Date: September 10, 1971
Time: 9:20 am - 9:21 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
- Forthcoming meeting
- Photographs session

Butterfield left at 9:21 am.

Date: September 10, 1971
Time: 9:27 am - 10:13 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

The economy
- Meeting with labor union representatives
  - Momentum
    - End of 90-day wage and price freeze
    - Future action
- Congress
  - Democrats
    - "Rich man" tax plan
- Extension of price freeze
- Cost of Living Council [COLC]
- Contact with public
  - Use of White House staff
    - Donald H. Rumsfeld, Robert H. Finch
    - Ombudsman
    - Charles W. Colson
  - Plan
Arthur F. Burns's schedule
- Trip to Europe
  - John B. Connally
- Meeting with the President prior to departure
  - Time of meeting
- George P. Shultz
- Connally
- Meeting with the President
- Trip to Europe
  - Connally, Shultz

The President's schedule
- Meeting with Stewart W. Alsop
- Meeting with Paul W. McCracken
  - Labor meeting
- Dinner for Takeo Fukuda, September 10, 1971

White House worship service
- Rev. William F. (“Billy”) Graham
- Guests

Connally
- Coordination on economic issues
  - The President's previous conversation with Shultz
  - Colson
  - Making information available
    - Administration staff
      - Shultz
      - Connally

Connally
- Relations with administration staff
  - Spiro T. Agnew
  - Melvin R. Laird
  - Meeting with John D. Ehrlichman, Haldeman, Shultz
Burns
  - Meeting with the President
    - President’s views
    - Connally's presence
    - Prospects of future meetings with the President
      - Connally

Connally
  - Reaction to National Symphony concert at Kennedy Center, September 9, 1971
    - Conversation with Haldeman
      - Igor Stravinsky

President's economic speech, September 9, 1971
  - Price
    - Haldeman
    - Safire
      - The President's speech
        - Safire
      - Substance
        - Draft of speech
          - Connally, Shultz
        - Previous conversation with Connally
  - Tax plan
    - Connally
    - Haldeman's previous conversation with Price
      - Price's conversation with Connally
        - Date of conversation
  - Verification of subject for approval
    - George W. Romney
    - James D. Hodgson
    - Connally
    - Treasury
    - William P. Rogers
  - Burns
    - Romney
      - Information about subject of speech
        - Testimony on Capitol Hill
          - House Ways and Means Committee
        - Testimony in accordance with speech content
  - Rogers
    - Cambodia
-Coordination
  -Statement
-Connally
  -Reaction to speech
  -Knowledge on issue
  -Reaction
-Media coverage
  -Applause
  -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
    -Standing ovation
      -End of speech
  -Television editing of the President's speech
    -Parts of the President's speech
      -Applause
      -Replay of key sentences
        -Lead-in
        -Wrap-up
    -Favorable reception to key point of the President's speech
      -Wrap-up
-Edward M. Kennedy
  -The poor
  -Business

Economic policy
  -Poverty
  -Tax cuts
    -Wilbur D. Mills
    -Amount
    -Cost
  -Nixon program
    -Initiative
      -Television appearances
  -Democrats
    -Welfare section of the President's speech
      -Criticism
        -Edward W. Brooke
          -Use of phrase on degradation in work
        -Daniel K. Inouye
          -Welfare rolls
            -Unemployment rate
              -Lack of jobs
Conv. No. 569-2 (cont.)

-Welfare
-Black
-Menial jobs
-George Meany
-Welfare
-Public opinion
-Support for the President

Staffing
-Haldeman’s previous conversation with Colson
-Herbert G. Klein
-Henry C. Cashen, II
-George T. Bell
-Desmond J. Barker, Jr.
-William Rhatican
-Public relations
-Advance man
-Previous jobs for the administration
-Patrick E. O'Donnell
-L. Nicholas Ruwe
-Schedule
-S. Steven Karalekas
-Writing staff
-Safire
-Richard A. Moore
-Staff
-Joseph Baroody, Jr.
-Public relations firm
-Citizens' Committee Organization
-Staff
-Rumsfeld, Finch

Economic policy
-Follow-up
-Shultz
-Philosophical differences
-Agreement on views
-Wage and price controls follow-up
-Elimination of freeze
-Public opinion
- Approval of freeze
- Trade restrictions
  - Approval rate
- Shultz
  - Politics
- Appearance of follow-up
  - Consultation
- The President's conversation with Shultz
  - Announcement of follow-up action
    - Date
- Administration staff
  - Statement on policy
    - Control of runaway inflation
      - Freeze
    - Announcement of follow-up program
- Initiative
  - Deadline
    - Announcement
      - Shultz
      - Connally
- Peter G. Peterson
  - Public reaction and perceptions
    - Announcements
      - Failure to act on programs
        - Date
- Deadline
  - Need for a planned program
    - Time limit
- Announcement of follow-up plan
- Timetable
  - Hearings
  - Discussions
  - Completion of plan
    - Announcement
- Deadline
- Staff
  - Meeting
    - Peterson
- Connally
- Administration's actions
  - Meetings with different groups
Conv. No. 569-2 (cont.)

PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

- The President's style
- Decision-making process
- The President's conversation with Connally
- Evaluation of meeting
- Public perceptions
- Meetings with different groups
- Administration plan
- Business
  - Wage freeze
- Labor
  - Interest rates, profits
- Agriculture
  - Parity issue
- Congress
  - Connally
- Announcement on follow-up programs
  - Date
- Cambodia comparison
- Camp David
  - Workload
- Announcement of follow-up programs
  - Date
  - Connally
  - The President's next press conference
    - Announcement of Soviet summit
  - Follow-up on freeze
    - Date of announcement

DEMOCRATS

- Shultz
- Political strategy
  - Stance on wage and price freeze
    - Comparison to Nixon administration position
      - Eliminating freeze
    - Shultz
  - Build-up of issue
    - Wage and price freeze

ISSUES

- Economy
  - Freeze
    - Burns, Shultz
-Political effect
  -Safire
  -Announcement on freeze
-Connally
-Announcement of follow-up programs on freeze
-Accomplishments
-Mills
  -Criticism of freeze program
  -90-day freeze
    -Public expectations
    -Extension of freeze
  -Development of Phase II
-Date
  -Return from Alaska
  -Date for announcement
    -Prior to announcement on Soviet summit
-Announcement of follow-up program
  -Date
  -Business Week
  -US News & World Report
  -Date
-Connally's role
  -Staff work
  -Time span
  -COLC
    -Connally as chairman
  -COLC recommendations
    -The President's decision
      -Date
-Newsworthy story
  -Timing
  -Weekend magazine deadline

President’s meeting with labor groups
  -Connally's attendance
  -Hodgson
    -Moderator role
  -Shultz
  -Connally
    -Decision on Phase II
  -Views of labor group
-Press participation at meeting
  Photograph
  Off-the-record nature of meeting
  No official press report

Connally
  Schedule
  Meeting with the President and Haldeman

The President left at an unknown time before 10:04 am.

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:27 am.

Connally

Request for Connally’s presence

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:04 am.

Connally entered at 10:04 am.

Greetings

Burns
  Possible meeting with the President
  Trip to Europe
  Connally's previous conversation with Burns
    President’s position
      Fixed exchange rates

The President entered at an unknown time after 10:04 am.

Greetings

Burns
  Meetings with the President and Connally
  Connally's trip to Europe
  Burns
    Meetings with European officials
    Connally's previous conversation with Burns
    Convertibility
Upcoming meeting with labor group
  -Arrival

Connally's previous conversation with Burns
  -Surcharge
  -Political issues
  -Time of call

Connally's schedule
  -Meeting with the President and Burns
    -Time
      -State dinner for Fukuda, September 10, 1971
  -Breakfast with Fukuda
  -Quadriad
  -COLC meeting
    -Discussion of Phase II
  -Meeting with the President and Burns
    -Time
    -COLC meeting
      -Connally
      -Burns

The President's schedule
  -Camp David
    -Departure time
    -Return
      -Church service
    -Meeting with Burns

Announcement of Phase II
  -Set date
  -Press

Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:04 am.

Arrival of labor group representatives

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:13 am.

Announcement of Phase II
Connally left at 10:13 am.

Connally
- Arrangements for labor group meeting

The President and Haldeman left at 10:13 am.
Conversation No. 569-3

Date:  September 10, 1971
Time:  Unknown between 12:12 pm and 12:14 pm
Location:  Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
   - Meeting with Bull
     - Return from family theater
     - Meeting

Lights
   - Instruction

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:14 pm.

Conversation No. 569-4

Date:  September 10, 1971
Time:  12:14 pm - 12:19 pm
Location:  Oval Office

The President met with John B. Connally.

Previous meeting with labor union representatives
   - Cooperation
   - Deferred wage increases
   - Wage and price freeze

Forthcoming meeting with Arthur F. Burns and Connally
   - Date
     - Following Cost of Living Council [COLC] meeting
Announcement of Phase II
  - COLC meeting
  - Follow-up program
  - Japanese departure
  - Setting deadlines
    - Political problem
      - Accusations of inactivity by the administration
  - Previous announcement
  - End of freeze
    - Plans for Phase II
      - Follow-up program
        - Official announcement before expiration of Phase I
  - Setting date for Phase II
  - COLC meeting
    - The President's attendance
      - Decision on announcement on Phase II
        - Connally's announcement
          - Date for Phase II
  - Announcement on Phase II
    - Long-range plan
  - American public
    - Wage and price controls
  - Follow-up program
    - Date for announcement
  - Timing
    - Consultations with interest groups
      - Views of groups
  - Phase II
    - Announcement
      - Date
        - Reflection of consultation with business, agriculture, and Congress
  - Plan ready
    - Date

Connally left at 12:19 pm.
Date: September 10, 1971  
Time: 12:19 pm - 12:25 pm  
Location: Oval Office


- Brig. Gen. Albert Redman, Jr.  
  - Redman family  
  - Arrival

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:25 pm.

- Redman  
  - White House Communications Agency [WHCA]  
  - Promotion date

Arrangement of gifts

Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:19 pm.

- Redman party  
  - Arrival


Greetings and introductions

Promotion

Photographs

Promotion  
  - Redman's work

Photographs  
  - Family  
  - Group
Redman
-Career
-Years of service

Presidential gifts
-Cufflinks
- Presidential seal
- Items

American Telephone and Telegraph [AT&T]
- White House
- Bill
- Payment

Redman et al. left at 12:25 pm.

Date: September 10, 1971
Time: 12:25 pm - 12:26 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
- Rotary International
- Ernst G. Breitholtz
- Meeting

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:26 pm.
The President met with Ernst G. Breitholtz, George T. Bell, and Robert R. Mullen; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings and introductions

Gift for the President
- Orrefors crystal vase
  - Date
  - Artisans
  - Factory
    - Chandeliers
  - Seal
- Public relations man
- Rotarian
  - Membership

Photographs

Purpose of visit
- Invitation to the President
  - Rotary Convention in June 1972
    - Possible speech
    - Number attending
    - Marching bands
    - The President’s possible attendance

Rotary conventions
- The President's previous attendance
  - Chicago
    - 1955
- Return appearance by the President
- Location of 1972 convention
  - Houston, Texas
- 1971 convention
  - Sydney, Australia
- 1972 convention

Rotarian organization
- Worldwide
  - Nature of convention
    - World situation
      - Rotaries
      - Individuals
  - The President's speech at convention
    - Opportunity to address the world
      - Foreign participation in convention
      - The President's speech, September 9, 1971
  - Membership
  - Foreign countries
    - United Nations [UN]
  - The President's possible attendance
    - World reaction

The President's speech, September 9, 1971
  - Breitholtz's viewing
    - Press statements
  - William E. Walk, Jr.

Breitholtz
  - Association with Rotary
    - Length of time
  - Rotary

US Economic policy
  - Strengthen economy
    - Influence on the world
  - American public
  - World situation

Breitholtz's schedule
  - South America
  - Europe

Rotary Club
  - The President's appreciation for organization
  - The President's professor in college
  - Service club
    - International goodwill
      - Greatest contribution
-Telegrams

Presidential gifts
- Cufflinks
  - Presidential seal
- Golf balls
  - Presidential seal
  - Non-partisan

Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
- Reaction to gift

Breitholtz et al. left at 12:36 pm

Conversation No. 569-8

Date: September 10, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:36 pm and 12:39 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
- Paul W. McCracken
  - Schedule
  - Meeting with McCracken
  - Time
  - Schedule

New presidential podium
- Residence

Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
- Book
  - Gift [crystal vase]

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:39 pm.
Date: September 10, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:36 pm and 12:39 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

New presidential podium

The President's schedule
- Meeting with Rotarians
- President of Rotary Club

The President and Haldeman left at 12:39 pm.

Date: September 10, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:39 pm and 12:58 pm
Location: Oval Office


[Unintelligible]

The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 12:58 pm.

Date: September 10, 1971
Time: 12:58 pm - 2:05 pm
Location: Oval Office
The President met with an unknown person; Secret Service agents were present at the beginning of the meeting.

The unknown person and agents left and H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman entered at 12:59 pm.

The President's September 9, 1971 speech draft
-Raymond K. Price, Jr.
-John B. Connally
  -Memo sent via Dex telecopier
  -Texas
    -Connally's office
-Cost of Living Council [COLC]
-William L. Safire
-Draft
-Connally
  -First drafts
    -Safire
    -Texas
    -COLC
  -Revisions of drafts
-Price
  -Staff
  -Connally
  -Reporters
  -Drafts
    -Connally's office
      -Transmission of text via Dex system
        -Texas
  -The President's forthcoming meeting

The President's schedule
-COLC meeting
  -Time
  -Meeting with Arthur F. Burns
  -Meeting with Paul W. McCracken
  -Meeting with John D. Ehrlichman
  -Meeting with Donald H. Rumsfeld
    -Attendance at Governors' Conference
    -Report on Illinois

White House worship service
- William F. (“Billy”) Graham
- Invitations
  - Congress
- Graham
  - Forthcoming call from Haldeman
  - Lunch invitation

Polls
- George H. Gallup
  - Approval rate
    - Release date
  - Intensity rate
    - Approval rate
  - Popularity
- Louis P. Harris
- White House poll
  - Approval rate
  - Disapproval rate
  - Reasons
    - Vietnam War
      - Troop withdrawal
    - Wage and price freeze
    - Economy
    - Civil rights and race relations
      - Busing
    - Unemployment
    - Wage and price freeze
    - Favored big business
    - Inflation
    - Taxes
    - Foreign relations
      - Vietnam election
    - Welfare
    - Spending
    - Reaction to incumbent
- Spiro T. Agnew
  - Approval rate
  - Disapproval rate
  - Undecided
- Economic conditions
  - Approval rate
- Disapproval rate
- The President's new economic policies
  - Fairness of policies
    - Rates
      - Favored groups
        - Business
        - Labor
        - Consumer
        - Wealthy
    - Confidence in the future
      - Rates
    - Criticism of the President's economic policies
      - Labor union leaders
        - Views of union members
        - Rates
      - Legalization of marijuana
        - In favor
        - Against
        - Rates
          - Gallup poll
            - October 1969
    - Busing issue

Refreshment
  - Manolo Sanchez
  - Coffee

The President left and Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 12:59 pm.

Refreshments

Sanchez left and the President entered at an unknown time before 2:05 pm.

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 12:59 pm.

[Delivery of refreshments]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:05 pm.

White House poll
  - Busing
-Gallup poll
-In favor
-Against
   -Rates
   -Changes
-Responsibility for busing
   -Congress
   -President
   -Supreme Court
   -State and local school officials
-Analysis of rates
-School integration
   -Busing
      -Minimum required by law
         -Agreed
         -Disagreed
-School integration plan
   -Extensive busing
      -Required
-Ralph Nader
   -Effectiveness
      -American industry
      -Consumers
         -Harris poll
         -White House poll
            -Comparisons between results
-Improve quality of services
   -Harris poll
      -Compared to White House poll
-Popularity
-Representation of American industry
   -Fairness
      -Agreed
      -Disagreed
         -Harris poll
         -White House poll
-Interpretation of results of polls
   -Harmful to attack Nader
      -Nader's supporters
         -Nader's influence
      -Income
-Education
-Age

-Labor issue
  -Effect on US
    -1967
    -1970
    -1971
  -Changes in popular feelings
    -Against strikes
      -Response from union and non-union families
        -Comparison

-Labor union leaders
  -Position
  -Leaders
    -Excellent
    -Good
    -Fair
    -Poor

-Labor unions
  -Public attitude
  -Demands for higher wages
    -Produce higher prices
      -1966
      -1967
      -1968
      -1969
      -1970
      -1971
    -Overall trend in figures
      -Union families

-Nixon administration's drug traffic controls
  -Evaluation
    -Public
      -Television
      -Media
      -Meeting small groups
    -Public perceptions
      -Uniform low rate

-Copies of results
  -Ehrlichman
  -Charles W. Colson
- Labor
  - The President's trips
    - The President's vacations
  - People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - Admittance to United Nations [UN]
  - US military capability
    - Comparison to the Soviet Union
    - US military superiority
      - Importance of issue
      - Maintaining US superiority
    - Focus of issue
    - Conservative issue
    - Public opinion
      - US military superiority over the Soviet Union

Drug control policy
  - Administration's efforts
  - Public relations
  - Ehrlichman
  - Colson
  - Public perception
    - Drug problem unsolved
  - Different approach by administration

White House poll
  - Approval rate for the President
    - Shift of rates
    - By age group
      - Teenagers
      - Young adults
      - Adults
      - Elderly
    - Changes in rates
      - Majority
        - Patterns
      - Drop in conservatives
      - Drop in liberals
      - Increases
        - Middle-of-the-road
        - George C. Wallace 1968 voters
        - Nixon voters
- Hubert H. Humphrey's 1968 supporters
- Regional voting patterns
  - East
  - Midwest
  - Drop
  - South
  - West
  - Increase
- Return to normal
  - By region
- Breakdown of Agnew poll
  - Rate related to age
    - Youth
  - Republicans and Independents
    - Approval rate
  - Democrats
    - Unfavorable
  - Conservatives
    - Strong supporters
  - Regional support
    - Wallace

Other polls
  - Economic rating
    - Breakdown
      - Similar to approval rate
        - By regions
          - Midwest
            - Decrease
          - Far West
            - Increase
              - Lower unemployment
          - Midwest
            - Michigan
              - The President's appearance
                - Ohio
                - Illinois
                - Effect on poll
                  - Date of poll

- Unions
  - Harris poll
Higher wages
- Inflation
- Current figures
- Union leaders

Busing issues
- Public opinion
  - Majority in agreement with the President's plan
  - Democrats
  - Non-whites

The President's vacation
- Minority
  - Criticism

Other polls
- The President
  - Democrats, Liberals, and Humphrey supporters

The President's trips in the US
- Increase number of trips
  - East
  - Catholics
  - Republicans

Economic programs
- Approval rate high
- Union leaders
  - Lack of support from unions' members or public

Opposition
- Democrat Party

Public support
- Unions' demands
- Higher prices
- Inflation
  - Crackdown

Administration's action
- Election time

Harris poll
- Colson
- Release date
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 24s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 4m 25s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Comparison of Harris and White House polls
- White House polls
  - Increase
    - Support for the President
- Gallup poll
- White House poll
- Approval rate
- Gallup
  - Changes in nature of approval

The President's approval rate
- Breakdown by age
- Youth
  - The President's trip to the PRC
- Foreign policy
- Soviet Union
-Economy
  -Employment
  -College students
-Appeal of speakers on campus
  -William P. Rogers
  -Henry A. Kissinger
  -Peter G. Peterson
-Materialism
-Idealism
  -Racial issue
  -Peace issue
-Ehrlichman
  -Understanding youth's goals
-Approach by the President
-Scranton Committee
-Universities

The economy
  -Public support
  -Unemployment
    -Harmful effect of statistical release
  -White House poll
  -The President's conversation with Connally
    -Follow-up programs

The President's approval rating
  -Improvement
  -Intensity of approval
    -Kenneth T. Norris
  -PRC trip
    -Compared to announcement
      -Photographs
      -News coverage
  -Wage and price freeze
    -Action
  -Boldness
  -Leadership
  -Hard work
  -Family man
    -Poll
  -Warmth
-Lack of improvement in polls
-Press
-The President's actions
  -Speeches
  -Appearances
  -Public relations
    -Handicapped

Press
  -The President's public image
    -Forthcoming publication of book [by Edith Efron]
      -1968 campaign
  -John F. Kennedy
  -Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis

Public relations
  -Perception of the President
    -Leadership compared to warmth
  -Interviews
    -Effect
  -The President's public appearances
    -The President's speech, September 9, 1971
      -Television audience
        -The President's demeanor
          -Podium
          -Vice President [Agnew]
          -Speaker of the House of Representatives [Carl B. Albert]
          -American flag
          -Ovation
          -Congress
        -Public need
      -The President's public image
        -American public
          -Leadership
          -Messiah
          -Courage
          -Family man
      -Parade magazine
        -Cover story
          -The President and Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
            -Cover photo of walking on the beach
-Newsweek
-Kennedy Center
  -Tricia Nixon Cox
    -Wedding
    -Impact
    -Television
-Economy
-Negative aspects of administration
  -Economy
  -Vietnam War
-International stature
  -PRC trip
    -Haldeman's conversation with Kissinger
    -Interest by others in visiting the PRC
  -Kissinger
  -Soviet Union
    -Summit announcement
    -Timing
    -Impact on public opinion

The President's supporters
  -Opponents

Cabinet members
  -Spokesman roles for the administration
    -George W. Romney
      -Work for administration
    -Lenore L. Romney
    -Romney
    -John A. Volpe
    -Connally
    -Rogers
    -Use of the President's supporters

Polls
  -Elections
    -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
      -Vietnam election
      -Motives
Wilbur D. Mills

The press
  - Media events
    - The PRC
    - Soviet Union
    - Press conferences
  - Presentation of campaigns
    - 1968 campaign
      - 1968 convention
        - Acceptance speech
      - Substantial lead
        - Democrats
      - Bombing halt in Vietnam
    - Media
      - Effect on campaign
    - Travels
    - Bombing halt
    - Telethons
    - Television
    - South Vietnam
      - Nguyen Van Thieu
    - Bombing halt
  - Kissinger
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
    - Bombing halt

The President's schedule
  - Japanese visitors
Conv. No. 569-11 (cont.)

-William F. (“Billy”) Graham

The President and Haldeman left at 2:05 pm..

Conversation No. 569-12

Date: September 10, 1971
Time: Unknown between 2:05 pm and 3:03 pm
Location: Oval Office


The President's location
-Executive Office Building [EOB]

[Unintelligible]

This recording was cut off at an unknown time before 3:03 pm.