Membership -Congressional views -Previous Campaign Reform Bill -Membership -Reporting date -Possible reforms -President's views -Campaign contributions -Individuals -Special interest groups -Public disclosure -Length of campaign -British system -Expenditures -Primaries -Byrd's bill -Content -Radio and television time -Problems -Cost -Length of campaign -Changes in federal law -Election dates

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Primaries -General election -Convention dates -Preemption of state laws -Potential problems -Pending legislation -Preemption of legislative prerogative -Ervin Committee -Purpose -Possible reforms in federal laws -Administrations's views -Campaign ethics -Independent election agency -Charter -Expenditures -Possible problems -State elections -George H. W. Bush and Robert S. Strauss -Input -Membership -Richardson -DOJ -Judges -Warren E. Burger's views -Earl Warren and Tom C. Clark -Congressional members -Leaders -Appropriations -Membership -Cannon -Cook -Legislative priority -Congressional action -Wayne L. Hays -Leadership assistance -Problems -Previous reform legislation -Finances -Reporting procedures -Violations in 1972 -Numbers -Need for reform

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Commission -Campaign financing reform -Purpose -Effect on legislative prerogatives -Need for action -Agreement by politicians -Reporting date -Interim recommendations -Effect on Congress -Support -Business community -Labor unions -Leonard Woodcock -Common Cause -Morris K. Udall and John B. Anderson -Hays -Commission -Administration's view -Previous Finance Bill -Problems -Commission -Administration's views -Purpose -Congressional input -Timing for action

[General conversation/Unintelligible]

The President, et al. left at 9:38 am

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 121-2

Date: May 18, 1973 Time: 8:38 am - unknown before 11:59 pm Location: Cabinet Room

The President met with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, [David] Kenneth Rush, William E. Simon, Elliot L. Richardson, Rogers C. B. Morton, Earl L. Butz, Frederick B. Dent, Richard F. Schubert, Frank C. Carlucci, James T. Lynn, John W. Barnum, Roy L. Ash, John A. Scali, Anne L. Armstrong, George H. W. Bush, Dr. James R. Schlesinger, Arthur J. Sohmer, General Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Peter M. Flanigan, William E. Timmons, Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., Leonard Garment, Raymond K. Price, Jr., General Brent G. Scowcroft, Frederic V. Malek, David N. Parker, and Herbert G. Klein; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting

[General conversation]

Watergate

-Hearings -Richardson -Special Prosecutor

Agenda

-Government operations -Paris Peace Talks

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

[To listen to the segment (16s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-614.]

Minority recruitment -Armstrong's efforts -Hispanic Americans -Difficulty of recruitment -President's views -Alejandro ("Alex") Armendariz

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Phillip V. Sanchez -Alberto F. Trevino, Jr.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7 [Privacy] [Duration:_17s_]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

-Qualifications -Job openings -Ash -Efforts

Commission on Foreign Policy Reorganization -Armstrong -Robert D.. Murphy -Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield and Clement J. Zablocki -Report date -Request for funding -Francis O. ("Frank") Wilcox -William B. Spong, Jr.

Cost of Living Council [COLC] -Armstrong's role

Domestic Council

Eunice P. Howe -Role on White House staff -Bicentennial Commission -Congress -Lawrence G. Williams -Armstrong's forthcoming meeting with Gerald R. Ford -Congressional action

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Need for action -Problems -Head -David J. Mahoney, Jr. -Congress -Williams -Morton -Congressional oversight -Need for a resolution Watergate Special Prosecutor -Richardson -Authority -Qualifications -Authority -Candidate -Possible arrangements for James O. Eastland -Announcement -Warren M. Christopher -Eastland's views -Candidate -Richardson's decision -Possible acceptance -Stature -Guidelines Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD] -Lynn -Pending legislation -Better Communities Act -Content -Status -Study of federal policy -Effect on Better Communities Act -Lynn's efforts -Local and state officials -Possible congressional changes -Potential problems -Responsive Government Act -Disaster aid -Changes -George W. Romney and Milton J. Shapp

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Hurricane Agnes -Flood insurance -Federal policy -Study -Michael H. Moskow -Status -Lynn's work with Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger -Department administration -Farmers Home Administration problems -Housing management situation -Loan defaults -Disposition of homes -Vandalism -Implementation of Rural Development Act of 1972 -Coordination with Butz and Claude S. Brinegar -Lynn's relations with Congress -John J. Sparkman -Housing policy -Detroit -H. R. Crawford -Background -Vacant housing -Roman S. Gribbs -Crawford's actions -Press reports -William G. Milliken -Philadelphia -Los Angeles -Cleveland, Ohio -Unemployment -Economic problems of city -Total metropolitan area compared with suburbs -Effect of unemployment on inner city -Minorities -Ralph J. Perk -Consultation with Bush -Reasons -Perk -Efforts and policies -Bush's view -Stanley Tillum [sp?] -Associates

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Department of Commerce -Policy views compared to Department of Labor -Pending legislation -Wage differential for 18 to 19 year olds -Timing -Dent's conversation with George Meany -Discussion topics -Albert H. Quie -Congressional committee support -Minimum wage -Assistance to Dent -Work with Peter J. Brennan -Picketing -Problems

US-Eastern Bloc trade

[To listen to the segment (3m22s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-614.]

Commerce -Export expansion -George P. Shultz -Office of Management and Budget [OMB] approval -Devaluation -Effect on trade deficit -Capital investment in United States -South Carolina -Unemployment figures -Effect on inflation -Increased exports -Dinner, May 15 -Brennan -Business and labor leaders -Investment incentives -Job creation

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Merchant Marine -Ships under construction -Strikes -North Atlantic fishing -Overfishing off New England coast

North Atlantic fishing

[To listen to the segment (1m2s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-614.]

Commerce -Encouragement of tourism in United States -Trade deficit -Bicentennial -Opportunity -Dollar devaluation -Effect on trade deficit -COLC -Lumber -Steel -Progress -Dent's travels in US -Statements -Newspaper headlines -Effect on policy US Department of Agriculture [USDA] -Butz -Food supplies -Agricultural exports -Concerns of farmers -Price freeze -Fuel -Weather -Corn -Cotton

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Mississippi flooding -Soybeans -Agricultural legislation -Senate committee -Action -Problems -House action -Rural Environmental Assistance [REA] program -Enactment -Cost -USDA position -Forthcoming -Butz's efforts -Problems -Options -Appropriations -Farmers' opposition Department of Justice [DOJ] -Richardson's responsibilities -Relationship with other departments -Major programs Cabinet meeting -Richardson's view -Exchange of news Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW] -Richardson's press conferences -Busing -HEW's other activities -Health activities -Cancer research -Budget -Health -Reorganization -Emphasis -Pending legislation -Problems -Hill-Burton Bill -Health Maintenance Organizations Bill -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Funding -Compared to HEW request -Planning for health facilities -HEW efforts -Education -National Institute for Education -Specificity of programs -Funding of educational opportunity grants -Scope -The President's Higher Education message -Recipient of aid -Student and institutions -Pending legislation -Elementary and secondary schools -Better Schools Act -Consolidation of grant programs -Ash's efforts -Prospects -Welfare -HEW efforts -Management -Regulations on error case load -States -Reform efforts -Implementation of House Resolution 1 -Task force on reform -Breadth of study Department of Interior -Morton -Energy -Alaska pipeline legislation -Status -Environment -Construction date -Mine health and safety -Case load -Fines and judicial procedures -Revision of legislation -Administration -Assistance from Malek and Ash -Dale K. ("Kent") Frizzell

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Indians -Budget -Alaskan Native Claims Bill -Administrative changes and improvements -John H. Kyl -Assistant Secretary for Congressional Affairs -Laurence E. ("Larry") Lynn, Jr. -Assistant Secretary for Program Development -James T. Clark -Assistant Secretary for Management -Work with OMB -Relations with Congress -Indian Bill -George S. McGovern -Renewed government efforts -Department budget -Revenues and expenses Department of Treasury -Prosperity -Gross National Product [GNP] growth

-Oross National Product [ONP] § -Inflation -Revenues -Deficits -Future estimates -Balanced budget

Energy -Simon's testimony -Congressional interest -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson -Message -Reactions

Middle East trade

[To listen to the segment (53s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-614.]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Energy -Allocation of gasoline -Voluntary versus mandatory -District of Columbia -Gulf Oil Company -Effects of shortage -Need for guidelines -Solution -Farmers -Diesel fuel -Administration's efforts Future cabinet meetings -Value The President's activities Vietnam peace accord **US-USSR** summit Middle East [To listen to the segment (15m14s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-614.] Nixon Doctrine -US foreign policy in 1969 -Soviet Union -People's Republic of China [PRC] -Middle East -Vietnam -Successes

-The President's forthcoming speech in Norfolk, Virginia, May 19 -Need for US strength

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Policy successes -PRC initiative -Soviet initiative -Vietnam War -Views of senators and press -Defense budget -Spending reductions -Balanced budget -Effect on security -Defense spending compared to other government spending -President's views -Strong national defense Administration's accomplishments -Richardson's responsibilities -Personnel -Efforts -Previous four years' efforts The Vice President's travels -Current events -Economic issue -Inflation -National focus on issues -Contrasted with Washington, DC -Mayors -Better Communities Act -Energy crisis -Non-interest in Washington, DC stories

-The Vice President's meeting with congressmen, May 17 -Congressmen's opinion of administration -REA

Watergate

-Press accounts
-Charges of the President's role in cover-up

-Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]

-The President's concern

-White House response to charges
-Administration's record

-Partisan charges

-Bush

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-The press -Vice President's efforts -Administration comment on charges

The President left at 10:11 am

[General conversation/Unintelligible]

Japan

[To listen to the segment (1m3s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-614.]

[Unintelligible]

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 11:59 pm

Conversation No. 121-3

Date: May 23, 1973 Time: 8:37 am - 10:20 am Location: Cabinet Room

The President met with Earl L. Butz, Rogers C. B. Morton, Hugh Scott, Robert P. Griffin, Norris Cotton, Wallace F. Bennett, John G. Tower, William E. Brock, III, Carl T. Curtis, Ted Stevens, James L. Buckley, Henry L. Bellmon, Gerald R. Ford, Leslie C. Arends, John J. Rhodes, John B. Anderson, Samuel L. Devine, William J. ("Jack") Edwards, Robert H. Michel, David T. Martin, Barber B. Conable, Jr., Charles M. Teague, George A. Goodling, Donald E. Young, Roy L. Ash, Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., William E. Timmons, Richard M. Fairbanks, III, Thomas C. Korologos, Max L. Friedersdorf, Ronald L. Ziegler, Anne L. Armstrong, and George H. W. Bush

[General conversation/Unintelligible]

Greetings

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's location

The President's schedule -Meetings with Republican congressmen -Agenda -Suggestions -Future meetings -Number -Specificity Agriculture Subsidy Bill -Agricultural prosperity -Compared with situation in 1972 -Farmers' vote for the President in 1972 -1970 farm legislation -Exports -Increases -Expiration -Need for new legislation -Cost -Farmer subsidies -Commodity Credit Corporation [CCC] -Peanut program -Amounts -Farm income -Increases -1972 -1973 -Food prices -1973 crop production -Corn -Floods along Mississippi River -New reports -Decreases in acreage planted -Effect on supply -Dangers -Drought and blight -Farm labor -New legislation -Permanent legislation -Butz's view

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Feed grains -Wheat -Cotton -Effect on price -Subsidy -Herman E. Talmadge -Pending legislation -Senate action -Income supplement payments -Money for cotton farmers -Cotton prices -Wheat farmers -Corn -1972 compared to 1973 -Marketplace compared with government aid -Butz's view -Transition -Timing -Effect of income -Export markets -Effect on consumers -Effect on farmers -Pending legislation -Senate action -Protection for export prices -Target prices -Problem -Corn -Price supports -Dairy products -Effect on forthcoming trade negotiations -Possible amendments in Senate -Need for changes -Negotiations with conference committee -House bill -William R. Poage -Possible administration bill -Prospects -Compared to previous administration bills -Orville L. Freeman -Decision -Senate bill provisions

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Potential costs -Future costs -Civilian Conservation Corps costs since 1932 -Philosophy of preceding legislation -Exports -People's Republic of China [PRC] -Potential market -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] -Potential market -Future of American agriculture -Compared to past -Importance of exports -Market expansion -Senate bill -Curtis' views -Provisions -Target prices -Possible amendment on Senate floor -Compared to possible House bill -View of farmers -Bellmon -Agricultural sales practices -Forward selling -Farmers' plans -Butz -Freeman -US Department of Agriculture [USDA] estimates of demand -Agricultural legislation -Senate bill -Provisions -Target prices -Reasons -Effects -House consideration -Robert J. Dole and George S. McGovern -Possible House action -Poage -Possible substitute legislation -Goodling's view -Status -Possible administration bill -Subcommittee input

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Commodities -Limitation on set-aside -Possible House action -Incentives -Poage's plans -Additions to Senate bill -Forestry incentive -Regional headquarters switch from Albuquerque to Atlanta -President's view -Various commodity programs -Peanuts -Steve Hayes from Georgia -Possible administration bill -Reasons for not introducing -Freeman, Charles F. Brannan, and Ezra T. Benson -Poage -Butz's efforts -Agricultural states' representatives -Bill formulation -Senate bill -Carl B. Albert's role -Ford's role -Bellmon's role -No legislation -Poage -Popularity among House Democrats -Food stamps for strikers -Compromise -Peanuts -Aflatoxins -USDA purchases Alaska pipeline -Morton's briefing -Background -Capacity -Potential -Energy supply -Present demand -Petroleum supply versus demand -Agriculture -Passenger cars

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Independent marketers -Effect on gas stations -Pending legislation -Senate bill -Provisions -Compared to bill in House -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson amendment -Canada -Walter F. Mondale amendment -Canada

Canada

[To listen to the segment (52s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-614.]

-Pending legislation -House bill -Compared to Senate bill -Provisions -District Court of Appeals ruling -Members' views -Senate bill -Jackson -Administration's view -Prospects for passage -Timing -Design and engineering -Interagency coordination -Need for prompt action -Solutions to problems

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Canada

[To listen to the segment (56s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-614.]

-Completion date -Geographical knowledge of Alaska -International oil market -Reasons for pipeline -Value -Compared to outer continental shelf and Gulf of Mexico -Domestic supply -Political arguments for Midwesterners -Major oil companies' actions -Effect on independent distributors -Effect on Administration position -Voluntary compared to mandatory allocation system -Present situation -Ford's district -Independent marketers -Administration's position -Possible General Accounting Office [GAO] study on oil consumption -Congressional action -California

Middle East

Canada

[To listen to the segment (2m54s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-614.]

22

-Curtis' [?] views

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Major oil companies' actions -Independent marketers in Farm Belt -Farm shortages -Mandatory controls -Illegal sales -Effect on farmers -Need for cooperation -Morton's conversation with William E. Simon -Farmers' shortages -Alaskan oil and gas reserves estimates -Stevens' view -Prudhoe Bay -Development -Expense already incurred -Fuel shortage in Juneau, Alaska -US Navy -Fishing fleet -Areas of possible exploration -Atomic Energy Commission briefing -Delays -Right-of-Way problem -Environmental questions -Goal -Supply -Self-sufficiency -Shortage of refinery capability -Reasons -Logistical delays after approval -Possible Canadian pipeline -Delays -Environmental -Economic -Alaskan reserves -Size of Prudhoe Bay lease -Compared with potential -Reasons for passage -Effect on industry -Infrastructure -Development -Effect of delays -Building of refineries -Delays in construction

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Cost per barrel -Effects -Independent drilling -Wildcat drilling -Pending House legislation -Need for action -Oil shortage -Alaska's role

Canada

[To listen to the segment (15s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-614.]

Alaska pipeline -Administration's position -Effects of delays -Reasons for development

Energy supplies

Middle East

Canada

[To listen to the segment (3m58s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-614.]

Alaska pipeline -President's position -Environmental considerations -Trade-offs

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-The President's concern for Midwest

Canada

[To listen to the segment (26s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-614.]

The President's import program -The President's energy message -Results -Refineries -United States' purchases of oil abroad -Effect on world market -Alaskan reserves

Canada

[To listen to the segment (32s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-614.]

Energy -Natural gas -Pending legislation -Price -Feasibility -Possible Canadian pipeline -Ethanol -Prospects -The President's research program -Alaska pipeline -Morton's efforts -Canadian pipeline

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Forthcoming Prisoner of War [POW] dinner -Invitations -Size -Television coverage -The President's foreign policy briefing -State Department

Vietnam peace accord

US-USSR summit

Foreign policy

[To listen to the segment (6m10s) declassified on 02/28/2002, please refer to RC# E-614.]

Wiretaps -President's statement -Need for secrecy in foreign policy negotiations -Leaks -Foreign policy successes

[General conversation/Unintelligible]

The President, et al. left at 10:20 am