Conversation No. 822-15

Date: December 13, 1972 [?]
Time: Unknown
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

Check

The unknown people left at an unknown time on an unknown day.

Conversation No. 822-1

Date: December 13, 1972 [?]
Time: Unknown
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

The recording began while the meeting was in progress and was cut off at an unknown time.

Vietnam negotiations
-Compromise
-[Henry A. Kissinger?]

Conversation No. 822-2

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:48 pm and 2:57 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.
The President's schedule

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:57 pm.

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:48 pm and 2:57 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

The President’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:57 pm.
Date: December 13, 1972
Time: 2:57 pm – 3:07 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald H. Walker and Dwight L. Chapin. Stephen B. Bull and White House photographer were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

[Photograph session]
- Confirmation

National Park Service [NPS]
- Pork barrel programs
- Property
  - Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo
  - Coco Lobo
- Administration officials
- Members of Congress
- Cuts
  - General public
  - Members of Congress
    - John P. Saylor
    - Alan Bible
    - George Hartzog
- General public
- Members of Congress
- Special privileges
  - Review
  - General public
  - Congressional relations
    - Private use
- Special privileges
  - Compared to Defense Department
- General public
- Public relations [PR]
  - Parks program
Conversation No. 822-5 (cont’d)

- Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Tricia Nixon Cox, Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
  - Dedications
- Claudia A. (Taylor) (“Lady Bird”) Johnson
  - Beautification project
- Press relations
- Hartzog
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
  - Morris K. Udall
  - John F. Kennedy
- Departure
  - Law firm
  - Washington, DC
- Press relations
  - Publications
  - State conservation and park organizations
  - Walker’s visit to NPS
  - Hartzog
  - Absence of the President’s portrait
  - Nathaniel P. Reed
- Reed
  - Interior Department
- Promotion of the administration
  - Kennedy
  - Lyndon Johnson
- Cabinet
- Staff
- Property
  - Use by Congressmen
  - Coco Lobo
  - Staff
  - Conversion
- Coco Lobo
  - John C. Whitaker
  - Rebozo
  - Preservation
  - Staff
  - Boy Scouts of America
- Personnel
  - Promotions
  - Young people
Conversation No. 822-5 (cont’d)

- Loyalists
  - Congressional relations
- Hartzog
- Law firm

1972 campaign
- Advance work
  - Surrogates
  - Ontario, California [November 4, 1972]

NPS
- Property
- Cuts
  - Staff
  - Privileges
  - General public
  - Compared to elite, numbers of Congressional committees
- Compared to 1972 campaign
  - Advance work
  - Ontario

Walker and Chapin left at 3:07 pm.

Conversation No. 822-6

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: 3:08 pm – 3:47 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Anne L. Armstrong and H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

Greetings

[Photograph session]
  - Washington Redskins-Dallas Cowboys game, December 10, 1972
  - Result
  - Injuries
    - Larry Brown
Constitutional Convention with [name] and [name]

- Armstrong’s schedule
  - Ice storm in Texas

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

Republican National Committee [RNC] Chairmanship
  - George H. W. Bush

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

*************************

United Nations [UN]
  - George H. W. Bush’s view
    - Value
      - Hijacking vote, December 12, 1972
        - Africa

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

- Compared to Republican Party

Bush
  - Accomplishments
  - Senate and House committees

Robert C. (“Bob”) Wilson
  - Decision to run
  - Newspaper reports
    - Washington Post, Dallas Morning News
      - Daniel H. Kuykendall
        - Haldeman’ to follow-up on story
          - Gerald R. Ford

Republican candidates
  - New Majority
-Wilson, William E. Brock, III
  -Senate
-Bush
-House of Representatives
  -Age
  -Quality
-Ford
  -Clarence J. ("Bud") Brown, Jr.
-Wilson

Refreshments

Republican candidates
  -Wilson
    -1968 election
    -Bush
    -Brown
    -Barber B. Conable, Jr.
    -Ford
    -Kuykendall
      -Tennessee
    -Bush
  -Unified organization
    -Research finance
    -Republican campaign, committees
    -1971 campaign finances
-Robert J. ("Bob") Dole
  -Work during 1972 campaign
    -Concentration of resources
-1974 Congressional elections
  -State legislatures
  -Candidates
-Armstrong
  -Speech at Republican Convention
-Democratic Party
  -Public attitude
  -New Majority
    -Tom Flynn [?]
    -The President’s outreach
      -Maryland, Florida
Conversation No. 822-6 (cont’d)

-1972 election
  -Florida, Texas
  -Ethnics
  -Divisions

John B. Connally
- Conversations with Armstrong and the President
  - Invitation to support the President
    - Texas Republican Party
  - Leader of Texas politics
- Future with Democrats
  - Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy
  - Robert S. Strauss

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Second term reorganization
- Armstrong
  - Chief of Protocol
    - Armstrong’s conversation with Haldeman
      - Tobin Armstrong’s schedule
        - Parties
        - Trips
          - US image
          - Ranch
  - Trips
  - 1973
    - Europe
    - Number
    - Europe
    - [Leonid I. Brezhnev’s] trip to the US
      - Europe
        - February
      - Soviet Union, People’s Republic of China [PRC]
        - Duration
  - Image
    - Tobin Armstrong
- Conversation with Dwight L. Chapin
-State Department
-Bicentennial Commission
  -The President’s note
  -Chairmanship
    -David J. Mahoney, Jr.
  -Management
  -Communications
  -Liaison to state commissions, governors, countries
  -Anne Armstrong’s schedule
    - Compared to Chief of Protocol
  -Tobin Armstrong
- Problems
  - Mahoney’s schedule
  - Committee
  - Management
  - Politics
    - 1972 election
      - Congressional relations
        - Democrats
-James Roosevelt
  - Franklin D. Roosevelt
    - Chairmanship
-Women
  - Appointment to high positions
  - Marriage
  - Marina von N. Whitman
    - [Robert Whitman]
      - University of Pittsburgh
  - Atomic Energy Commission [AEC]
  - Oveta Culp Hobby
  - Frances Perkins
    - Hobby
  - Chief of Protocol
    - Ambassadorship
    - Symbolism
-Bicentennial Commission
  - Co-chairmanship
-Value
  - “Sales” ability
  - Television [TV]
Conversation No. 822-6 (cont’d)

-Women
-White House staff
  -Cuts
    -Barbara H. Franklin
      -Recruitment
    -Blacks, Jews, women
    -Anne Armstrong’s schedule
      -Texas
- Bicentennial Commission
  -Liaison
  -Leonard Garment
  -The President’s conversation with Hobart D. (“Hobe”) Lewis
  -Liaison with former Presidents
  -Special consultancy
  -Congressional relations
  -Ethnic quotas
  -Office location
    -Jackson [Place]
      -James Biddle
        -Compared to Executive Office Building [EOB]
  -Purpose
  -Role
    -Advisor
    -Speaker
    -Liaison
    -Bicentennial Commission
    -Republican Party
-Woman
-Role
  -Compared to Garment
  -Special Consultant or Special Counsel
  -Bicentennial Commission
  -Other duties
-Women’s groups’ criticism
  -Special Consultant
-Possible title
  -Special Consultant
  -Importance
-Anne Armstrong’s schedule
-Women
Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:08 pm.

The President’s schedule
   - George P. Shultz

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:47 pm.

Second term reorganization
   - Armstrong
     - Bicentennial Commission
       - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
         - Concern
           - Francis J. (“Frank”) Sinatra
             - Chairmanship
           - Chairmanship
           - Garment
         - White House staff
           - Need for specific responsibilities
             - Charles B. (“Bud”) Wilkinson
               - [National Center for Voluntary Action] [NCVA]
             - Bryce N. Harlow’s view
               - Counselor to the President
             - NCVA
               - Wilkinson
Conversation No. 822-6 (cont’d)

-George W. Romney
  -Compared to Bicentennial Commission
  -Bicentennial Commission
    -Possible failure
    -Richard M. Nixon era
    -Possible failure
      -Congress
      -States’ responsibility
  -Armstrong
    -Bicentennial Commission
      -Possible failure
    -White House staff
      -Possible staff
      -Office location
      -Specific responsibilities
        -Announcement
          -Bicentennial Commission
    -Political meetings
    -Bush

The President’s schedule
  -Shultz

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

Wilson candidacy
  -Message to Ford
  -The President’s support
    -Fundraising
      -House Campaign Committee
      -Photographs with the President
  -Role for women
    -1972 campaign
    -Dole
    -Clark MacGregor
      -Committee to Re-elect the President [CRP]
    -Lack of women on staff
  -Rita E. Hauser
Second term reorganization
  -Armstrong
  -White House staff
    -Politics
      -John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
        -Garment
        -Modern art
        -Nancy Hanks
      -Bicentennial Commission
      -Kennedy Center
        -Modern architecture and art
          -The President’s view
          -Henry A. Kissinger
          -Garment
          -1973 Inauguration
            -Reviewing stand
            -Weather
          -“The Movement”
          -Physical appearances, lives
            -[Robert H. Bork]
              -Solicitor General
              -Beard
              -Conservatism
                -Barry M. Goldwater
          -Lifestyle
          -The President’s views
            -Public opinion
          -Ted Cummings
          -Hollywood
      -Compared to Chief of Protocol
        -Image
          -Tobin Armstrong
          -The President’s travels
Conversation No. 822-6 (cont’d)

-Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
-Anne Armstrong’s schedule
-New Majority
  -Bicentennial Commission
-Anne Armstrong’s relationship with Bush, William E. Brock, III
-Women
  -Political meetings
  -Fights
  -Republican Party
  -Constance Armitage of National Federation of Republican Women
-Groups’ criticism
-AEC
  -Dr. Edward E. David, Jr.
  -Shultz
-Change
  -Cabinet
-Supreme Court
  -Preparation
-Anne Armstrong’s possible conversation with Haldeman
-Possible title
  -Compared to Garment’s title
-Office location
  -White House, EOB
-Bicentennial Commission
-Politics
-Special projects
-South
-Recruitment
-South
-Democrats
  -Relationship with John E. Tower
    -Background
      -Texas
  -Southern Republicans
    -Harry F. Byrd, Jr.
      -Linwood Holton’s view

Armstrong and Haldeman left at 3:47 pm.
Conversation No. 822-7

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:47 pm and 3:48 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with George P. Shultz
- Meeting with Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
  - Trip to Europe and Middle East
  - Oil
  - John D. Ehrlichman
- Delay
  - Shultz

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:48 pm.

Conversation No. 822-8

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: 3:48 pm – 4:13 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with George P. Shultz, Edwin S. Cohen and Lewis A. Engman.

Greetings
  - Shultz’s birthday

Department of the Treasury
  - Personnel
  - Ages
  - Staff meeting
    - Cohen and Shultz
  - Support for Cohen
Conversation No. 822-8 (cont’d)

- John H. Alexander’s and Randolph Hobson Guthrie conversation with the President in New York
- Cohen’s career
  - Teaching
- Tax bar
  - Special interests
  - Respect

Taxes
- Wilbur H. Mills
- 1972 campaign
  - Mills
  - Demagoguery
  - Property
  - Private school aid
- Mills
  - Ways and Means Committee
    - Constituents
      - Democratic Study Group
        - Control
        - Mills’s possible position as Speaker of the House
        - Sam M. Gibbons of Florida

Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations [ACIR]
- Referral of questions
  - Timing
- Draft report
- Property taxes
  - Private school aid
  - Recommendation Four
    - The President’s statements
  - Recommendation Two
    - Household income
  - Federal income tax credit
    - Compared to Federal grants to states
      - “Circuit breaker” plans
        - 1972 election
        - Governors’ and mayors’ view
    - Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
    - Cost
Conversation No. 822-8 (cont’d)

- Compared to Federal grants to states
  - Matching grants
  - Governors, mayors
  - Political considerations
    - Meeting with John B. Connally
    - Radicals
    - Simplification of tax code
  - Options
  - Budget
  - Congressional relations
    - Committees
    - Mills
- Value-added tax [VAT]
  - Recommendations Five and Six
  - Proposal
    - 1972
  - Alternative A
  - Recommendation Four
    - Intrastate disparities
  - Recommendation Five
  - Recommendation Six
- Shultz’s schedule
  - Meetings with Mills and Russell B. Long
    - William E. Simon
  - Tax policy
  - Trade
    - 1972 election
      - Congressional relations
        - Democrats
  - Private school aid
  - Property taxes
    - Elderly
      - Federal-state credit
        - 1972 election
        - Income floor
  - Northeastern poor and retired families
  - Cohen’s property in Denmark, Maine
    - Helen (Herz) Cohen
      - Girls’ camp
  - Congressional relations
Conversation No. 822-8 (cont’d)

-The President’s meeting
-1972 election

Tax issues
- Investment tax credit
- Accelerated depreciation
- Revenue estimates
  - Asset Depreciation Range [ADR]
  - Companies election to take
- Savings
- Forthcoming meetings
  - Ehrlichman, Simon
  - Broad options
  - Simplification of tax code
- Minimum taxes
  - Increase
    - 1972 election
- Individuals
  - Capital gains
    - Compared to depletion of farming, accelerated depression
- Companies
  - Oil
  - Timber
  - Capital gains
  - Increase
    - Elderly
    - Schools
- Necessity
- Congressional relations
  - Senate bill
    - Alternative
  - Finance Committee

White House gifts
- Ash trays

Cohen’s age
- Retirement

Milton Friedman
Conversation No. 822-8 (cont’d)

- Conversation with Shultz
  - Health

Return of memoranda to Shultz
  - Approval
  - Mistakes

The President’s schedule
  - Meeting with Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson

Shultz, Cohen and Engman left at 4:13 pm.

Conversation No. 822-9

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: Unknown between 4:13 pm and 4:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 34-63]

Conversation No. 822-10

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: Unknown between 4:13 pm and 4:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
  - Meeting with [Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson]
    - Interruption
      - Timing

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:15 pm.
Conversation No. 822-11

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: 4:15 pm – 4:55 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson.

Greetings

Jackson’s trip to Europe and Middle East
-Speech
-Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
-Golda Meir
  -Meeting with Jackson
  -Greetings from the President
  -Toughness, compassion
  -Political intentions
  -Compared to Indira Gandhi
    -India
  -Jackson’s view
  -Relations with US
    -Dinner for Gandhi, November 4, 1971
      -Invasion of East Pakistan
      -The President’s toast
        -Jawaharlal Nehru
      -Gandhi’s toast
        -Tone
          -US wealth
          -Ideals, morals
      -The President’s and Jackson’s views
        -Pakistan

Jackson’s recent trip to Europe and Middle East
-Meeting with [Shah of Iran] Mohammed Reza Pahlavi
  -Greetings from the President
  -Iran
-Pro-Western orientation
-Relations with India
-Relations with Iraq
    -Soviet Union
-Urban guerrillas
    -Soviet Union
-Defense spending
    -Effect on Saudi Arabia
    -Great power role
    -Helicopters, concords

-Saudi Arabia
-Political situation
    -Jackson’s view
    -John B. Connally’s trip

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:15 pm.

Refreshments
-Tea

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:47 pm.

Jackson’s recent trip to Europe and Middle East
    -Saudi Arabia
    -Connally’s forthcoming trip
        [Faisal, King of Saudi Arabia] Malik Faisal ibn Abd al-Aziz al-Saud
        -Jackson’s telephone call to Connally
        -Business
        -Connally’s briefings of the President

-Energy issue
    -Jackson’s meeting with Peter M. Flanigan

-Departmental disputes
    -Interior Department
    -Commerce Department
    -Atomic Energy Commission [AEC]
    -Defense Department [DOD]
    -State Department
    -White House staff
        -Cuts
        -Role
Sanchez entered and left at an unknown time before 4:47 pm.

- White House staff
  - Policy
    - Oil, nuclear
    - US-Soviet Union gas deal
  - Jackson’s possible conversation with John D. Ehrlichman
- Handling
  - James E. Akins
  - Flanigan
  - State Department
  - Transportation Department
  - Unknown person
  - George P. Shultz [?]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8
[National Security]
[Duration: 3s]
[Subject: Intelligence]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

Energy
  - Jackson’s possible conversation with Ehrlichman
  - Handling
    - Departments, agencies

Middle East
  - Persian Gulf
    - Jackson’s concern
  - Iraq
    - Soviet Union
    - Oil reserves
    - Iraq
    - Saudi Arabia
Compared to the US
Population
-Persian Gulf
-Oil
-Soviet Union
-Intentions
-Communism
-Influence on oil supplies
-Mohammed Mossadegh
-Western Europe
-Japan

-Iran-Saudi Arabia relations
-State Department
-Jackson’s conversation with Connally
-Shah’s view
-Basis of mutual enmity
-Race, ethnicity
-Arabs

-Kuwait
-Population
-Saudi Arabia
-Political situation
-Projected revenue
-1980
-Persian Gulf
-US balance of payments deficit

-Israeli-Arab conflict
-Resolution
-Shah’s view
-Saudi Arabia’s position
-Algeria’s position
-Syria’s position
-US position
-Saudi position
[Subject: Saudi Arabia, Iran]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11
[Duration: 32s ]
[Subject: Middle East]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11

Middle East
-Ambassadorship to Iran
 -Richard M. Helms
   -Retirement
     -Age
   -Joseph S. Farland
   -Intelligence background
   -Persian Gulf
   -Conversation with Jackson

Middle East
-Statistics on oil
  -Akens
    -Flanigan

Energy
-US position
-Oil prices
  -Arab’s position
    -Intention not to pump
      -Conversations with Jackson
  -Shah’s view
  -Saudi Arabia
-US science and technology
-Research and development [R & D]
-Coal
  -Gassification
  -Liquification
-Oil shale
  -Colorado
  -US oil companies
-Oil companies
  -Advertising
-Geothermal
-Nuclear power
-Incentives to drill
-Canada
-Canada
-Natural gas reserves
-Liquefied Natural Gas [LNG]
  -Soviet Union
-US dependence on foreign sources
-Oil
  -1972 compared to 1980
-Natural gas
  -Algeria
  -Soviet Union

Jackson’s trip to Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania and Czechoslovakia
  -Meetings with Josip Broz Tito and other heads of state
  -Tito
    -Ethnic problems
    -Background
      -Croatia
    -Serbs, Slovenes
    -Age
    -View of the President
    -Drinking
      -Brandy
    -Succession
    -Leonid I. Brezhnev
      -Doctrine
    -Succession
The President spoke with the White House operator at an unknown time between 4:15 pm and 4:47 pm.

[See Conversation No. 34-64]

[End of telephone conversation]

Eastern Europe
-Trade with US
  -Czechoslovakia
    -Soviet Union
  -US technical assistance and exchanges
    -Bulgaria
    -Czechoslovakia
    -Doctors
    -Managerial help
  -Romania
    -Jackson’s meeting with Nicholae Ceausescu
    -Communism
      -Internal conditions
      -Compared to the Soviet Union
    -Ceausescu’s relations with US
    -Aid
  -Bulgaria
    -Compared to the Soviet Union
    -Slavs
    -Czechoslovakia
      -US technical aid
    -View of US science, technology and economic output
-People
  -East-West trade
  -Ideology

Second term reorganization
  -National defense and arms control

Bulgarians
-Compared to Soviets
-Elliot L. Richardson
  -Jonathan Moore
    -Jackson’s position on Institute of Politics, John F. Kennedy School of Government [Harvard University]
    -Dr. Jerome B. Weisner
    -Compared to William Miller
      -John Sherman Cooper
    -Jackson’s conversation with Richardson
    -Laurence E. (“Larry”) Lynn, Jr.
      -Resignation
        -Cambodia invasion
      -The President’s conversation with Richardson
    -Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
    -DOD
    -Lynn
      -Cambodia
      -Loyalty
    -Position
      -Influences
    -DOD
      -William P. Clements, Jr.
        -John A. Tower
          -Meeting with Jackson
    -Richardson
      -Conversation with Jackson
      -Ivy League
      -SALT
        -Hard and soft lines
          -State Department
          -Melvin R. Laird
          -William P. Rogers
      -Intelligence
      -Loyalty
      -Managerial ability
      -Clements
      -Influences
        -Arms control
      -Arms Control and Disarmament Agency [ACDA]
        -Jackson’s recommendations
        -Jackson’s conversation with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
Conversation No. 822-11 (cont’d)

- Elimination
- Staff
  - Cuts
  - Budget
- SALT delegation
  - U. Alexis Johnson
    - Chief negotiator
    - Rogers’s telephone call to Jackson
    - Instructions
      - Cambodia, the President’s May 9, 1972 decision
- Loyalty
  - Foreign Service Officer [FSO]
- The President’s conversation with Jackson
- Staff
  - Cuts
  - Disloyalty
    - George S. McGovernites
    - Weisner
    - Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT]
    - American Federation of Scientists
  - Jackson’s conversation with Haig
  - Europe
  - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.’s view
    - Jackson’s conversation with Henry A. Kissinger

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:15 pm.

The President’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:47 pm.

- Education
  - Ph.D.
- Abrams
- Upgrade
- Air Force
- Upgrade
  - Four stars
- Haig’s view
Conversation No. 822-11 (cont’d)

-Education
  -John Hopkins University
    -B.S.
  -Air Force Academy
    -B.S.
  -Yale University
    -Masters Degrees
      -Engineering, political science
    -Ph.D.
      -Public administration
  -Three star status
  -Age
  -Kenneth E. BeLieu
    -John C. Stennis’s and Jackson’s view
    -Under Secretary of the Army
    -Congressional relations

Congressional relations
  -Senate
    -National security “loss”
    -Democrats
      -Southerners
      -Gordon L. Allott’s seat
      -Delaware
      -Iowa
      -Colorado
      -Maine
        -William D. Hathaway
        -Edmund S. Muskie
        -Margaret Chase Smith
    -Offset
      -Oklahoma
      -Kentucky
        -Walter (Dee) Huddleston
          -Compared to Cooper
      -William L. Scott
        -Compared to [William B. Spong, Jr.]
    -Georgia
    -North Carolina
      -Jesse A. Helms
The President talked with Milton Friedman between 4:47 pm and 4:48 pm.

[Conversation No. 822-11B]

[See Conversation No. 34-65]

[End of telephone conversation]

Congressional relations
 -Cooper
    -Ambassador-at-large
      -“Fuzzy wuzzy world”
    -National Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
    -Miller
    -US troops in Europe
    -NATO
    -Loyalty
      -Georgetown influence
    -Influence on votes
    -Relationship with Jackson
      -Antiballistic missiles [ABM]
      -SALT amendment
        -Parity
    -Miller
    -Senate staffs
      -Size
      -Influences
        -Council for a Livable World
        -Administrative and legislative assistants
        -Mail, telephone calls
    -Lobbies
    -Second term
      -First term
      -Edward M. Kennedy
    -Tone
    -Timing

Second term reorganization
 -Secretary of the Army
Conversation No. 822-11 (cont’d)

-BeLieu
  -Stennis’s view
  -Congressional relations
    -Democrats
  -Background
    -Politics
      -Bryce N. Harlow
    -Retirement from Army
  -Korean War
  -Loyalty
  -US Army Colonel
  -Congressional relations
    -DOD
  -Haig’s view
  -Robert F. Froehlke
  -Loyalty
    -Quote from the Iliad
      -ACDA

Jackson’s schedule
  -Connally
  -Ehrlichman
  -ACDA
  -Haig
    -Kissinger
    -Relationship with the President

Second term reorganization
  -Haig
    -Value
    -Abrams

Jackson left at 4:53 pm.

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: Unknown between 4:53 pm and 6:09 pm

Conversation No. 822-12
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull and Manolo Sanchez.

The President’s schedule
- Request for a meeting with John D. Ehrlichman

Bull and Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:55 pm.

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 4:55 pm.

The President’s schedule
- Rose Mary Woods
  - Flowers
    - Elwood Robinson’s and Oliver P. Bolton’s funerals
- H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman’s schedule
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
- Ehrlichman
- Reception for 1972 election supporters
  - Introductions
    - Charles W. Colson
- Photograph session
  - Colson’s suggestion
    - Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
- Number of guests
- Reception for 1972 election supporters
- Duration
  - Wives
    - The President’s trip to Texas [September 22, 1972]
- Compared to greetings in reception line
- Colson’s view
- Reception line

Ehrlichman entered at 5:00 pm.

The President’s schedule
- Reception for 1972 election supporters
  - Photograph session
    - The President’s trip to Texas
- Telephone call to Apollo XVII astronauts
December 5, 1972 telephone call

Bull and Butterfield left at an unknown time before 5:01 pm.

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Treasury Department officials
- Meeting on tax policy
  - George P. Shultz’s suggestion
- Politics
  - Ehrlichman’s involvement
  - Shultz’s understanding and “sales” ability

Haldeman entered at 5:01 pm.

The President’s schedule
- Meeting on tax policy
- Politics
  - Ehrlichman’s involvement
  - Private school aid
- Shultz
  - Title
    - Assistant to the President
- Knowledge
- Conversation with Ehrlichman
  - Andrews Air Force Base
  - Richmond
- Meeting with [Wilbur D. Mills and Russell B. Long]
  - Tax program

Second term reorganization
- The President’s conversation with Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
- Elliot L. Richardson
- Jonathan Moore and Laurence E. (“Larry”) Lynn, Jr.
  - Dr. Jerome B. Weisner-Massachusetts Institute of Technology
    [MIT] “Cabal”
- National security
- Jackson’s conversation with Richardson
- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Lobbying of Jackson
    - Henry A. Kissinger
Conversation No. 822-12 (cont’d)

-Natural resources
  -Earl L. Butz’s knowledge
  -Farm issues
  -Rogers C. B. Morton’s knowledge
  -John C. Whitaker
  -Richard M. Fairbanks, III
    -Whitaker
  -Ehrlichman’s staff
-Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
  -Richard G. Kleindienst’s request for a meeting with the President
    -Note
      -Rose Mary Woods
      -Ehrlichman
      -William P. Rogers
      -White House staff
      -Compared to Sherman Adams
  -L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
    -Relationship with the President
    -Opposition
      -John N. Mitchell
    -Ehrlichman’s conversation with Kleindienst
      -Joseph T. Sneed announcement
      -Senate confirmation
      -Mitchell
      -Conversation with Kleindienst
    -List of names
    -Kleindienst’s request for a meeting with the President
    -Confirmation
    -Ehrlichman’s view
      -Watergate coverup
        -Gray’s actions
          -John W. Dean, III
          -Connecticut visits
          -White House involvement
            -Protection of Mitchell
            -Telephone call to the President
            -Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters

-Need for change

The President’s schedule
Conversation No. 822-12 (cont’d)

-“End –runs”
  -Woods
  -Shultz
    -Tax policy
    -Politics
    -Ehrlichman
  -Kissinger
  -Peter M. Flanigan
  -Haldeman’s role
  -Woods’s role
  -Staff meetings
    -Absence
    -Reinstitution
    -Tax policy
    -Shultz
  -The President’s meeting with Shultz
    -Purpose
      -Edwin S. Cohen
        -Shultz’s conversation with Haldeman
          -Tax policy
        -Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations [ACIR]
          -Tax policy
          -Options
        -Lewis A. Engman
          -Note taking

Second term reorganization
  -Engman
    -Federal Trade Commission
    -Consumer background

The President’s schedule
  -Staff meetings
    -Cabinet

Second term reorganization
  -First term
  -Second term
  -Defense Department [DOD]
    -Richardson
Conversation No. 822-12 (cont’d)

- Moore
  - Transition role
  - Rowland Evans and Robert D. Novak article
  - Jackson
- Lynn
- Moore
- Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
  - Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
  - Conversation with Haldeman

The President’s schedule
  - Access to the President
    - Kleindienst
    - Woods
  - Rogers
    - Secretary
    - Kissinger

Second term reorganization
  - White House relationship with Cabinet
  - Tone
    - Press relations
  - Congressional relations
    - Hubert H. Humphrey
    - Appropriations
      - Cabinet meetings
  - Press relations
    - Recent article
      - Changes
      - Establishment of Office of Management and Budget [OMB]
  - Pace
  - Press relations
    - Congressional relations
  - Public relations [PR]
    - Cabinet
      - Butz
    - Plan
      - Congressional relations
  - Announcement
  - Butz
Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 5:01 pm and 6:09 pm. The President and Ehrlichman continued their conversation simultaneously.

[Conversation No. 822-12A]

Wilson
Conversation No. 822-12 (cont’d)

-Announcement of candidacy
  -Press reports

Linwood Holton
  -Republican National Committee [RNC] Chairmanship
  -Conversation with Ehrlichman
  -Reaction to Bush appointment

[End of telephone conversation]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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The President’s schedule
  -Meeting with governors
    -Republicans
    -Democrats
    -Executive committees
      -Group size
      -White House staff
    -Republicans
    -Group size
    -Frequency
  -Republicans
    -Holton’s suggestion
      -Quarterly meetings
        -Meeting in State Dining Room, December 3, 1969
      -Frequency of conferences
    -Nelson A. Rockefeller
    -Ronald W. Reagan
    -Holton
      -George H. W. Bush
      -Meeting with Ehrlichman and Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
  -Meetings with mayors
    -John V. Lindsay
  -Meetings with county commissioners
  -Ehrlichman’s and Cole’s meeting with Holton

Second term reorganization
-Anne L. Armstrong
  - Bicentennial Commission
    - Jackson [Place]
  - White House staff
  - Assets
    - Toughness
  - Possible title
    - Special Assistant to the President
    - Leonard Garment
      - Special Consultant to the President
    - Assistants to the President
    - Garment
    - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
    - Assistant to the President
      - Tokenism
  - Meetings
    - [Virginia H. Knauer] of Consumer Affairs
  - Political duties
    - Bush
    - South
      - Harry S. Dent
        - Armstrong’s conversation with Haldeman
    - Haldeman
      - The President’s schedule
    - Rogers

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- Bush
- William E. Brock, III
- Wilson
  - House Campaign Committee
  - Future relations
  - Campaign fundraising
  - Gerald R. Ford
  - Incumbents
  - Consolidated offices
    - Research
Tape Subject Log
(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 822-12 (cont’d)

- Public relations [PR]
  - Television [TV]
- Brock plan
  - Coordination
- Wilson
  - Possible candidacy
  - House Campaign Committee chairmanship
- Dent
- *Washington Post* report
- Efforts to defeat
  - Ford
  - Jack F. Kemp
  - Clarence J. (“Bud”) Brown, Jr.

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Second term reorganization
  - Armstrong
    - Possible title
      - “Symmetry”
    - Special Assistant to the President
      - Compared to Assistant to the President
    - Flanigan
      - Assistant to the President
    - Peter G. Peterson
      - First term
    - Office location
      - Executive Office Building [EOB]
        - The President’s office
      - Charles B. (“Bud”) Wilkinson
- Value
  - Public appearance
- Political qualities
  - Compared to Robert J. Dole
    - Press relations
      - Leaks
  - Knauer
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 822-12 (cont’d)

-Possible duties
  -Consumer affairs
    -Knauer
    -White House

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:01 pm.

The President’s schedule
  -Meeting with [Gen. Walter R. Tkach and Dr. W. Kenneth Riland]

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:09 pm.

Second term reorganization
  -Knauer
    -Consumer affairs
  -Armstrong
    -Possible duties
      -Arts, humanities, consumerism
      -Arts
        -John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
        -Armstrong’s conversation with Haldeman
        -Women’s jobs
        -Men’s jobs
          -Bicentennial Commission
  -Bicentennial
    -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
      -Conversation with Ehrlichman
      -Armstrong
        -Francis J. (“Frank”) Sinatra
  -Armstrong
    -Purpose
      -Richard M. Nixon era
  -Arts and humanities
    -“Fairies”
      -White House
      -Scheduling
      -Garment
        -Innovation
      -Price
        -Innovation
Conversation No. 822-12 (cont’d)

-House philosopher role
  -Armstrong
  -Possible title
    -PR
      -Assistant to the President
        -Flanigan
        -“Metaphysics”
  -Bicentennial Commission
  -Meetings
    -Staff, scheduling, legislative leaders, politics
    -Women
  -PR
    -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
      -Dwight L. Chapin

-Loyalty
-Politics
  -Dole
  -1972 campaign
    -Congress
      -The President’s efforts
        -Fred Schwengel
        -Compared to Barry M. Goldwater [in 1964]
        -Holton

Congressional relations
  -1972 campaign
    -Republican candidates
      -Quality
        -Responsibility
          -Wilson
          -Peter M. Dominick
  -William L. Scott of Virginia
    -Holton
  -Jesse M. Helms of North Carolina
  -Peter V. Domenici
    -Goldwater
    -Agnew
  -Scott
    -Holton’s view
      -Stets Coleman
Conversation No. 822-12 (cont’d)

-Coleman
  -George A. Smathers
    -Florida

Second term reorganization
  -Armstrong
    -Tobin Armstrong
    -Conversation with Haldeman
    -Need for decision
  -Women
    -Timing
      -The President’s schedule
      -International affairs
    -Announcements
    -Assistant Secretaries
      -Tokenism

The President’s schedule
  -Blacks
    -Possible “summit” meeting
      -Statement
        -Texas
        -Lyndon B. Johnson Library
    -Garment
    -Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan
      -Previous meeting
    -Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
    -Leaders
    -Congressional Black Caucus
    -Roy Wilkins, Jordan
    -Congressional Black Caucus
      -1972 election
    -1969
    -Frederick B. Dent
    -Jordan
      -Press relations
      -Possible telephone call to Ehrlichman
  -Jewell S. Lafontant
    -Supreme Court position
      -Thurgood Marshall
Conversation No. 822-12 (cont’d)

-Jordan
  -Public statements
  -Speeches
    -Telephone calls to Ehrlichman
-Women
  -Barbara Franklin
  -Patricia R. Hitt
  -Armstrong’s view
    -Cabinet positions
-Cabinet
  -Transportation Department
    -Armstrong
      -Compared to Claude S. Brinegar
      -Symbolism
        -Brinegar
        -Cabinet
-South
  -Dent
-Brinegar
  -Purported Catholicism
  -Performance
  -Withdrawal
    -John V. Tunney
-Armstrong
-Hitt
-Armstrong
  -Toughness
    -Television [TV] appearances
      -Texas
    -Background
      -Louisiana
        -Cajun ethnicity
-Robert J. Brown
-Peter J. Brennan
-Dent
-Brinegar
-William E. Simon
  -Haldeman’s view
    -Reception for 1972 election supporters
-Salomon Brothers
Conversation No. 822-12 (cont’d)

-House
  -New Jersey
-View
-Brinegar
  -Meeting with the President
  -The President’s view
  -Meeting with Egil G. (“Bud”) Krogh, Jr.
    -Krogh’s opinion
  -Background
  -Personal appearance
    -Compared to Richard C. Van Dusen
-Armstrong
  -Secretary of Transportation
    -Krogh
    -Tokenism
-Women
  -Tokenism
    -Oveta Culp Hobby
      -Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW] Secretary
        -Departure
  -Frances Perkins
    -Franklin D. Roosevelt
      -Hobby
    -Roy L. Ash
      -Armstrong
        -Managerial view
          -Compared to Ash’s view
-Women
  -Announcement
  -Tokenism
  -Need for portfolio
    -Brown
    -Garment
    -Wilkinson
    -Robert F. Ellsworth
    -Bryce N. Harlow
      -Counselor to the President
    -Arthur F. Burns
      -Moynihan
        -Ambassadorship to India
Conversation No. 822-12 (cont’d)

-William F. (“Billy”) Graham’s view

-Management
  -Brinegar
    -Reputed Catholicism
    -Personality
  -Frederic V. Malek
    -Conversations with Ehrlichman
  -John A. Volpe
  -1972 campaign
  -Political ability

-Krogh
  -Confirmation
  -Possible fight
    -Compared to Walter J. Hickel

-Confirmations
  -Hickel
    -Compared to Brinegar
    -Meetings with Whitaker and Ehrlichman
      -Sheraton Park Hotel
      -Effect
        -Beliefs, portfolio, outlook
  -Brinegar
  -Effect
  -Issues

-Women
  -Assistant Secretaries
    -Commission chairmanships
      -Dean Burch
  -Atomic Energy Commission [AEC]
    -Dr. Edward E. David, Jr.
      -Shultz’s view
  -James D. Hodgson
  -European Economic Community [EEC]
    -AEC
      -David
        -Conditions
        -Value
        -Office of Science and Technology [OST]
  -Dixy Lee Ray
    -Dr. James R. Schlesinger’s view
Conversation No. 822-12 (cont’d)

-Background
  -Tacoma, Washington

-Women
  -Tokenism
    -Armstrong
-Armstrong
  -Chief of Protocol
-Assets
  -Politics
    -South, ex-Democrat
-Bicentennial Commission
  -Scheduling
-Justice Department
  -Civil Rights Division
    -J. Stanley Pottinger
      -Move from HEW
      -Loyalty
    -HEW
    -Age
    -American Bar Association [ABA]
  -Loyalty
    -Responsiveness to Ehrlichman

The President’s schedule
  -Reception for 1972 election supporters
    -Photograph session
      -Charles W. Colson
    -The President’s trip to ranch in Texas
    -Wives

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Wilson
  -House Campaign Committee candidacy
    -Displeasure
    -Daniel Kuykendall
    -Ford
The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Jackson
  - Energy
    - Ehrlichman
    - Deregulation
    - Congressional relations
    - Ehrlichman’s responsibility
  - Watergate
    - Hearings
      - Edward M. Kennedy’s speech
      - Edmund S. Muskie

Watergate
- Hearings
  - Jackson
  - Status
  - Jackson
    - Politics
      - Jackson’s possible action
- Trial
  - [E. Howard Hunt, Jr.]
    - Possible separation of case
      - Motion filing
      - Timing
      - Death of Dorothy Hunt

Second term reorganization
- Armstrong
  - Politics
    - Qualities
  - Relationship with Rose Mary Woods
    - Hitt
  - Office location
    - Desk

The President, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman left at 6:09 pm.
Conversation No. 822-16

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:09 pm and 11:59 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

The President’s location
   -Residence

The unknown agents left at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.

Conversation No. 822-13

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:09 pm and 11:59 pm
Location: Oval Office

Stephen B. Bull met with an unknown person.

Greetings

The President’s location

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.

Conversation No. 822-14

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:09 pm and 11:59 pm
Location: Oval Office
Stephen B. Bull met with an unknown person.

Bull’s schedule
- [Residence]

[This recording was cut off at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.]