Conversation No. 412-1

Date: February 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 2:31 pm and 2:38 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

*******************************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

President’s schedule

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*******************************************************************************

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:38 pm.

Conversation No. 412-2

Date: February 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 2:31 pm and 2:38 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 43-78]
Conversation No. 412-3
Date: February 14, 1973
Time: Between 2:38 pm and 2:39 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.
[See Conversation No. 43-79]

Conversation No. 412-4
Date: February 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 2:39 pm and 2:59 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.
[See Conversation No. 43-80]

Conversation No. 412-5
Date: February 14, 1973
Time: Between 2:59 pm and 3:04 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with William E. Timmons.
[See Conversation No. 43-81]
Date: February 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 3:04 pm and 4:05 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

George H. W. Bush's meeting
- Timing

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:05 pm.

Date: February 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 3:04 pm and 4:05 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Thomas H. Moorer.

Prisoners of War [POWs] returning from Vietnam
- Debriefing
  - POWs’ attitudes
    - Support for President
    - Bombing
    - Support
    - December 26, 1972 raid

World War II
- Prisoners of Japanese
  - Hokaido
BOMBING
-North Vietnamese reaction
-POWs’ morale

POWs’ return
-Statements
  -Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr.
  -Capt. James A. Mulligan, Jr.
  -Impact on critics of bombing
-Bombing
  -POWs’ appearance
-Release of POWs’ reactions

BOMBING
-North Vietnam’s reaction
-May 8, 1972 bombing
-Bombing halt
-Delays in negotiations
-Cambodia
-Purpose
-Result
-Impact on the People’s Republic of China [PRC] and Soviet Union
-Statesmen
  -Winston S. Churchill
  -Franklin D. Roosevelt
-Allied attitudes
  -Japan
  -Australia
  -Ian O. Smith
  -Great Britain
  -Portugal
  -Greece
  -Turkey
  -Spain
  -Latin America
-Brazil
-Canadian military
-Reaction to bombing
-Relations with US military
-Participation
-US Marine Corps
-Strength

European military
-Strength
-Denmark

Socialist countries
-parliamentary coalitions

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
-Trip to Southeast Asia
-Report
-Moorer’s visit

Far East
-Indonesia [?]
-Thailand
-Moorer’s travel
-PRC
-Negotiations
POWs
- Photograph
  - *Washington Star*
- Corsages for wives or mothers
- Future careers
  - Military
- Denton
  - Contact with Moorer
- President’s call to Mrs. Denton
- Families’ reaction to the President’s policies
- Knowledge of bombing

Bombing
- B-52, tactical aircraft
- Damage to Hanoi
  - Pictures
- Harold E. Hughes
- Allegations of carpet bombing
- Civilian casualties
- Compared with World War II
  - Refusals to fly

POWs
- Heroism
  - Korean War
  - President’s policies
    - Peace with honor
- Defeat of North Vietnam
- Debriefing
  - Col. Al Lynn
- Attitudes
  - Uniforms and bearing
- Pay bonuses
  - Congress
  - Recommendations
MILITARY INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT
- Legal advice
- Career options
- Educational commitments
  - Graduate schools
  - War colleges
- Duty stations

CITATIONS
- Presidential Unit Citation
- Moorer’s recommendations
  - Gen. Brendt G. Scowcroft
- Individuals
  - Years of captivity
  - Bravery, performance

PAY
- Congressional opposition
- Bonus
- Defense Department recommendations
  - Historical precedents
    - World War II
    - Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]

US FOREIGN POLICY
- Vietnam War
- US interests
  - Southeast Asia
    - Commitments to allies
  - Great power status
- Attacks on military
- Impact of POWs
  - Pentagon
  - Heroism
    - US strength
    - Patriotism
President’s Pentagon visit
- Effects [?] 
- Luncheon 
- Elliot L. Richardson 
- JCS 
- Service secretaries 
- Timing 
- President’s admiration 
- POWs 
  - Presidential citation 
  - Timing 
  - Congress 
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr. 
  - Patriotism

Consultation between military and the President
- Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] 
  - Louis Patrick Gray, III 
- JCS chairman 
- Richard M. Helmez [?] 
- Strategic Arms Limitations Talks [SALT] 
- Direct line to JCS 
  -Moore’s access to the President

Vietnam
- May 8, 1972 bombing 
  - Secretary’s recommendations 
    - Overruled 
  - Continuation 
    - Weather 
    - Moore’s recommendations 
- B-52 losses
  - June 5, 1972 raid 
- Number of sorties 
- Halt
December 1972 bombing

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National security]
[Duration: 2 s]

Intelligence

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

The President’s conversation with Scowcroft and Haig
- The President’s role
  - Unpredictability
- Military missions abroad
- Foreign arms sales
  - Church amendment
  - Competition
  - France
  - Latin America
- State Department
- US military ties
  - Uruguay
  - Chile
  - Indonesia
    - Communism
    - Population
    - Lt. Gen. T. N. S. Suharto
- Military aid
  - Contacts
  - Alliances
-Socialist countries
  -Brazil
    -US military aid
    -Conditions
    -Destroyers
    -Missiles
    -Preference for US advisors, arms
  -US arms

Foreign policy planning
  -President’s discussion with Haig
  -National Security Council [NSC]
  -Military field grade officers
  -Think tanks
    -Broader thinking
    -State Department
    -Arms sales
    -Latin America
    -Psychological operations
  -Contribution of military people
    -Air force
    -Europe, PRC, Soviet Union
  -Think tanks
    -Differing views
    -Impact on NSC
    -Role of JCS
  -Styx missile
    -Naval officers
    -Mediterranean
  -Memorandum
  -Israeli ship
  -Richardson
  -Conventional weapons
    -Usefulness
    -Korea
Conventional weapons
- Europe
- Mutual and balanced force reduction [MBFR]
- Japan, Asia
- Tactical nuclear weapons
- Military planning group
- Study results

The President’s foreign policy decisions
- May 8, 1972 decision
  - Henry A. Kissinger
  - Haig
  - Impact on US-Soviet relations
  - US-Soviet summit, May 1972
  - Preemptive cancellation
    - President’s speech
    - Television [TV]
  - Fear of Soviet Union reprisals
  - The President’s deliberations
  - Need for outside counsel
    - John B. Connally
- December 1972 bombing
  - Breakdown in negotiations
  - Kissinger’s cable and recommendations
  - President’s speech
TV
- Compared with May 8, 1972 decision
- Impact on negotiations
  - North Vietnam
- Success of US-Soviet summit, Vietnam settlement
- White House staff, NSC

Presidential advisors
- Need to hear different opinions
  - State Department, Defense Department, Central Intelligence Agency

[CIA]
- NSC’s role

[NSC]
- Haig
  - Management skills
  - Knowledge

Military advisory capacity
- Younger officers
  - Age
  - Experience
- New ideas
- Moorer’s staff
  - Transfers
- POWs
  - Abilities
  - Insights

-JCS
- Air force, navy, personnel
- Independent initiative
- No fear of reprisal
- Leaking to press

-Bureaucracy
-Kissinger
- NSC
Defense budget
- Wilbur D. Mills
- Cuts in post-Vietnam War period
- Personnel costs
- Mills
- Support
- Moorer’s speech
  - Commonwealth Club
  - International interests
  - Energy crisis
    - Middle East instability
- Negotiations
  - Strength of US
- Budget
  - Decreases
- TV press conference by Moorer
  - Vietnam War’s effects on US military morale
    - War conditions
    - Public criticism of the war
  - Attack on the press

Moorer
- San Francisco
- Visit to Brigham Young University
  - Salt Lake City
- Spokesman for Defense Department
  - Timing
  - POWs
  - Foreign policy

Amnesty
- Policy regarding pardon
Conversation No. 412-7 (cont’d)

-Moorer’s statement
  -Selective Service Act
  -Impact on POWs
-Divisiveness of issue
  -Patriotism
  -Military service personnel
  -Conscientious objection
  -Desecration
  -Legal consequences

Richardson
The White House photographer entered at 4:03 pm.

Photograph session
  -Scowcroft

Bombing
  -Decision
  -Cambodia
  -May 8, 1972 decision
  -North Vietnam

The White House photographer left at 4:04 pm.

Moorer left at 4:05 pm.

Conversation No. 412-8

Date: February 14, 1973
Time: 4:06 pm - 5:25 pm
Location: Executive Office Building
The President met with George H. W. Bush and Anne L. Armstrong.

*Seating arrangements*

- Julie Nixon Eisenhower

**Bush’s report**
- The President’s note
- New Jersey
- Conversations with Armstrong, H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
- South
  - 1974 elections
  - 1976 elections

**Richard G. Lugar**
- Charles A. Mosher [?]
- Qualities
- Options for office
  - Constituency
- Support for administration

**Bush**
- Travel
- Compared to Robert J. Dole’s chairmanship
  - Sioux City, Iowa
  - Rotary Club
- Chairmanship of Republican National Committee [RNC]
  - Travel
    - Limitations
    - Alaska, Hawaii
- RNC operations
-Robert C. B. Morton
-Dealing with the RNC
-Responsibilities
  -National spokesperson
-Focus
  -1974 election
    -Competitive states, candidates
-Speeches
  -Number
    -Lincoln’s birthday
  -Gerald R. Ford
    -Grand Rapids
    -Speeches in District of Columbia
    -Cabinet members, Spiro T. Agnew
-Effective speakers
  -Leslie C. Arends

RNC
-Bush’s duties
-State chairman
-Committee personnel
-Weaknesses
-Financial condition
-Pat Wilson
  -Contributions
    -Albert L. Cole
  -Fundraising
    -Direct mailing
    -Small donations
-Woman appointee
  -Janet J. Johnston
  -Associations with Ronald W. Reagan
    -Newspaper account

Republican Party’s political ideology
Conversation No. 412-8 (cont’d)

_Conservative_
- Gircher

_Liberal_
- Jacob K. Javits

_Centrist_
- William E. Brock, III
  - New Hampshire visit compare with Tennessee visit
    - Nelson A. Rockefeller
  - Pragmatism
  - Choice of candidate
    - New York
    - Conservative
      - James L. Buckley

_Rockefeller_
- Meeting with Bush
  - New Majority
- [First name unknown] Dominto
- Italian New York Secretary of State
  - Heritage group head for RNC
  - Freedom Fighter group
  - John N. Mitchell

_Italians_
- Republican gains
- Italian candidates
  - Compared to Eastern Europeans
    - Irish
    - Poles
      - Democratic political viewpoint
- Freedom fighters
- Rockefeller
- Edward J. Derwinski

Rockefeller
H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman entered at an unknown time after 4:06 pm.

Russell B. Long
- Meeting with the President
- Monday Letter
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Mailing list
  - Quality of writing
  - Support

Campaigning
- Controversy
- Publicity
  - Timidity

RNC publications
- New Majority
- Dole
  - Compared to Bush
  - Monday Letter
  - Negative publicity
- Letter from Bush
  - Conciliatory tone
  - Monday Chairman’s letter
- Big contributors
  - Direct mailing
-Small number
-Cole
-Periodic release
-Contents
  -Important issues
  -International monetary situation
-Recipients
  -Maurice H. Stan’s list
  -Democrats
  -Friendly editors
  -Political leaders
  -State chairman
-Coordination of RNC and Senate campaign committees
-Brock’s cooperation
-Kenneth S. Rietz
  -New Majority campaign
  -Reports to Bush
  -Congressional cooperation
  -Problems
  -House committees
  -Robert C. (“Bob”) Wilson’s removal
  -Clarence J. (“Bud”) Brown, Jr.
    -Conflict with Wilson
    -Brown’s meeting with Bush
      -Rietz
      -Brock
-Duplication of efforts
  -Animosity between Congress and White House
-Wilson
  -Bush’s call to Ford

Finances
-Congress
  -Departure date
  -Brown
-Alaska
-Brown’s management style
-Duplication of efforts
-Complaints
-1974 campaign compared with 1972 campaign

RNC finances
-Congressional complaints
-Stans’s report as refutation
-Surpluses
-Senate campaigns
-Request for funds
-Wilson
-1972 election

1972 election
-Democratic Party split
-Landslide
-Vietnam issue
-May 8, 1972
-George S. McGovern
-Republican candidates for Congress
-Style
-Age
-Demeanor
-Harry F. Byrd, Jr.
-Endorsement
-Goddard [?]

New Majority strategy
-Finances
-State committee complaints
-Haldeman
-Staff
-Patronage
-Haldeman as access point
  -Press coverage
  -Joseph C. Kraft
  -Jobs, patents
  -Bush’s political role
    -Harry N. Dent’s advice

New Jersey election
  -William T. Cahill
    -Endorsement
    -Strength
  -Charles W. Sandman, Jr.
    -President’s supporter
    -Conservative
    -Compared to Nofziger
  -Clifford P. Case
    -Liberal
  -Cahill
    -Irish Catholic
  -The President’s compared with Bush’s role in endorsement
    -President’s note
  -Cahill’s visit
    -Governors’ meeting
  -Sandman
    -Visit to RNC
    -Bush’s meeting at Congress
    -Obfuscation
    -The President’s support for Cahill
      -The President’s explanation
      -John N. Mitchell’s prior endorsement

North Dakota election
  -Milton C. Young
    -Age
  -William L. Guy
Bush’s call to Brock

The President’s view

Age of candidate

Youth

Elected officials

Need in Republican Party

Reagan and Rockefeller

Age

Re-election prospects

Ages of presidents

Rockefeller compared with Reagan

Vitality

Effects of television [TV]

1976 candidacy

Reagan, Rockefeller

Agnew

1976 campaign

Haldeman

RNC role

The President’s conference

Presidential candidates

Support for Republicans in the 1974 election

Early campaign favorites

Reagan

Rockefeller

Agnew

Nomination for 1976 Presidential campaign

Campaigning for Congressional candidates in 1974

Fundraising

Connecting with future state delegates

Fat Cats

Mississippi

The President’s recommendations
Name: NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Oct.-09) Conversation No. 412-8 (cont’d)

-Fundraising
-Independent
-RNC chairman’s role
-Bush’s meeting with Reagan in New Orleans

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Campaigning
-Incumbents
  -Brock
  -Young
-Offers of federal appointment
  -Older candidates
-Gordon L. Allott
-Jack R. Miller
-Cabinet positions
  -Secretary of State
  -Secretary of the Treasury
  -Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
  -Timing
  -Sensitivity
    -Leaks
    -Current Cabinet official
-North Dakota

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Candidates in state primaries
-North Dakota
  -Mark Andrews
    -Statewide appeal
-Age
-Ohio
  -William B. Saxbe
    -Support for incumbents
    -William J. Keating
-New York
  -Jacob K. Javits
    -Support for incumbents
    -Primaries
-Saxbe
  -Speculation on candidacy
-Support during primary compared to general election
  -Timing
  -Political mine field
  -Friends of Administration
  -Saxbe
    -Voting record
    -Compared with Robert Taft, Jr.
-Bush’s role
  -Pragmatism

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-RNC support
-Charles E. Goodell
  -President’s failure to support
  -John Rousselot
  -John Birch Society
  -Refusal of support from administration due to Vietnam War issue
  -Ronald L. Ziegler
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-Javits
  -Administration’s support
-Buckley
  -Alternative to Goodell
-Senate elections
  -Impact on Administration
  -Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
    -Support by the President
  -Senate votes
  -Liberal Republicans
    -Goodell
  -Support for all Republican candidates
-Mathias’s campaign
  -William E. Timmons
  -Relationship with Bush
  -Percy

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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Women
-Equal Rights Amendment [ERA]
  -Ratification through state legislatures
    -Pressure on state legislatures
    -Arizona
  -Use of President's statements
-Support by Republican Party
  -Active minority
  -Pragmatic approach
  -Referendum
  -President’s support
Spokeswoman
- Jayne B. Spain
- Katherine K. Bidwell [?]

Youth
Phyllis Schlafley
- Founders Forum
- Opposition to ERA
- Publicity
- Funding
  - John Birch Society
George C. Wallace
- Support for ERA
Administration’s position
- Statements by President, Bush
- Moderate women’s position
  - State legislatures
- President’s position
Draft of Letter
President’s position
Circulation
Use by RNC
Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Statement in support
  - Publicity
  - President’s view
Democratic Party
- Support for ERA
Republican Party
- Support for ERA
- Open door
Schlafley
- March
RNC
- Committee organization
  - Illinois
Pennsylvania [?]

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1974 campaign
- New Majority
- Congressional support
- Support for Administration’s legislative agenda
- Party changes compared with RNC development
  - Bush’s role
  - Joe D. Waggoner, Jr.
    - Support for the President
    - Discussions with Brown, Wilbur D. Mills, Ford
- Gillespie V. (“Sonny”) Montgomery
- Mississippi
- Law suit
- Support for the President
- Knowledge of foreign affairs
- Bush’s leadership style
  - Study report on Party structure
- Byrd
- John B. Connally
  - Impact on office-holders
    - Wagginer
  - Symbolism
  - Impact on elections
    - Congress
    - RNC’s role
- Bush’s conversation with Byrd
  - Mills Godwin
  - Linwood Holton
  - Bush’s pursuit of Byrd
  - Holton’s endorsement of Godwin
- Holton
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Oct.-09)

Conversation No. 412-8 (cont’d)

- President’s view
  - Bush’s call
  - Byrd’s influence

-Godwin
  - Byrd’s endorsement
  - Victory
  - Nixon’s Republicans, Democrat’s support
  - President’s position
  - Pressure to leave race
  - Holton’s opinion of Godwin
    - Racism
  - President’s view

-Holton
  - Support for Civil Rights
    - Virginia, Tennessee, Texas, New York
  - [Unintelligible name]
    - Lieutenant Governor
  - Godwin
  - Meeting with Bush
  - State chairman

Politics
  - Disillusionment
    - Liberal argument
    - 1972 election
  - Press relations
  - Republican Party
    - Optimism

Byrd
  - Support
    - Bush’s role
      - Discussion with Governor’s Association

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Candidate recruitment
- Procedures
  - Problems
- Brock
  - President’s confidence
- House of Representatives
  - Disaster
- Rietz’s role
  - Brown
    - Rietz’s schedule
    - Targeting districts
    - Incumbents
    - House Campaign Committee
- RNC
  - Bush’s parallel role
    - Rietz
  - Evaluations
- Murray M. Chotiner
  - 1946 role in committee establishment
    - Richard Jackson
  - Assistance
  - Knowledge of mechanics
  - Relationship with RNC
  - Advisor role
Meeting with Rietz
- Talent plan for state legislatures
  - Chotiner’s role
  - Compared with Congress
  - Fundraising initiative

-Talent recruitment
  - Committees at district level
    - Fact-finding role
    - California Republican Committee
  - President’s early career
    - Selection as candidate

-Wilson
  - Fundraising compared with recruitment

-President’s early career
  - Selection of Committee of 100
    - Chotiner
    - State, county committee members
    - Business
    - Women representatives
    - Blacks, Jews
    - Mexican representation
    - Mormons

-Brown
  - Travel
    - Texas, Massachusetts

-Congress members
  - Collaboration between districts

-Districts
  - Important people
    - Collaboration
  - Rising stars
    - Junior Chamber of Commerce
    - Rotary Club
    - POWs

-The President’s conversation with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 4:07 pm and 5:25 pm.

[Conversation No. 412-8A]

[See Conversation No. 43-82]

[End of telephone conversation]

POWs
-Moorer
-Elliot L. Richardson
-Pentagon lunch reception
-Heroism
-Appreciation

Moorer
-Inaugural parade
-Jeers
-Patriotism
The President talked with Stephen B. Bull at an unknown time between 4:07 pm and 5:25 pm.

[Conversation No. 412-8B]

[See Conversation No. 43-83]

[End of telephone conversation]

POWs’ return
- Public impression
  - Col. Robinson Risner
- Support for the President
- Moorer’s meeting with the President
  - Dispatch
    - Public release
    - Timing
- POWs’ support for the bombing
  - North Vietnamese attitudes
    - Impact of bombing
- Cora Weiss
  - POWs’ comments
- Significance
- Mrs. James Mulligan
  - Support for the President
    - Courage of the President
    - Hostility of critics
- Moorer’s report
  - North Vietnamese reactions
    - Bombing
    - Perception of the President

POW wives
-Identification of POWs
-The President’s speech
-Families supporting withdrawal
-National League of Families
-Opponents of President's policies

-Minority

-Television [TV] coverage

-Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]

-Press coverage

-Distortions

Amnesty

-Divisive issue

-Public opposition outside Washington, DC

-POWs' opinion

-Congress

-Bill

-Reluctance to raise

-Pat [no last name]

-President’s reaction

-Moorer

-Impact on armed forces

-Abraham Lincoln

-Amnesty policy

-South compared with the North

-Carl Sandberg

-Poem

-Edward DeBertello

-Deserters

-New York draft protests

-Imprisonment

-Pardon

Foreign policy

-Bush’s UN experience
-Credibility
  -Middle East
  -Foreign and domestic cities

New isolationists
-World War II
  -Nazis
  -Marshall Plan
  -Aid to Greece and Turkey
-Split personality
-Allied bombing of Germany
  -Dresden, Hamburg, Cologne
  -Deaths
  -Compared to German bombing of Great Britain
  -Adolf Hitler
  -Compared to US bombing of North Vietnam
-Far Right
  -Isolationists
  -Pro-Nazis
-Left wing
  -Isolationists
  -Communists
  -Socialists
    -Prime Ministers
-Credibility in Europe
-Credibility in Middle East
  -Jewish support
    -Intervention in Middle East
-Ambassador from Yugoslavia
  -Talks with Bush
  -Support for the President
    -Josip Broz Tito
    -Credibility
-Israel
  -Support for the President
-Opposition from US Jews to bombing
  -Arabs
  -Allies
    -Japan, Europe
    -US role in security
      -Missiles
        -US will to use
          -Necessity
          -Demonstration
    -US credibility
      -Soviet Union, People’s Republic of China [PRC]

Bombing of North Vietnam
  -Reaction

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[NATIONAL SECURITY]
[DURATION: 38 s]

INTELLIGENCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

-Criticism
  -Image of President
    -“Mad men”
    -Joseph C. Kraft
-December 1972 bombing

The President, Bush, Armstrong, and Haldeman left at 5:25 pm.