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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

T
Sep. 72 - June 73



For the Republicans

JOHN B. CONNALLY

Before he joined the Nixon administration, Democrat Connally, 55, was secretary of the navy under President John Kennedy, then served three terms as governor of Texas. It wouldn't be a great surprise if he became Nixon's vice presidential choice.

*'If Watergate had not swamped Nixon . . .
South Vietnam would not have fallen . . .
and the White House taping system would
still be running and no one would know it.'*

Haldeman Has a Turn

By Michael T. Malloy

while some of his fellow defendants

the CBS show. "I felt he had something
to say, but I didn't see much of it [on

Johnson, Connally has been embraced by ultra-conservative cattle barons, bankers, and oil magnates as one of their own.

As a result, Nixon's nomination of Connally for Secretary of the Treasury came as more of a shock in the East, than it did in East Texas. In the Houston financial community, where he sat on the boards of directors of two important banks, the news caused scarcely a ripple. Similarly, there was annoyance but little surprise among Texas' moderates. To some his nomination (in the words of the chief liberal spokesman, then-Senator Ralph Yarborough) can be seen

THE AUTHOR

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¹ The New York Times, Tuesday, December 15, 1970, p. 22.

² For a good discussion of the conflict between the Johnson-Connally and Yarborough wings of the Democratic Party in Texas, see Robert Sherrill, *The Accidental President*, New York, Pyramid, 1968; especially pp. 78-116.

nally's nomination, we must look at what these interests were in the past — and what they are likely to be in the near future.

Connally's earliest ties were with the Austin-based grouping which grew up in the hothouse atmosphere of cost-plus contracting and political pork-barreling during and immediately after World War II. Spearheaded by political power in Congress — especially in the important House and Senate military appropriations committees — this grouping began to expand and develop strong interests in a number of areas: banking and land; large-scale construction; oil drilling and exploration; broadcasting; and insurance. Directly or indirectly each of these was dependent on federal largesse: *construction* on funds for building military bases, dams, and pipelines; *broadcasting* on federal licenses; and *oil drilling*, in many cases, on leases and direct subsidies. *Insurance companies* frequently grew up around military bases — *selling*

³ In the last several years, there has been a concerted effort to remake the University of Texas along the lines of a high-powered-knowledge-factory model including the wooing of faculty from established academic conglomerates. Unfortunately, this has sometimes created mutual culture shock between the newcomers and their environment — as in the Caroline case.



"Texas Politicians Are Bo Connally W

by Robert B. Semple, Jr.

Along with most other reporters who assembled in the White House press briefing room on May 16, the day John Connally resigned as secretary of the Treasury, I had come to believe that Connally would not remain indefinitely with the administration. But I was surprised by his timing. There had, of course, been persistent rumors that Connally and especially his wife Nellie were anxious to return to private life. But in the weeks before the announcement, he had been seeing every reporter in town, lavishing praise on his chief, and he had given Dick and Pat a fine dinner party in Texas. Only six days before his resignation, he had entertained a number of Treasury "regulars" in his office (among them Edwin L. Dale, Jr., of *The New York Times*) and had given Dale and the others the clear impression he planned to stay through Nixon's first term. Connally had seemed to be digging in; instead, as it happened, he was simply digging out. The three outside Connally-watchers I called when the briefing ended gave essentially the same explanation, although it may not have been their intention to do so. Ronnie Dugger, the Texas liberal journalist, observed that Connally "comes to a job on his own terms and leaves when he senses the presence of new opportunities or gets bored with old ones." Dugger called Connally "the greatest broken-field runner in American politics." George Christian, Lyndon Johnson's former press secretary and a long-time Connally loyalist, seemed the least surprised. Contrary to the conventional wisdom, Christian argued, "Connally likes private life more than any other public official I know. He is a universal man, and he feels restricted when his is forced to spend all his time on one job." Robert Strauss, treasurer of the Democratic National Committee and another old friend, put the matter only slightly differently. He observed—as Dugger had—that Connally's long administrative relationship with Lyndon Johnson, spanning nearly three decades, had been interrupted frequently by quick and profitable forays into the world of private business; that he had lasted only a year as secretary of the navy under Kennedy; that he had served two terms as Texas governor but had to be "hog-tied" into serving a third; that the job Richard Nixon had summoned him to do—to help chart a new economic strategy—was now essentially

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suming restlessness. There was, in retrospect, an air of impermanence to his 17-month tenure at Treasury. John Connally was ready to move on.

The question is: where to? So far, most of the speculation about when and at what point Connally will stage another blazing reentry from his present holding pattern has yielded few answers. A dwindling but hardy band of Republicans who regard Spiro Agnew as a low-yield political weapon think that Nixon will yet invite Connally to share the Republican ticket this fall; others see Connally returning in a second Nixon administration, assuming there is one, as an assertive secretary of state, replacing a burned-out but hugely satisfied Henry Kissinger as the President's chief foreign policy adviser; still others believe that Connally may simply stay clear of the battle until 1976, when he could bid in his own right for the GOP nomination or, alternatively, stage a one-man operation aimed at retrieving his own Democratic Party from what he perceives to be an ominous leftward drift. One can find supporting evidence for all of these guesses in things that Connally has said or done; this reporter must simply confess that his lack of inside information is equaled only by his sense of anticipation. As of this writing, Connally was still zooming around the world, his every move charted and announced by the White House press office, which hasn't mentioned Agnew in weeks; Spiro himself had not been given any word. Perhaps Mr. Nixon was genuinely leaving his options open; perhaps he was merely playing games to create a bit of suspense on the Republican side.

One can address two other aspects of Connally's future with a greater degree of certainty. The first is that he is likely to remain within the Nixon orbit, in one capacity or another, for the rest of this year and probably for some time to come. Connally's history, the well-advertised chumminess of his personal relationship with the President, and his own public and private testimony on the subject lead one to believe that he will continue to provide Nixon with direct political support. The second is that Connally is not done with elective or appointive office—that is, public service as he understands it. If Connally is, as Christian in-

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the party could significantly weaken the remaining taboos against Democratic defections to the Southern GOP. A Nixon-Connally ticket might at last combine with "heartland" Republicanism that "Sunbelt" coalition which has long been the special constituency of the former governor of Texas.

Support for Connally, however, goes well beyond the advocates of a conservative realignment. Thomas E. Petri's memo on the subject reflects opinions on the charismatic Texan heard increasingly among Progressive Republicans. A founding member and first Executive Director of Ripon who worked with Connally on the Ash Commission on Executive Re-organization, Petri presents an inviting argument. Not only would Connally contribute most to the ticket, Petri maintains, but the Texan would also be a powerful and effective Vice President, fully qualified to assume the highest office.

Beyond the cogent case made by Petri on Connally's merits, there are intriguing tactical considerations. His prospective nomination implies a decisive demotion of the incumbent, Spiro Agnew. Since he now rivals Ronald Reagan as a post-prandial entertainer, it seems desirable to relieve Agnew of the kind of executive responsibilities that finally made the Californian such a bore. Connally's nomination also suggests one way of blocking control of the GOP by right-wing Republicans in 1976: namely, as some cynics might point out, through control by a right-wing Democrat — but one who might be seen in the Republican spectrum as moderate, and accessible to progressives.

Receptivity toward Connally is enhanced by the continuing decline of our party's base — together with

burn Democrats) left the party vulnerable to Goldwater, so President Nixon's incoherent and sometimes demagogic political strategies may well destroy the potential contribution of his national policies to sound party development. In order to sustain a successful Republicanism, the party may have to look beyond itself, as it did in 1952.

Certainly the Nixon Administration does not dazzle the eye with other leaders of Presidential stature. It is not at all inconceivable that without Connally we could be stranded in 1976 with Agnew and a convention captured by right-wing zealots. Or we could be faced with a 1972 ticket including Brock, Buckley or some other cosmetic conservative more difficult than Agnew to beat in primaries in 1976.

Therefore, unless we assume that Nixon may anoint Senator Brooke or some other moderate, Agnew or Connally may be the best we can expect in 1972. Agnew might be preferred because he is beatable in 1976 primaries; Connally because he is not. The Texan could secure the 1976 nomination while Vice President, win the election and serve as a strong and effective President. Progressives who think they can win the intra-party struggle in 1976 thus might support Agnew; the more pessimistic might embrace Connally. And at present, the pessimists do not lack a case.

Finally there is the devious concern that if Connally is not made Vice President he will be named Secretary of State. With Rogers' resignation signalled and Kissinger's expected, the change would represent an abrupt shift, potentially damaging to the fabric of our foreign policy. A Nixon-Connally-Haig diplomacy would be radically different from the approach of Nixon-Kissinger-Rogers.

Richard J. Whalen

THE NIXON-CONNALLY ARRANGEMENT

The continuing adventures of a trader in horses and Presidents.

Take mankind in general; they are vicious, their passions may be operated on.

—Alexander Hamilton,
first Secretary of the Treasury

ONE MORNING LAST WINTER, a member of the

a solitary decision, in springing it on the unfailingly appreciative insiders. This gives him a nice, preliminary lift before confronting the press and public. On this occasion, he enjoyed a bonus. Earlier that morning, the White House operator had placed a call to the LBJ Ranch. Accustomed to re-

sort of money had drawn Connally like a magnet.

John Connally, former secretary of the navy, former governor of Texas, former secretary of the treasury, former star of a corruption trial, had come as an adornment to the Zale Corporation's annual stockholders' meeting. He spent a long August day in the Zale Tower, making several speeches, one of them to the assembled Zale employees. In this particular address, he seemed quite condescending.

"When you take a coffee break," Connally told the workers, "you take it and you get back to your desk."

Finishing his short talk, Connally opened the floor to questions.

One woman asked, "Can we trust the Russians' friendliness?"

"I don't trust them as far as you can throw a chimney by the smoke," Connally said. "They're coming on very hard with submarines."

A young man in the front row stood up. He was a little disheveled and looked as if he might work in the mail room. He appeared to be the kind of person who would not hurry back from a coffee break.

"What do you believe is the greatest threat to America," the young man asked, "Russian submarines or corrupt government officials?"

The Zale employees giggled, then laughed, then roared, for what seemed five minutes. Connally stood behind the podium, waiting for the laughter to die down, blushing brightly.

"Abuse by government officials . . ." he began, then became flustered and did not finish the thought. Starting over, he

On the eve of the '76 election, John Connally is doing what Richard Nixon did on the eve of the '68 election. He is traveling around the country making speeches, trying to rehabilitate his image. These trips are difficult but they are preferable to the rehabilitation he recently feared: making license plates.

In '68, Nixon somehow persuaded much of the country to forget about the Pumpkin Papers, the Nixon fund, Checkers, and his image as a loser. Pundits like James Reston began writing about the "New Nixon." The reviews of Connally's speaking tour are only starting to come in. It remains to be seen whether he can persuade the country to forget his problems.

Besides the Zale Corporation, Connally has recently appeared before the National Association of Animal Breeders; a Johnstown, Pennsylvania, savings bank dinner; the National Federation of Republican Women; the New York Times's editorial board; and the editors of the *National Review*, some of whom who are interested in a third party. And he has been questioned on CBS's "Face the Nation."

Connally has been telling audiences that he believes in "electing our president to one six-year term . . . mandatory retirement of federal judges at age 70 and reconfirmation of such judges every ten years . . . a revision of all corporate taxes to registered voters. . . ." That last idea would mean that the total corporate tax bill would be divided among all the people on the voter rolls. Everyone over eighteen would be eligible for \$500 a year—a

Speaking from public platforms around the country, Connally disclaims any desire to hold elective or appointive office, but in his hotel room at the Plaza recently his denials softened considerably. He left me with the impression that he thought Ford could be replaced on the Republican ticket. Perhaps by Reagan. Perhaps by Connally.

"I think that if things continue as they are," Connally said, "the president may falter. And I'm convinced now that Governor Reagan is going to run against him. I heard indirectly that if the president came out for the continuation of this tax cut, which would anticipate another huge deficit, that would trigger Reagan's getting into the race. And I think that if he does, he is going to give the president a great deal of trouble."

I asked Connally what he would do if Reagan seemed on the verge of taking the nomination away from Ford.

"I dunno," Connally said. "I'm gonna sit and watch for a while. I never said I wasn't going to do anything. The only denial I ever made was that I had any plans to run."

I asked him if he might run in several states, take a bloc of votes to the convention, and hope for a deadlock.

"Well, I might," Connally said. "That's a possibility, I suppose."

In other words, the Texan seems to hope Ford and Reagan will kill each other off in the shoot-out at the New Hampshire corral. Then Connally, always the survivor, can offer himself.

In his quest for rehabilitation, Connally is counting on the newspapers' behaving as they normally do: becom-

JOHN B. CONNALLY - selected books and articles

- BOOKS: Ann F. Crawford and Jack Keever, John B. Connally, Portrait in Power (Austin, Tex.: Jenkins Pub. Co., 1973)
- Charles Ashman, Connally: The Adventures of Big Bad John (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1974)
- Richard J. Whalen, "John Connally and the Emerging Corporate State", in Taking Sides (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1974) pp. 146-65.
- James Conaway, The Texans (New York: Knopf, 1976)
- Jimmy Banks, Money, Marbles, and Chalk (Texas Publishing Co. 1971) pp. 154-75.

- ARTICLES: "The Connally Years", Texas Observer October 4, 1968
- ✓ Stephen Berkowitz, "John Connally and the Southwestern Military Industrial Complex", Ripon Forum February 1971
- ✓ Ronnie Dugger, "John Connally: Nixon's Quarterback" Atlantic 228:82-6 July, 1971
- ✓ Richard J. Whalen, "The Nixon-Connally Arrangement" Harper's 243:29-33 August, 1971
- ✓ George Gilder, "Connally's Phase III" Ripon Forum, July 1972
- ✓ Robert B. Semple, "Connally Watching" New Republic 167:12-15 July 1, 1972
- ✓ Aaron Latham, "John Connally on the Comeback Road" New York October 27, 1975
- "I Might Well Consider Running" (interview) Conservative Digest December, 1975
- Alan Crawford, "John Connally, Superstar" New Guard, April 1976.

N.Y. Times report

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Anthony Lucas

April 14, 1973

p. 312 Nightmare

Jules Archer

Watergate: America
in Crisis.

p. 62

Office of Watergate Prosecutor

Conversation

Connolly - Haldeman

(just before Haldeman
relieved)

Bill Rogers & Connolly



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Bill: Don't know facts

Connally in Texas

- recorded by Holdeman
on his telephone
- then oral
- trying to give advice
that obstructs justice

Mitchell - provided Nixon
does it.

Nelly - sends love

N.Y. Times (Seymour Hirsch)

 - just before Jaworski left.

Pardon issue

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Nino Totenburg

-10,000 (name of man)

-did leak out
of

-Texas oilman

-withdrew money

-flew to Houston
& gave to girl
friend

-foreman

-not guilty but
not innocent

-cleaned up 3-minute version.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Tape:

Nixon to Haldeman

Ehrlicman

- nominees for '76

Connally is "shit"

Haldeman pleads bargain
(Wilson & Sines)

Joe Albritton

- cut J.C. to pieces

- Barnes interview



And he exploded at the man who, Higby had said, was badmouthing him: "Well, you just tell Ehrlichman to go to hell. For me. I mean, you just tell him. I'm tired of this bullshit. You know, we're not playing games any more. I is going to go to jail, Larry. . . . I've committed perjury so many times now that I'm, you know, I've got probably a hundred years on perjury alone. . . . Our lives are ruined right now anyway. You know, most of ours. Mine is certainly and so will many others before this is over. I think we ought to realize that."

He grew pensive: "I cannot lie any more. I've protected John Mitchell. I've protected the President when it was important. The story is going to come out. I have to do what I have to do now to protect whatever I can."

Higby began pressing to find out just what Magruder was going to tell the prosecutors.

HIGBY: Well, if you tell the story, I don't think Haldeman has anything to worry about.

MAGRUDER: Nothing to worry about. Now you—

HIGBY: 'Cause you never discussed this goddamn thing with him.

MAGRUDER: Larry, there's no problem. . . . Haldeman will have no problem with those facts.

HIGBY: Huh.

MAGRUDER: John Mitchell will. John Dean will. And Gordon [Strachan] will, probably.

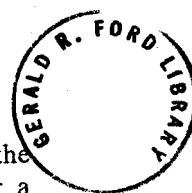
Now Higby had what he wanted on tape—an exculpation for Haldeman—and suddenly he turned very friendly: "Well, my friend, if there's anything I can do, let me know." Soon, he was calling Magruder "Jebber" and Magruder was calling him "Lar" as they chatted about the case.

MAGRUDER: You visit me, kiddo?

HIGBY: Huh! I'll do more than that.

What he did was to play the tape for Haldeman, who reported on the conversation when he and Ehrlichman met with the President for a marathon strategy session the next morning. There was a sense of urgency at the White House that Saturday, a feeling they had to do something over the weekend before Hunt spilled the whole story to the grand jury on Monday. From 8:55 to 11:31, all that Nixon and his two chief aides talked about was Watergate. As Ehrlichman said, "This week there's no other subject."

Apparently, Colson was not the only one trying to shift all responsibility to Mitchell. Ehrlichman reported that Dean had suggested a "scenario" for such a move. "The President calls Mitchell into his office



ll stolen from the mails, and
nes before fencing.

had its comic moments. The
pted pseudo, Mafia-like names
Rico Rigatone, Pasquale La-
d suits, bandied firearms about,
bout "rubbing out" gangland
of the undercover agents had a
hey dropped "code words" like
erci," gesticulated wildly, sang

cooked up meatballs for his
a minimum of meat and a
e, salt and mustard. "Have a
customers. "You'll hurt Pas-
don't have a meatball." They

had its humorous moments,
aspects as well. Agent Lill
criminals bared their souls be-
neras. "They told us how they
y they'd committed a crime and
'd committed a crime and got-
se they got out the door and the
ner guy, that kind of stuff."

re so anxious to impress the
ed their guts in front of the
e revealed that he had just shot
Maryland and thought he had
ere'd you get the pearls," one
e had taken them from a man
till another filled out an appli-
' position, listing an unsolved
n Washington as his qualifica-
ers are now under intensive

successful that law enforcement offi-
running out of money buying
ditionally, so many people were
nes, that it was time to arrest
to prison.

Larocca" put out the word
giant party at the warehouse
ure's success—and that the
New York would attend. The
lming.

Star reported: "On Saturday
men and women in satins and
lined up at the [nearby] phone
on], even bribing each other to
e."

ac was parked out front. Pas-
door. The guest was then es-
Corleone"—a Metropolitan
at quietly in a corner and be-
ne guests even kissed his ring.
inchester rifle as tribute. An-
dcuffs, explaining that he had

iled sweetly, then told each
into the party, I have a really
You're under arrest." Most
p. But one, even after he was
Pasquale's sleeve, and insist-
this is some kind of mistake.

stead, it was the greatest single
local history: But at least one
en 18 hoodlums to handle, re-
on personal recognizance, four
d set very low "surety bonds."
U.S. Attorney Earl Silbert was
person has 'community ties' is
willingness to appear in court.
more than 600 post-indictment
is the best proof of this."

Connally Write-in Effort Flops in New Hampshire

If the results of conservative fund-raiser
Viguerie's campaign to boost John C
Democratic write-in choice
in New Hampshire are any in-
dication of the Texan's sup-
port nationally, it appears he
is a long way from the White
House. As reported in our
February 21 issue, Viguerie
decided to mount a combined
newspaper and direct-mail
advertising campaign in the
Granite State, urging con-
servative Democrats to write in Connally
President.



Toward this end the direct-mail fund-
raiser sent 202,000 ad inserts in New Hampshire
and then sent 12,500 letters to persons
conservatives on his computer lists. The
venture, a tidy \$35,000, for which Connally
provided a grand total of 84 Democratic and 9
Republican write-in votes, or 175 in all. By coincidence
the cost came out to exactly \$200 per vote—an ex-
pense by anyone's standards.

Actually, many were somewhat
suspicious of Viguerie and others who regard themselves
as members of the so-called "New Right" contingent
led by former Texas governor. For Connally,
both his record as an office holder and
his stated positions on the issues, appears
as a middle-of-the-roader, no more con-
servative than Ford.

As treasury secretary, for instance,
he sold the country on wage and price
controls, an economic "remedy" that was so bad
it ended both labor and business (as well as
its destruction). Yet when Connally appeared
at the Young Republican convention last year,
he apologized for this disaster, and
boasted about his role in bringing it all
to a halt.

He has also spoken out in favor of
non-conservative schemes as the Con-
stitution Agency and a particular pet program
would draft all of the nation's young people
into the bureaucracy for at least a year. More-
over, he has indicated he supports abortion
control legislation, a position that is anathema to many con-
servatives.

In fact, Connally himself has said he's
not conservative. "It is hard for people to put me into
a category," he told the YRs last year, "for some-
times I am conservative and on some issues I am a lib-
eral. It is possible to cast me in a stratified posi-
tion, but I am broad, middle ground."

Nevertheless, Viguerie and other "New Right"
spokesmen continue to push Connally as the new
conservative hope. But judging from the New Hamp-
shire results, the people aren't buying.

Gun Control Advocates Dealt a Narrow Setback

Opponents of gun control won a significant victory
last week as the House Judiciary Committee voted 17
to 16 to send legislation banning concealable hand-
guns back to subcommittee, a move that could spell
the end of gun control legislation in the 94th Congress.

Under the liberal legislation sponsored by Rep.
Martin A. Russo (D-Ill.), the manufacture of ap-

P You mean another subject?

E Oh, no.

H There is no other subject!

E No. I'll tell you. Last night I got home I decided that I would sit down and try to put on paper a report to you what I have been doing since you asked me to get into this.

P Right.

E I am concerned about the overall aspect of this and I want to talk about that before -- I don't know what your timing is like.

P No problem.

E We'll probably get back to it.

P Got plenty of time.

E But Dean called and he said, "All right, here's a scenario which we've all been trying to figure out to make this go." He says, "The President calls Mitchell into his office on Saturday. He says, "John, you've got to do this. And here are the facts: bing, bing, bing, bing." And you pull this paper out here. "And you've got to go do this." And Mitchell stonewalls you. So then, John says, "I don't know why you're asking me down here. You can't ask a man to do a thing like that. I need a lawyer. I don't know what I am facing -- you just really can't expect me to do this." So the President says, "Well, John, I have no alternative." And with that the President calls the U. S. Attorney and says, "I, the President of the

United States of America and leader of the free world want to go before the Grand Jury on Monday. "

P I won't even comment on that.

H That's a silly --

P Typical of the thinking of --

E We're running out every line. So that was 12:30 this morning. I, but I --

P I go before the Grand Jury. That's like putting Bob on national television, --

H With Dan Rather.

P What?

H With Dan Rather.

P Well by putting it on national television, period. (unintelligible)

E Let's take it just as far as you call Mitchell to the oval office as, a

P No.

E I'm essentially convinced that Mitchell will understand this thing.

P Right.

E And that if he goes in it redounds to the Administration's advantage. If he doesn't then we're --

P How does it redound to our advantage?

E That you have a report from me based on three weeks' work; that when you got it, you immediately acted to call Mitchell in as the provable wrong-doer, and you say, "My God, I've



got a report here. And it's clear from this report that you are guilty as hell. Now, John, for (expletive deleted) sake go on in there and do what you should. And let's get this thing cleared up and get it off the country's back and move on." And --

H Plus the other side of this is that that's the only way to beat it now.

P Well, --

H From John Mitchells personal viewpoint that's the only salvation for John Mitchell. I see no other way. And, obviously, once you've had it, you've got to admit --

P How can he make it, anyway.

H Another factor, in that, to consider, for what it's worth, is the point Connally made to me in that conversation we had.

P I ought to talk to Mitchell?

H I don't know whether he said that to you or not. He made the point that you had to get this laid out and that the only way it could hurt you is if it ultimately went to Mitchell. And that that would be the one man you couldn't afford to let get hung on this.

P Even worse than (unintelligible) thought.

H He thought so.

P That's true. Yeah.

H It seemed to me, because he's the epitome of your hard-line.

P I think he's wrong about that. I think this is the worst one, well, due to the closeness to the President at the time of



the crime. Would you agree, John?

E (unintelligible) the

H But, what Connally also said was unless it's the President himself who nails him. Then the President is (unintelligible)

E Can I put in a larger picture on this? We kind of live day to day for these things, and forget

P Yeah.

E the perspective then will be put on this period

H Yeah.

E three months later.

P The point is whether or not, I think I've got the larger picture, alright, and I mean, in this regard, the point is this that we need some action before, in other words, is like my feeling about having the Grand Jury do it and the court system do it rather than Ervin Committee. Now we want the President to do it rather than the Grand Jury.

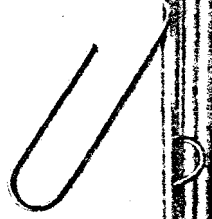
E No.

P And I agree with that.

E Well, you're doing it in aid of the Grand Jury.

P No. I didn't mean rather than the Grand Jury but I mean to worm the truth, now look, the Grand Jury doesn't drag him in, he goes in as a result of the President's asking him to go in.

H Ok -- but while you're on that point could I argue a contrary view for a minute? Because I don't agree with that.



P I think he believes that.

H I have thought that all along.

P Well, we will sleep on the damn thing and, what is the situation tomorrow? Is Ehrlichman going to sit down with Ziegler again, or something?

H Yeah

P I do think that PR thing we've got to sort of make up our minds on what the hell --

H Sir, I want to get at getting the statement done.

P And we've got to get at sort of make this decision with regard to this damn Committee. I don't know --

H Yep.

P I still have mixed emotions on it. I don't know, I don't know. I have been one way one time one way another.

H Well, it's a mixed bag. It has pluses and minuses, and it is hard to be sure which outweighs the other.

P One more scenario would have been to say they will all come up. Everybody will come up in Executive Session including Dean. Just say that. Make that offer, and that's flat.

H Yeah and that's gets turned down and then we're standing on the question of -- The way it will be played is not that the Committee is being unreasonable by insisting on television, but that we are being unreasonable by insisting against it.

P Well, that would be true unless you go out and hammer that the.



whole record could be made public.

Yeah.

It's only that we want information, not a show --

Yeah.

And that we think it is reasonable.

The question then is that you lose something obviously by doing that, and do we really gain enough to make it worth it? How bad is it if we go on television? I am not at all sure it is all that bad.

In the first place, it is going to be in the daytime. In the second place, as of now it is not going to be carried live by the networks.

Yeah.

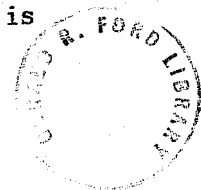
Now it might be, but I would guess it won't be after this other stuff breaks, it isn't going to be that important anymore. The networks don't want to carry it. It would cost them money. What will probably end up happening is, it will be carried on the public broadcasting which has virtually no audience in the daytime.

Uh huh. I suppose what happens there is that every new break is carried for five or ten minutes in the evening news.

That's right.

That's the point.

It is going to be carried anyway. It is a question of whether it is carried for five minutes with one of us on camera for a couple of those minutes, or whether it is carried for three minutes with --



P Weicker--

H Weicker and John Chancellor and Dan Rather, saying:

"trembling with fear and obviously trying to hide the truth, ah, . . ."

P I wonder if you would do this? Did you discuss public or private thing with two people whose judgment is -- Rogers and Connally?

What did Connally think? Public?

H I am not sure.

P Would you mind?

H I would have to reopen that

P Would it be alright for you to call him tomorrow and say,

"Look, we've just got to make a command decision on this --"

H Sure

P And I think you should tell -- would you tell him about the Magruder?

H Nope.

P No, I guess not.

H I can say the whole thing looks like it is coming to a conclusion --

P Before the Grand Jury

H Yeah.

P That's right.

H Without saying anything specific.

P Now, the other fellow whose judgment would be pretty good would be Bill Rogers on that.

H Yeah. I agree.



P I wish you would give him a call.

H Right. I will.

P I think with Bill, though, you could tell him, don't you think?

H Nope. I don't think I should. In the first place, I am not supposed to know.

P This isn't from the Grand Jury, Bob.

H No, I know. But Kleindienst is worried about John giving the information to anybody, and that --

P I see. You're right.

H I don't see anything to be gained from telling him, anyway.

P But you can tell him that our investigations indicate that the Grand Jury is hot on the trail of breaking the thing now.

H Yeah.

P And that is the way it is going to come. That -- but if you wouldn't mind giving a call in the morning to both of those fellows, and tell them you are calling for the President and that he would like to have their considered judgment, should you be on television.

H Right. Will do.

P And it may be on the Dean thing, I am almost inclined to think we ought to give on that. What do you think? The idea of backing down -- they are going to take it back down anyway, so what's the difference?





MEET
JOHN
CONNALLY !

America is in the mood for forceful, bold new leadership and former Texas Governor John B. Connally is available to provide it. If Ford and Reagan deadlock at the Republican convention in Kansas City in August, John Connally sees himself as a logical alternative, and many agree with him. Or he would be a logical choice for the vice-presidential nomination in 1976. The purpose of this booklet is to acquaint the public with John Connally's personal qualities, his experience in politics and government, and his forthright positions on the issues. With this knowledge, convention delegates, political leaders, and the nation's opinion makers can better understand the kind of future John Connally would as President be able to shape for America.

Personal Qualities: First of all, John Connally is a man of undoubted Presidential caliber. Behind him lies an illustrious career. Beginning as the son of a tenant farmer and butcher in Wilson County, Texas, Connally became a wealthy oil and gas lawyer, Secretary of the Navy under President Kennedy, three-term Governor of Texas, and Secretary of the Treasury under President Nixon. He is a capable and hard driving executive. He is a tall, handsome, commanding figure of a man, but at the same time affable in a down-home sort of way. He is a fine public speaker who can rouse a crowd as well as Ronald Reagan. He knows every nook and

cranny of political life, both in the Democratic Party, in which he labored for over thirty years as a protege and top aide to Lyndon B. Johnson, and now in the Republican Party, to which he converted in 1973. He is celebrated for his bold political counsel as, for instance, when he advised President Nixon to make a bonfire in the Rose Garden out of the Watergate tapes. Had President Nixon taken Connally's advice, he might still be President.

John Connally has the much needed experience that an effective President must have. He has conducted delicate international monetary negotiations as Secretary of the Treasury. His expertise in Pacific affairs has led him to propose American entry into a Pacific Common Market. He is currently trying to launch a nationwide organization to combat Communist inroads in the Mediterranean. Perhaps most important, he has taken positions on the issues which strongly commend him to many Americans.

Foreign Policy and Defense: Connally favors a strong national defense and has no illusions about detente or Communist intentions. He would not consider giving up control of the Panama Canal, and would go to war to retain it if necessary. He has stated that "you never commit American troops to battle anywhere, anytime, that you don't propose to win, and win by whatever means you can." This suggests that Connally would have no hesitation in breaking out nuclear weapons when the battlefield situation demanded them. He believes that "the United Nations might have reached the point where it is destructive of American interests." He supports a strong domestic counter-intelligence program to detect subversion, and deploras recent political attacks on the FBI and CIA.

Economic Policy: Connally is strongly opposed to large Federal deficits and favors a constitutional amendment prohibiting them except in times of national emergency. He sees the terrible threat posed by runaway inflation and would act boldly to restrain it. Indeed, he has styled himself "one of the architects" of President Nixon's wage and price control program while Treasury Secretary in 1971. He defended the policy by stating that the controls would "assure that business expansion is not dissipated in more inflation, but, instead, will create growth in both real output and real employment." More recently, however, he has stated that he does not think wage and price controls can ever work; that they introduce "inequities of incredible magnitude"; and that they are only a "last resort." Connally thus now takes the clear position that wage and price controls are a bad idea that cannot work, and thus should be imposed only when necessary.

Racial Issues: Connally has advocated constitutional amendments to prohibit forced bussing to achieve racial balance in schools, and to prohibit the use of racial quotas in employment or advancement, etc.

Gun Control: Connally favors a Federal law to control the so-called "Saturday night specials" but has not come out for controls over rifles and shotguns.

Welfare: Connally favors toughening up the eligibility requirements for the food stamp program. He strongly defended President Nixon's Family Assistance Plan of 1971. He also favors a sweeping new proposal called the National Dividend Plan. This Plan would set a constitutional limit of 50% on the corporate income tax rate. Then it would require the Federal Treasury to disburse the entire proceeds of the corporate income tax (\$48 billion in FY 1977) per capita and tax free to all those who voted in the preceding national election.

As a result of this Plan every voter would be given on the order of \$500 per year tax free from Uncle Sam. This is expected to reduce the clamor for welfare.

Aid to Business: Connally strongly favors deregulation of business, as do Ford and Reagan. But he goes further. He would reestablish the New Deal Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which would raise billions of dollars of capital and use it to prevent the fiscal default of irresponsible municipalities (like New York), channel loans to corporations thought needy by the government; and invest in research and development in such fields as energy. Connally has been sympathetic to Nelson Rockefeller's proposal for a \$100 billion Energy Independence Authority, but prefers to have the same program incorporated into his RFC. As a longtime spokesman for the oil and gas industry, of course, Connally is well-versed in energy matters.

It must also be remembered that John Connally brought off one of the great legislative victories of the Nixon Administration—the Lockheed loan guaranty program of 1971. And Connally scornfully rejected the suggestion that the loan guaranty was to be tied to any sort of corporate “performance.” “What do we care whether they perform?”, he shot back to Senator Proxmire during the 1971 hearings. “We are guaranteeing them basically a \$250 million loan. What for? Basically so they can provide employment for 31,000 people throughout the country at a time when we desperately need that kind of employment.” The fact that Lockheed has apparently used several millions of the funds made available to them as a result of the Connally loan guaranty bill to bribe foreign officials should not in any way be attributed to Connally.

Government Structure: Connally has offered a number of constructive proposals to restructure the Federal government by

constitutional amendments. He advocates a single six year term for President and a limit of twelve years in office for Members of Congress. This would enhance the power of the Presidency vis a vis Congress and give the President added authority to meet his awesome responsibilities. Connally advocates mandatory retirement of Federal judges at age 70, a proposal reminiscent of President Roosevelt's farsighted plan of 1937, and Connally would require reconfirmation of judges by the Senate every ten years. These proposals would limit the independence of the Judiciary, which could be a serious annoyance to an activist President. Finally, Connally recommends a constitutional amendment to require Members of Congress to spend at least three months a year in their home districts, to keep them closer to the problems of the people. (Connally thus advocates a total of at least seven constitutional amendments, reflecting his desire to effect a constitutional revolution through lawful means rather than through usurpation.)

Unemployment: Alone among major political figures, John Connally has brought forth a surefire cure for the unemployment problem. On Meet the Press (June 1, 1975) he said he would “take every 18 year old. . . and I'd start a national service program. . . and require every young person, male and female, to do a year of service upon graduation from high school.” The main effect of this program would be to drastically reduce the labor force by removing some 4 million youths from it. Connally reasons that this would go far toward solving the unemployment problem, which is most serious among youths entering the job market.

In addition, Connally pointed out, this compulsory service would interest youths in government, provide them with some needed discipline, and give them a year to

mature. And, assuming the payment of VISTA-level subsistence wages, it would cost the government only about \$18 billion to support these 4 million youths for a year. Of course this does not include the costs of enforcing the law against the few young dissenters who think they should be allowed to devote that year to their own petty personal pursuits, but there probably won't be many young people who would dissent from such a highminded program in the national interest.

Proven Integrity: It should also be noted that alone among prominent figures of Presidential caliber, John Connally is the only one who can assert his personal integrity and point to judicial proceedings to back him up. In Connally's own view, his 1975 acquittal on charges of accepting a bribe from certain milk cooperatives as Secretary of the Treasury "ought to be a plus." Certainly no other presidential contender can boast an acquittal for such serious charges.

* * * * *

Needless to say, any man who has taken such bold and forthright positions and accumulated such experience at high levels in government will be the target of criticism. University of Chicago professor Milton Friedman has been quoted as saying that Connally's program for compulsory national service is a "totalitarian" concept and a warmed over version of "Adolph Hitler's youth movement." Conservative columnist John D. Lofton Jr., after reviewing Connally's record, has concluded that "John Connally is not our guy. With his compulsory servitude proposal, he has demonstrated that he really doesn't know what conservatism is all about."

A Vermont Republican County Chairman charged last fall that "John Connally is the symbol of concentrated political and eco-

nomic power. His record in public life reflects his sincere desire to weld Big Business, Big Labor, and Big Government into what might variously be described as state capitalism or corporate socialism. His economic program is essentially that of Mussolini, shorn only of its more objectionable trappings." He added that Connally's proposal for compulsory national service was nothing more than a resurrection of Slavery, a practice the Republican Party was organized to restrain and ultimately exterminate.

Alan Crawford, the editor of the Young Americans for Freedom publication *New Guard*, describes Connally as a "supremely opportunistic political hack who happens this week to be appealing to conservatives." The Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms has sharply criticized Connally's advocacy of gun control legislation. The conservative magazine *Human Events* has editorially roasted Connally as a phony conservative. But, of course, the points made by these critics can readily be dismissed.

Conclusion: If it is bold leadership that America wants—leadership by a strong President unhindered by the nagging obstructionism of a reluctant Congress or negativistic Supreme Court—John Connally may well be the man for the job. If the Federal government is to occupy its rightful role as a full partner with the nation's leading businesses, with the public standing behind any unfortunate losses that they might suffer, John Connally would be the kind of President to bring it about. If our young people are to be given a taste of government-supervised public service early in their careers, only the election of John Connally to high office can provide the leadership needed to turn public opinion in that direction.

Persons involved in choosing the candidates for high national office in 1976 should ponder John Connally's program for America—before it is too late.

Documentation for the above statements will be provided upon request. Among the most quoted documents are John Connally's interview in Conservative Digest, December 1975; address to the Vermont Republican Dinner, November 2, 1975; Meet the Press, NBC-TV, June 1, 1975; and Face the Nation, CBS-TV, October 12, 1975.

This booklet is published and distributed by the Connally Information Committee, Concord, Vermont 05824, John McClaghry, Chairman. The Committee's purpose is to make the views and record of John B. Connally more fully known to the American public. Additional copies are available for \$1.00 each postpaid (bulk rates on request.) Receipts in excess of expenses, if any, will be donated to a nonprofit tax-exempt educational organization or charity.

The publication of this booklet has not been authorized by John B. Connally or any spokesman for him or by any organization of which he is a member.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOHN BOWDEN CONNALLY

Born Floresville, Texas, February 27, 1917

L. L. B., University of Texas, 1941

Married Idanell Brill December 21, 1940;
four children

Secretary to Congressman Lyndon B.
Johnson 1939-41.

Commissioned Ensign USN, 1941; served in
both Atlantic and Pacific Theatres; Awarded
Bronze Star, Legion of Merit, and 9 battle
stars; discharged 1946 as Lt. Commander.

Attorney, President of radio station KVET,
Austin, Texas 1946-49.

Administrative Assistant to Sen. Lyndon B.
Johnson, 1949.

Law Practice, Pwell, Wirtz and Bauhaut,
Austin, 1949-52.

Legal adviser to Texas oilmen Sid Richard-
son and Perry Bass, Ft. Worth, 1952-61;
active in management of radio-TV, real
estate, drug stores, oil and gas properties,
carbon black, ranching, mining, oil tool
development, mutual funds, and various
other enterprises.

Appointed Secretary of the Navy by Presi-
dent Kennedy, 1961.

Elected Governor of Texas, 1962; reelected
in 1964 and 1966.

Wounded by sniper bullet while riding in
car with President Kennedy, who was assas-
sinated in Dallas November 22, 1963.

Elected Chairman, Interstate Oil Compact
Commission, 1965.

Senior Partner, Vinson, Elkins, Searls, and
Connally, Houston, 1969.

Appointed Secretary of the Treasury by
President Nixon, January, 1971; Resigned
May 16, 1972.

Chairman, Democrats for Nixon, 1972
Presidential campaign.

Formally joined Republican Party, May 1,
1973.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Connolly
John*

May 24, 1976

Dear Leon:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful letter on a subject which is very much of concern to me. I had talked to the President after you had earlier called me on this subject and before the Commission appointment was announced. However, due to the nominee's prior service in the same capacity, the President felt inclined to go ahead with his plans. I do not, however, read into this action any inclination to go farther.

You were kind to mention my visit to Houston, and I would not have hesitated to let you know, except I arrived there just in time to make a dinner speaking engagement before the national meeting of the Travelers' Aid Society, and I left the very next morning. I would have liked the opportunity to see you, but I knew there would not be time on that occasion.

Very best regards.

Sincerely,

Phil

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Honorable Leon Jaworski
Bank of the Southwest Building
Houston, Texas 77002



LEON JAWORSKI

BANK OF THE SOUTHWEST BLDG.
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77002

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

May 18, 1976

Dear Phil:

You will recall that a number of months ago we talked about the risk the President would be running if the individual, about whom the enclosed article is written, were to be given any particular White House attention. Since then he was appointed to a Commission and given a tremendous amount of publicity as to being a special White House guest. In addition, he was wooed for support in Texas in the Presidential Primary.

Of course, all of this is history. What I kept wondering about is whether the President has any hope of prevailing in Texas in the General Election in the event he is the nominee--which I very much hope he will be. Of course, the problem is that there are many Democrats--conservatives and middle-of-the-roaders--who would like to support the President in the November election, but who are being alienated by the type of attention and consideration given this individual who, you must realize, has very little popularity in the East and in other parts of the country, and who, except for some old friends and supporters, does not have near the popularity in Texas apparently accorded him by the White House.

Should the President get the nomination, Watergate will most assuredly be made an issue by the Democratic nominee and I predict that you will find many of the tape recordings referred to, including conversations between Nixon and this individual



2.

on milk fund and other special interest contributions, as well as other discussions I mentioned to you when we talked about the matter. I have no ax to grind in this matter, but I tried to be helpful to the President in the suggestions that I made to you.

Jeannette mentioned to me that she had heard that you were in Houston a couple of weeks ago. I am sorry that I did not get to see you but I knew nothing of your visit.

With every good wish for you and Mrs. Buchen, in which Jeannette joins, I am

Sincerely,



Honorable Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Connally losing voter influence, poll reveals

By ART WIESE
Post Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON Just how strong is

The results of the privately financed poll by a nationally respected public opinion research firm, provided to The Houston Post, indicated that the firm's subject

endorsement would have no effect on their decision.

The percentages' total 101 per cent, an

favorably, 46 per cent an unfavorable one and 11 per cent had no opinion.

Former California Gov. Ronald Reagan had the second highest favorable mark

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

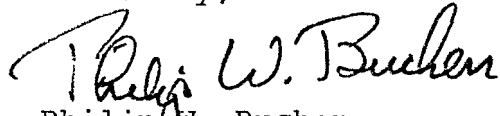
May 5, 1976

Dear Mr. McLaughlin:

Your letter to me of April 26 is much appreciated. If it should turn out that the subject you mention would become relevant to any action contemplated by the President, I will be mindful of your communication.

Thank you very much for your interest.

Sincerely,



Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. Edward J. McLaughlin
Administrative Judge
Family Court of the State
of New York
Court House
Syracuse, New York 13202



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REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL Donor restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL Letter(s)
CREATOR'S NAME McLaughlin, Edward
RECEIVER'S NAME Buchen, Philip
DESCRIPTION John Connally.
CREATION DATE 04/26/1976

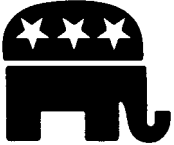
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COLLECTION TITLE Philip W. Buchen Files
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Barry
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VERMONT REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE

Concord, Vermont 05824
August 7, 1976

Mr. Philip Buchen
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington DC 20500

Dear Mr. Buchen:

I enclose for your review a little literature about John B. Connally. I find it absolutely astonishing that Gerald Ford should be considering John Connally for a running mate, notwithstanding Connally's obvious qualities of ability and leadership.

I personally happen to believe that Connally did not take a bribe to arrange a price hike for the milk producers. The man had a full and fair trial, was judged by a predominantly black, liberal jury in Washington DC, and was acquitted. I accept that.

My opposition to Connally stems from his oft-announced program for America. Perhaps you have never seen it all collected in one place before. When you look it all over, the Connally program is a recreation of the fascist economy designed by Mussolini. It lacks the emotional and totalitarian aspects of the fascist ideology, but other than that it has all the ingredients. If you doubt me, read John T. Flynn's As We Go Marching (1943) and then add up the Connally proposals.

In addition, if you watched or read the transcripts of Connally's two national television panel appearances of 1975 (June 1 -NBC; October 12- CBS), you will be struck with the fact that at a time when Jerry Ford needed strong support for his program to restrain inflation and deregulate the economy - efforts I supported as strongly as I knew how, and for which I (unsuccessfully) sought the vocal support of the Vermont Republican state committee - John Connally could scarcely muster any kind of a favorable mention of Jerry Ford. Under pressure from Bob Novak, he finally admitted that the President was a decent human being. At the time he was clearly and admittedly trying to launch a Connally third force boom, working with William Rusher and others. Then, after sitting out the Texas primary, he materializes at the White House a day after Reagan names Schweiker to profess his deathless support of Jerry Ford.

Are you sure this is the kind of man who deserves to be on the ticket with Jerry Ford?

Yours truly,


John McClaughry

cc: Cheney, Harlow, Laird, Rumsfeld
Richardson, Simon, Morton, Peterson

JOHN McCLAUGHRY

CONCORD, VT. 05824

July 23, 1976

TO ALL REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS


The name of former Texas Governor John B. Connally is increasingly being mentioned as a potential Republican Vice Presidential candidate for 1976. His long experience and demonstrated ability rank him as a man of Presidential caliber. You should be aware, however, of the political program this recent convert from the LBJ-wing of the Democratic Party has set forth for America. In his speeches and interviews over the past few years he has advocated:

- * a Federal agency to bail out staggering large corporations like Lockheed (whose bailout was Connally's major victory as Nixon's Secretary of the Treasury in 1971)
- * a Federal bailout of fiscally irresponsible municipalities like New York City
- * The imposition of wage and price controls
- * The Nixon Family Assistance Plan (defeated in Congress) which would have put millions of working Americans on welfare
- * A Federal law prohibiting the sale and possession of certain handguns
- * a number of Constitutional amendments to enhance the power of the President and reduce that of Congress and the Judiciary

Last, and far from least, John Connally has advocated a compulsory national service program. Every 18 year old American would be forced to work under the auspices of the Federal government for a year of their lives. Those 18 year olds who thought they had something better to do than empty bedpans for Uncle Sam would have the choice of fleeing to the free world, of which the United States would no longer be a part, or doing a tour in the Connally GULAG.

Indeed, the Connally program for welding Big Business and Big Government together, enhancing the power of the Federal Executive, and introducing compulsory national service by command of the State, is strikingly similar to the Mussolini program for the Corporate State in Italy four decades ago.

Americans who look forward to the imposition of such a program clearly have a champion in John B. Connally. Those who prefer the idea of a free society, limited government and individual liberty hoped for by those who 200 years ago laid the foundation for the American Republic should bestir themselves to make sure the Republican Convention in Kansas City nominates candidates dedicated to the same ideals.


John McLaughry
Concord, Vermont 05824



Note: The writer served two terms as a Republican member of the Vermont House of Representatives, was Special Assistant to Richard Nixon in the 1968 Presidential campaign, and has been described in the Vermont daily press as "arch conservative" and "ultra conservative". He is currently a member of the Vermont Republican State Committee.

Documentation for "Meet John Connally!"

Page

- 4 Bonfire of the tapes: CBS "60 Minutes" interview, 2/15/76;
"Haldeman Has A Turn", National Observer, 7/3/76
- 4 Pacific Common Market: E. B. Lockett, Lynchburg, Va., News, 2/23/76
- 4 Anti-Communist Campaign in Italy: Burlington, Vt. Free Press, 4/24/76
Rutland, Vt. Herald (AP), 6/7/76
4. Panama: NY Times, 11/9/75; Conservative Digest interview, 12/75
4. Commit American troops: Ibid.
- 4 United Nations: Ibid.
- 4 FBI, CIA: Ibid.
- 5 Deficits: Address, Connally Dinner, Houston, Texas, 7/31/75
- 5 Wage & Price Controls; "architect" Conservative Digest interview, 12/75
also CBS Face the Nation, 10/12/75
- 5 Wage & Price Controls, defense Life, 6/30/72
- 5 Wage & Price Controls, inequities Conservative Digest interview, 12/75
- 5 Bussing: Address, Phoenix, Ariz., 10/23/75, reported in Arizona Republic,
10/24/75; Conservative Digest interview 12/75
- 5 Racial Quotas: Address, Barre, Vt., 11/2/75; reported in Barre Times-Argus,
11/3/75
- 5 Gun control: Conservative Digest interview, 12/75
- 5 Food stamps: Address, National Electrical Contractors Association,
New York, 10/13/75
- ✓ 5 Family Assistance Plan: Life, 6/30/72
- 5 Nat'l Dividend Plan: Remarks, Wall St. Journal editorial board, 10/75
(personal communication); Aaron Latham, "John
Connally on the Comeback Trail" New York, 10/27/75
- 5 Deregulation: Address, National Electrical Contractors Association,
New York, 10/13/75
- 5 RFC: News Conference & Address, Phoenix, Ariz., 10/23/75, reported in
Phoenix Gazette, 10/24/75
- 5 EIA: CBS "face the Nation" 10/12/75
- 5 Lockheed "Performance": Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs
Committee, "Emergency Loan Guaranty Act of 1971"
(hearings) I: 126.

Documentation for "Meet John Connally!"

- 6 Limitation on tenure: Address, Barre, Vt., 11/2/75, reported in Barre Times-Argus, 11/3/75
- 6 Mandatory Retirement: Address, Houston, Tex., 7/31/75
- 6 3 months in home district: News conference & address, Phoenix, Ariz., 10/23/75, reported in Phoenix, Ariz., Gazette, 10/24/75
- 6 Compulsory National Service - advocacy: NBS "Meet the Press" 6/1/75
 reason: John D. Lofton, "Connally's Confusion," Burlington, Vt., Free Press, 6/23/75
 costs: Personal communication from ACTION Director Michael Balzano, 12/24/75
- 8 Acquittal: "ought to be a plus" NBC "Meet the Press" 6/1/75
 CBS "Face the Nation" 10/12/75
- 8 Friedman quote: John D. Lofton, Jr., "Connally's Confusion" Burlington, Vt., Free Press, 6/23/75
- 8 Lofton quote: Ibid.
- 8 Vermont quote: Republican County Chairman John McClaughry, news conference statement, 10/14/75; Nicholas Von Hoffman column, Chicago Tribune, 11/1/75
- 9 New Guard quote: Alan Crawford, "John Connally, Superstar" New Guard, 4/76
- 9 CCRKBA : quoted in New Guard, Ibi.
- 9 Human Events : Human Events, 3/13/76
- 12 Biography: Senate Finance Committee, Nomination Hearings, 1/28/71, p. 2.

CONNALLY
 INFORMATION COMMITTEE
 CONCORD, VT. 05824

Charles

The New York Times Magazine/August 8, 1976

The return of John Connally

By James P. Sterba

HOUSTON—In the final days of July, as united and ebullient Democrats ordered their inaugural gowns, and divided and embattled Republicans staggered toward Kansas City, John Connally's wife,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 12, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BUCHEN
FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF *M.F.*
SUBJECT: Congressman Tom Railsback

Since our conversation Railsback has tried to call you and I had the call diverted to myself and gave Railsback your comments.

He indicated that he was trying to reach Rodino for permission to release the information to the White House and if such permission is granted he indicated his intentions to send it down.

He reiterated his desire to speak to you and indicated that he hoped you would call him sometime today.

I made no indication of when you might call back.



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REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL Donor restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL Letter(s)
CREATOR'S NAME Railsback, Tom
RECEIVER'S NAME President
DESCRIPTION John Connally appearance before the
Senate Select Committee on Presidential
Campaign Activities.
CREATION DATE 08/13/1976
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 001900423
COLLECTION TITLE Philip W. Buchen Files
BOX NUMBER 37
FOLDER TITLE Personnel - Conflict of Interest, A-G
DATE WITHDRAWN 08/24/1988
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*File -
Connally*

Material sent to
Mr. Schmults:

8/16 Charles Ruff letter and
enclosures.

Excerpts from Nixon
transcript 4/14/73

John Connally material in
the folder on Mr. B's desk

Excerpts from pages 311-316,
Nightmare, by J. Anthony
Lukas



WATERGATE SPECIAL PROSECUTION FORCE
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August 16, 1976

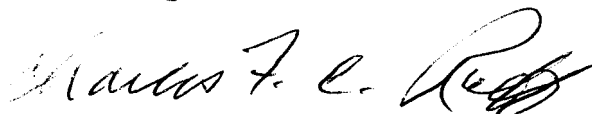
Honorable Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Buchen:

I am enclosing a copy of pages 30 through 33 of Government Exhibit 18A in U. S. v. Haldeman, et al.

These pages are part of a transcript which was introduced in evidence in the above-mentioned trial and are therefore a matter of public record. As I indicated to you, the tape itself, although it was also introduced at trial, is subject to the Order of Judge Sirica barring public access to it at this time. Although I believe that the conversation reprinted here is intelligible without the rest of the transcript, I will be glad to supply any additional pages from the exhibit that may be necessary.

Sincerely,



CHARLES F. C. RUFF
Special Prosecutor



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TRANSCRIPT OF A RECORDING OF A
MEETING AMONG
THE PRESIDENT, H.R. HALDEMAN AND
JOHN EHRLICHMAN IN THE EXECUTIVE
OFFICE BUILDING, APRIL 14, 1973,
FROM 8:55 TO 11:31 A.M.



EHRlichman: Uh, I am concerned about the overall aspect of this and then -- I want to talk about that before we --

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

EHRlichman: I don't know what your timing is like.

PRESIDENT: No problem.

EHRlichman: We'll probably get back to it.

PRESIDENT: Uh, got plenty of time.

EHRlichman: But, Dean called and he said, "Alright, here's a scenario." He said, "We've all been trying to figure out . . ."

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

EHRlichman: ". . . how to make this go." He says, "The President calls Mitchell into his office on Saturday. He says, 'John, you've got to do this and here are the facts: bing, bing, bing, bing.' And then that's -- you pull this paper out here. And you'd better go do this. And Mitchell stonewalls you. So then, John says, 'I don't know why you're asking me down here. You can't ask a man to do a thing like that. I need my lawyer. Uh, uh, I don't know what I'm facing? He says, 'You just really can't expect me to do this?' Uh, so the President says, 'Well, John, I have no alternative.' And with that, uh, uh, the President calls the U.S. Attorney and says, 'I, the President of the United States of America and leader of the free world want to go before the Grand Jury on Monday.'"

PRESIDENT: I won't even comment on that.

HALDEMAN: That's a silly (unintelligible).

EHRlichman: What I mean is, we're -- typical of the thinking of -- we're running out every, every line. So that was 12:30 this morning. I, uh, uh, but, but I . . .

PRESIDENT: I go before the Grand Jury -- that's . . .

EHRlichman: . . . I --



APRIL 14, 1973, FROM 8:55 TO 11:31 A.M.

PRESIDENT: That's like putting Bob on national television uh . . .

HALDEMAN: With Dan Rather.

PRESIDENT: What?

HALDEMAN: With Dan Rather.

PRESIDENT: . . . well, well by putting it on national television period. When, uh, your, uh, when your, when your audience basically is not that big.

EHRlichman: Well, let's, let's take it just as far as you calling Mitchell into the Oval Office, as a, as a . . .

(Tape noise)

EHRlichman: . . . essentially convinced that Mitchell was linchpin in this thing . . .

PRESIDENT: Right.

EHRlichman: . . . and that if he goes down, it can redound to the administration's advantage. If he doesn't then we're --

PRESIDENT: How can it redound to our advantage?

EHRlichman: That . . .

PRESIDENT: There's others - - -

EHRlichman: . . . That. You have a report from me based on three weeks' work, that when you got it, you immediately acted to call Mitchell in as the, as the provable. . .

PRESIDENT: I see.

EHRlichman: . . . wrong-doer . . .

PRESIDENT: I see.

EHRlichman: . . . and you say, "My God, I've got a report here. And it's clear from this report that you are guilty as hell. Now, John, for Christ's sake go on in there and do what you should. And let's get this thing cleared up and get it off the country's back and move on." And, uh, uh --

APRIL 14, 1973, FROM 8:55 TO 11:31 A.M.

HALDEMAN: Well, plus the given side of it is that that's the only . . .

PRESIDENT: Even way to --

HALDEMAN: . . . way to beat 'er down.

PRESIDENT: Well --

HALDEMAN: Now, from John Mitchell's own personal viewpoint that's the only salvation for John Mitchell. Can you see another way? And, obviously, once you have it, you've -- he's got to admit it.

PRESIDENT: He's, he's not gonna make it, anyway.

HALDEMAN: Another factor in that to consider for what it's worth, is the point Connally made to me in that conversation we had on this.

PRESIDENT: I ought to talk to Mitchell?

HALDEMAN: I don't know whether he said this to you or not. He made the point that you had to get this laid out and that the only way it could hurt you is if it ultimately went to Mitchell. And that, that would be the one man you couldn't afford to let get hung on this.

PRESIDENT: Even worse than Hughes talk.

HALDEMAN: He thought so. Seemed to be . . .

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) That's true. Yeah.

HALDEMAN: . . . seemed to be, because he's the epitome of your . . .

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: . . . your hard line.

PRESIDENT: I think he's wrong about that. I think this is the the worst one, well, due, due to the closeness to the President at the time of the crime.

HALDEMAN: But --

PRESIDENT: Would you agree, John?

APRIL 14, 1973, FROM 8:55 TO 11:31 A.M.

HALDEMAN: Well, what's bad --

EHRlichMAN: That's the way I see it.

HALDEMAN: But, what Connally also said was unless it's the President himself who nails Mitchell, then the President is (unintelligible).

EHRlichMAN: Can I pull up this into the larger, in a larger picture? We've gotta live day to day through these things . . .

UNIDENTIFIED: Yeah.

EHRlichMAN: . . . and forget, uh, the, uh, perspective that will be put on this period . . .

UNIDENTIFIED: Yeah.

EHRlichMAN: . . . three months later.

PRESIDENT: The point is whether or not -- I think I've got the larger picture -- I think, I mean I, and I, in this regard, the point is this that the -- we need some action before, uh -- in other words, if, if it's like my, my feeling about having the Grand Jury do it and the court system do it rather than Ervin Committee -- now we want the President to do it rather than the Grand Jury.

EHRlichMAN: No.

PRESIDENT: And I agree with that.

EHRlichMAN: Well, you're doing it in aid of the Grand Jury.

PRESIDENT: No. No. I didn't mean it. I didn't mean rather than the Grand Jury, but I mean to, to, to, to worm the truth -- now look, I, I -- the Grand Jury doesn't drag him in, he goes in as a result of the President's asking him to go in.

HALDEMAN: Okay. But while you're at that point could I argue a contrary view for a minute? 'Cause I don't agree with that.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.