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Conversation No. 388-8B

Date: November 8, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:05 pm - 3:28 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

Participants: Richard M. Nixon; Charles W. Colson, Robert H. Finch

In an extended conversation in the Executive Office Building first with Counsel to the President Chuck Colson and then later joined by California Lieutenant Governor Robert Finch, Nixon expands on his concern over the state of the Republican Party after the disappointing results of the 1972 Congressional elections.

Nixon notes to Colson, "I've got to tear that son of a bitch [National Republican Committee] apart. I think that this whole feeling is a new one. Do you agree or not? Would it get any reception?" Colson responds, "You should do it right away. Immediately, Mr. President. Your great opportunity is to convert an enormous personal triumph into institutional change."

Later, when Finch joins the conversation and Colson has departed, Finch argues, "The party is just gone... you ask [former Democratic Texas Governor John] Connally to make a decision [whether to run for the presidency as a Republican in the 1976 campaign]."

Before moving onto another topic, the president remarks, on rebuilding the Republican Party, "don't do it too much around the Jews, and all those. Go, the way I think you should do it is to build the new majority and pull them out. Goddamn it, go for the Teamsters, go for the building trades, go for the Catholics. That's the way to do it, Bob. You can get 'em. Build it around that. The Democrats have lost those people."

[Conversations continues from EOB 388-8A]

Colson: Well, it's running just under 61 [percent].

Nixon: Under 61, huh?

Colson: 60.78 at the moment. But no [unclear] Mr. President, no [unclear] the significance of the precincts that are out.

Nixon: What is the vote? [Unclear]

Colson: 45 million. 45 million oh 32 [45.032] [for Nixon] [versus] 28 million oh 36 [28.036] [for McGovern]. [Unclear]

Nixon: That's [unclear] the son of a bitch. Anyway, the total of the majority is the biggest.

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Colson: Oh yes.

Nixon: What is the majority, 15 [million]?

Colson: Well that'd be almost exactly 17, 45-28, almost exactly 17 million.

Nixon: How much was Goldwater? Goldwater was 43-17, wasn't he?

Colson: 43 to—

Nixon: Point 7, [unclear] the majority.

Colson: 16 million [unclear], no wait, 16—

Nixon: I mean, it was 14. No, no, 16 is more like it.

Colson: [Unclear] 129. [Unclear] Goldwater [unclear] 27 178. 16 million.

Nixon: What is it?

Colson: 16 million [unclear].

Nixon: What is ours now?

Colson: Ours now is exactly 17 million. [Unclear] thousand less than 17 million.

Nixon: So it's the biggest?

Colson: It's the biggest majority.

Nixon: The biggest—

Colson: Majority vote.

Nixon: And it's the biggest vote, and it's the biggest majority [unclear].

Colson: That'll be the biggest majority of all time.

Nixon: Oh yeah.

Colson: [Unclear] percentage wise, it's—

Nixon: Percentage wise it's Johnson, and ours is almost the same. What is Johnson's percentage again?

Colson: 61.1.

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Nixon: Against what?

Colson: 60.8, so three tenths of one percent.

Nixon: Yeah. But what was he against though? How much did the other [fellow get]?

Colson: 38.5.

Nixon: [*Unclear*]

Colson: [*Unclear*] you'd get—

Nixon: Our [fellow's] only getting 38.

Colson: 38.

Nixon: Well look at the spread then. Look at the spread between the two. I think our spread is slightly bigger than Johnson's.

Colson: Yes sir.

Nixon: [*Unclear*] [Put] it down.

Colson: His is 22.6. And ours is—

Nixon: [*Unclear*]

Colson: 22, ours is 22.8. Well, that 60.7, it may change. You've got a number of areas where 90 percent are in, 92 percent, 95 percent, 88 percent. [*Unclear*]

Nixon: [*Unclear*]

Colson: Georgia, [*unclear*] 14 percent of Georgia has to come in.

Nixon: That's ours.

Colson: [*Unclear*] 75 percent of that.

Nixon: Right.

Colson: So five percent hasn't even come in. [*Unclear*] ours [*unclear*]. Colorado, five percent [has to come], [we're] running 63 percent. California is all in, [we're] running 99 percent in [*unclear*].

Nixon: What is it? What did we get in California?

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Colson: 4 million 482 [against] 3 million 464.

Nixon: [Less than a million then]?

Colson: More than a million.

Nixon: That's just what I wanted. My God, after all the bullshit about California, we won a bit more.

Colson: [*Unclear*]

Nixon: Isn't that great?

Colson: Sure. Oh!

Nixon: That was a very tough one. [*Unclear*] they turned out [*unclear*] 55 [*unclear*]?

Colson: 55-43-2. [Nixon-McGovern-Other]

Nixon: You see, that's the Birchers. So basically there, 55-43, we've got a 57-43, we actually have a 14 point margin there if some damn Bircher hadn't been in there.

Colson: That's right. That's exactly right.

Nixon: Shit!

Colson: Fantastic numbers, Mr. President. [*Unclear*]

Nixon: Of course!

Colson: Massachusetts ended up 45 [*unclear*].

Nixon: [God]!

Colson: You know, it's less than—

Nixon: Don't you think that the peace thing really hurt there?

Colson: Yes.

Nixon: That was the thing that knocked it through.

Colson: I think you would have pulled Massachusetts through if they had known what was happening. And also—

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Nixon: Watergate?

Colson: Yeah, Watergate. It's the areas of the state that we lost that are so Goddamn frustrating. [Unclear] [nothing but] blue collar [unclear].

Nixon: That is why we have to [unclear].

[Unknown person enters]

Unknown person: [presents President with something] [Unclear] Christmas [unclear].

Nixon: What in the name of God is this? Did I have [unclear] to make the [unclear] statement?

Colson: [Unclear]

Nixon: This statement [unclear] Malek. Ray Price [unclear] the election. Now what in the name of hell is this? [Jesus Christ].

Colson: What it is, Mr. President, anyway we slice it, anyway the numbers come out, it is the biggest personal victory of any President in American history. I don't think any other election has [unclear] when you consider [unclear]—

Nixon: Even without the [unclear], Chuck.

Colson: Even without it.

Nixon: Even without it, first of all, it's the biggest majority. And it's a bigger percentage flip than Johnson's percentage flip. Do you understand? Do you know what I mean?

Colson: Yeah.

Nixon: Third party [unclear], well of course is a [unclear], you have a bigger margin percentage wise and vote wise than Johnson.

Colson: Well this is true. You've made it in absolute [percentage terms], its bigger, because—

Nixon: A bigger percentage of the vote? [Unclear] that isn't really true with any others. Of course, you've got a third party candidate, [unclear] Goddamn—

Colson: Sure. That's right.

Nixon: Well just think though, hell, if we [unclear] had Wallace in there.

Colson: That would have made this quite difficult.

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Nixon: He would have won it. It would have been a hell of a tough, we wouldn't have had that south.

Colson: No, he would have made it hard for us to shore up our social issues in the south. In other words, he would have constantly [*unclear*] for us [*unclear*] onto the other side.

Nixon: That's right.

Colson: Which would have made it damn hard. [Unclear]

Nixon: What we've got to really do is go over that shit now to the extent possible, I want to know whether it's shapeable, but I can now imagine that the National [Republican] Committee will [manage the relations in the short term], [why do we need it in the long term?] [I don't know why anyone wants to still run for that damn thing]. Chuck, I've got to tear that son of a bitch apart. I think that this whole [feeling is a new one]. Do you agree or not? Would it get any reception?

Colson: You should do it right away. Immediately, Mr. President. Your great opportunity is to convert an enormous personal triumph into institutional change.

Nixon: Well, I want these bastards to know it's a personal triumph. You see, that's the point in our own—and I don't want the Doles and the Domenics and the—

Colson: Well, [Dole said that] Wilson—

Nixon: Well, Dole would be all right.

Colson: Dole this morning said this was another [*unclear*] the Republican Party to victory [*unclear*], the President.

Nixon: Really? Oh!

Colson: They all [rip us, like hell].

Nixon: But damn it, [they over there] I don't want them to say that I should help the Party more.

Colson: [Well]—

Nixon: They used to say that about Eisenhower. But look, Eisenhower didn't do the pictures with the Goddamned candidates.

Colson: That was totally different.

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Nixon: He didn't do [unclear]. I did pictures, I did radio tapes, I did television tapes. He would never such a thing. Never, never, never!

Colson: I have on my staff Des Barker. He's a good, tough, shrewd politician. [Unclear] He knows the Rocky Mountain States. He said there wasn't anybody [in the state] [unclear]. He said [unclear]. He said [unclear].

Nixon: [Unclear]

Colson: He said [Unclear] solution [unclear]. There's a mood, there's a new kind of conservative movement. The problem with them is [that] they don't want Republicans, they don't want outside U.S. involvement, they don't want any more hippies the Democrats will offer them, they don't want people coming in from being from the Midwest, they want it [unclear].

Nixon: They want a [unclear] Colorado [unclear] Colorado. Great!

Colson: And [unclear].

Nixon: [Unclear].

Colson: Ha! [And an asshole staff]. And well, Bob Finch said he went to a rally, had 20 people in a shopping center.

Nixon: 20?

Colson: I don't know whether Bob was exaggerating, but that's what he said. But Jack Miller, you know, he's a guy who just—

Nixon: But he [unclear]. He can't complain [that I had come in].

Colson: No, he got on the wrong side of the Butz issue.

Nixon: What, he [unclear] Butz?

Colson: Yeah, he opposed Butz. [Unclear]. The only one that I guess we could have won if we had known—

Nixon: Boggs?

Colson: Yeah.

Nixon: One appearance over there. Boggs did not insist on that. I mean, [unclear], could have sent Agnew, you know. Agnew appeared in the Square. The President never has done Wilmington Square. It's always the Vice President's job. Chuck, it isn't worth it. I

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can't, I mean Sunday I [paid out] a hell of a lot to try to save these boys. A lot of people said I shouldn't have done it. Don't you agree?

Colson: The other thing, Mr. President, in the middle of the country, what I think you can establish—first of all, what you're doing in history, really, of the country. And your part of that history, will be to really throw it into the [Northern] Dems that encompasses Middle America, and destroys the old Eastern Establishment—

Nixon: I wonder—

Colson: —you're destroying their value system.

Nixon: I wonder if there's any way we can really get a new name for the Republican Party. I don't expect we can do that.

Colson: [We can if you order it.] [There's got to be a way.]

Nixon: There's no way to do that. We just take the whole thing—

Colson: Basically, it isn't really possible—

Nixon: [I'll have trouble with my figures.] Alex, I got the, you had put all the mail, I mean the, all the FYIs, the [unclear] people to call him and so forth. I can't make it to [unclear], I have to finish up [unclear]. I'm not able to do it.

Butterfield: All right, sir.

Nixon: But, have you got those things? Yeah. Another thing, yeah, there's a biography of Winston Churchill of which there are three volumes. I have only the first volume, by Peter de Mendelssohn [unclear]. I want the other two volumes, or get the three volumes, better bring it from the Library of Congress. I don't want it in paperback. And check it out and send it with me to Florida.

Butterfield: All right. Prime Minister Heath called you a little while ago. I said you were unavailable at the time. He said he would call back in about two hours.

Nixon: He's going to call me?

Butterfield: And I'm afraid he might miss you if you have to go to [unclear].

Nixon: Yeah.

Butterfield: [Unclear]. [I don't know]—

[Nixon picks up the phone and says to the White House Operator "Return Prime Minister Heath's call please" and hangs up.]

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Colson: I think, Mr. President, that you have to look at it this way. [*Unclear*] You made a conscious, deliberate decision back in the summer to go [for the very big] [*unclear*].

Nixon: Yeah.

Colson: And we might have been able to go in there, wrap our arms around those candidates, and [help them] [*unclear*], and end up making a marginal victory [*unclear*], maybe picking up 25 seats, maybe 25. And maybe 1 or 2 in the Senate. But the whole thing would have meant nothing in terms of the long haul, [and absolutely nothing] [but you reelected], but without [*unclear*] a modest Republican gain in the [*unclear*]. But what you now have is a major referendum [of what you're working on], not on any one issue. You have a new constituency, a brand new consistency. You have an opportunity to do what Roosevelt did with his election in '32 and what you'll have to do is work with the issues. [*unclear*] You've got an opportunity to really make a major change, political—

Nixon: It's a question of the [kind].

Colson: You've got a chance to [further your serious influence] [*unclear*].

Nixon: But the point is, without the Congress.

[Approximately 23 minutes of conversation omitted]

Nixon: Are they going to blame us for their losses out there?

Finch: Oh, no [*unclear*]. All I'm saying is that, the only bad feeling I have about all this it's an indictment of the Republican organization nationally and particularly in California. And, the great problem, of course, is they're going to be after you now [*unclear*] personal triumph.

Nixon: To do what?

Finch: Well you're trying to do everything else. [*unclear*] Where does the party go?

Nixon: Well, if they're after me to come out to make a fundraising speech—

Finch: No, sir.

Nixon: They can kiss my ass! I never [*unclear*].

Finch: [Thus], [*unclear*].

Nixon: The organization is, you know, that's exactly the point, isn't it? That's exactly the point. The thing is, Bob, in your case, Goddamn it! I just, who is going to run it? No, we'll talk about that later. Can I ask you to think about Wilson? Can we get Wilson now

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to resign or should we just get him the hell kicked out of that job? I just can't stand him anymore, can't stand it. I know he's talking about candidates. I think anyone can pick them, a chimpanzee, anybody.

Finch: [*unclear*] a possibility of this—

Colson: It doesn't hurt, Mr. President.

Finch: Bring the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, the House Congressional Committee, and the national committee under one roof, that's what you should do. Especially now—

Nixon: Bob, do you know what happened in 1971? In 1971, no election. I found those three committees had \$11 million of revenue! Bob Haldeman got the figure for them yesterday. I said I'd round it up. \$11 million! Now that's pissed down the hole! You've got to stop that! Now of course a lot of that is to have the guys take their junkets back home and do their television, but I think a lot of that could converge to, I think the new—

Colson: Really what you've got is competing organizations—

Nixon: Right.

Colson: —for publicity, for materials, for research, and it's bad, it's dangerous. There's got to be a way to pull out of it, in the country, then you've got the Policy Committee, in both the House and Senate, and—

Nixon: I think Chuck may be right.

Finch: You wanted to do this back in '60.

Nixon: Yes, sir.

Finch: Right after the election. [*Unclear*] thought then [*unclear*] state chairmen [*unclear*].

Nixon: You remember though the talk I had with Raymond Moley? When I said, Ray, maybe I ought to be the national chairman?

Finch: That's right. Exactly right.

Nixon: [*unclear*] If we could—I knew a great national chairman full time can change it, can make the Republican Party a majority party. But we have to shake it down, if we change its name. That's the thing. Its name has got to change, the word "Republican." You cannot say it in the south. You cannot say it in the south. There must be a way. [*Unclear*] Well, let me talk to Bob [out in California] [*unclear*]. Are you going to take off for the week, Chuck?

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Colson: No, I'm going to be here, Mr. President, tomorrow—

Nixon: Why?

Colson: I haven't seen my family in Boston. Tomorrow night—

President: You know, the greatest pleasure about this? Well, not the greatest. The funny thing [*unclear*] Tricia, Julie said, 'if we had to lose a state, we're glad it was Massachusetts.' Julie had gone to school there, at Smith. David had gone to Amherst, and Eddie had gone to Harvard.

[WITHDRAWN ITEM - 3 seconds]

Nixon: And there will never, never, be another Harvard man that I will pick for anything. [*Unclear*] It's not fair to those few that are for us, but we've gone hog wild [that way] and generally they hurt us? Do you agree with this or no?

Colson: Yes, [I do] [*unclear*] [few] exceptions. John Collins did a hell of a job for us up there.

Nixon: Did he go to Harvard?

Colson: No, he's a professor at MIT. [*Unclear*] [damn good one].

Nixon: Ok, off you go.

Colson: But, I'll be around—

Nixon: I want to see some names. I want Italian names and Polish names. That's what we want. For example, one change that I'm going to make, just between us. I haven't mentioned it to anybody. [*Unclear*] I'm going to put a labor man in the Secretary of Labor. Labor union leader, it's got to be done. They deserve that [Chuck], I mean, Jesus Christ, you put a business guy at the Secretary of Commerce. I'm not going to have it that way. I like Hodgson, he's a sweet guy, but there's got to be somebody we can all agree on. Incidentally, Chuck, it has to be agreed upon by only three people. It's got to be agreed upon by George Meany, Frank Fitzsimmons, and Paul Hall, those three. And if those three can agree on a man, they get [it]. Screw Ribicoff.

Colson: Paul Hall, oh my God! [*Unclear*] [We've got to agree on it a little more.] One Cabinet fellow has got to be a [*unclear*], because that's [*unclear*].

Nixon: I know. I know.

Colson: [*Unclear*]. A Paul Hall type. He understands it. He understands it.

Nixon: Would he do it?

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Colson: I think we couldn't do it, since we indicted him and he was found innocent, I mean he was found not guilty. I'm afraid that he's [unclear].

Nixon: Paul Hall, do you know him Bob?

Finch: [Unclear]

Nixon: He's the most brilliant labor leader [of our time].

Finch: [Unclear]

Nixon: No, he is brilliant. You see, I understand. Nobody is as smart of Meany in terms of ability, but Paul Hall is a well-education Meany.

Colson: And he's got [chutzpah]. He's got really, he walks in a room and takes it over. He's got command of presence.

Nixon: Ok!

Colson: I'm speaking, [of these speeches] [unclear] given, I'm speaking to [unclear] newspaper editors [unclear] you don't mind if I cut up the *Washington Post* just a little bit, do you?

Nixon: Cut the shit out of them!

Colson: [laughter]

Finch: [Unclear] headlines this morning [is to] [unclear] D.C.

Colson: Thank you, Mr. President.

Nixon: Bye.

[Colson exits]

Nixon: On California now, Bob, you've got to decide, I think, immediately as to whether you're going to go Governor or Senator. Whichever you want, you know I'm for, but I think I can help in this respect. But I think you've got to decide. We've got to get my friends mobilized [unclear].

Finch: Absolutely.

Nixon: [Let me speak frankly]. The thing that gets me about governor, I think you're probably, your point about being involved in the Party [and] running for governor is correct. The thing, too, it may be easier running for governor. If you would like the

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Senate better, and God knows we need good senators, I know Cranston is tough. He does his homework and all the rest. He isn't worth a shit on the issues. That's the problem. Now here we are. Now what the hell are you going to be? Are you going to take [unclear]? If you go for governor, who the hell are you going to run against? Cranston, so we've got to go after him.

Finch: [Unclear]

Nixon: Incidentally, how much did you get out there? Remember, by the time we talked, you know, I said 'get the hell out and campaign.' Did you do it?

Finch: [Unclear] 30 appearances in the last—

Nixon: Good. [Unclear]?

Finch: Right now the polls show a Republican [unclear] the governorship [unclear] [I feel] stronger against Cranston. [Unclear]

Nixon: That is to say—

Finch: Now, [who wouldn't be?] [Unclear] for Christ's sakes by 13 points! [Field] poll by 11 points. What we're talking about is who the hell is that delegation? Obviously, we can [extend it].

Nixon: The delegation? Oh, I [unclear]. In '76? Oh, I won't even be around. I'm through with this. No more. [Unclear]

Finch: [Unclear]

[Manolo Sanchez enters and offers refreshments]

Finch: [Unclear] *L.A. Times*.

Nixon: [Unclear] is that leukemia he has?

Finch: [Unclear]

Nixon: Can he talk?

Finch: Just barely. Of course this happened [unclear] over the years. [Unclear]. [Unclear].

Nixon: [Unclear]? What can we do about it?

Finch: [Unclear].

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Nixon: [*Unclear*] [call] at some point?

Finch: Yes, sir. [*Unclear*].

Nixon: Well doe he know that I know that he's sick?

Finch: I don't know.

Nixon: See, I don't want to call him and say [*unclear*] 'well, thanks for the help [*unclear*].' [He's done, he's done]. Are people in California pleased about the election, Bob?

Finch: Yes, just ecstatic! [*Unclear*] devastating [*unclear*] what's happening in the party? Where do we go from here? That shortage of good ideas is bullshit. [I've heard that before]. [*Unclear*] In terms of—

Nixon: Let me say this before we complete this: you do the California thing now. We have to play with Reagan, for reasons that you're quite aware, up 'til now. As far as I'm concerned, Reagan now can paddle his own Goddamned canoe. For example, I hope you agree with this [*unclear*], because, he called when I signed that bobtailed H.R. 1 bullshit, you know, without family assistance. He called [*unclear*]. The son of a bitch actually doesn't know what the hell is in the bill! Is he just that dumb, or what? What in the name of God?

Finch: And the other thing, he was very open about it. [*Unclear*] hearing about it.

Nixon: Yeah.

Finch: You see [*unclear*] that in perspective.

Nixon: Right.

Finch: They believe that he'll fall on his ass in the primaries [in 1976] as they're concerned—

Nixon: Reagan?

Finch: And Reagan will [*unclear*] in the late stages [*unclear*]. Be concerned in no way.

Nixon: Let me quite be quite candid with you. I don't know how it can work out, but don't rule out Connally. [*unclear*]

Finch: But this, you understand why—

Nixon: Reagan cannot be trusted. And, incidentally, as you well know, Agnew can't be.

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Finch: But, my point is—

Nixon: [*Unclear*] Let me say, but Bob, if you had to have a choice, it's Agnew by a [great margin].

Finch: But, see, they think Agnew had scars on him by Percy, or whatever. [*unclear*] [Henry] Salvatori's very candid about this and so are the governor's people.

Nixon: This is what he's not going to understand, how old Reagan is? He's older than I am!

Finch: [*Unclear*].

Nixon: [*Unclear*].

Finch: [*Unclear*].

Nixon: [*Unclear*]?

Finch: [*Unclear*].

Nixon: [*Unclear*] the key is foreign policy. Let me say, we have given him one hell of a lot of [*unclear*]. We've sent him on trips [*unclear*]. [*Unclear*].

Finch: [*Unclear*]. If I could go back and take him on, [*unclear*].

Nixon: So what's your present thinking?

Finch: [*Unclear*].

Nixon: For Governor?

Finch: [*Unclear*].

Nixon: Remember, you can't wait too long.

Finch: That's right. [*Unclear*] put this critical mass together. [It's at that point] you say to people who really came up to the [*unclear*].

Nixon: [*Unclear*]?

Finch: Yes, sir.

Nixon: Incidentally, let's get Carter's group. [*Unclear*].

Finch: Carter, [*unclear*], Dave Packard.

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Nixon: [The new power].

Finch: [*Unclear*].

Nixon: They sponsor, across the street, a dinner for the Californians in the White House. Haldeman, Finch, Klein, [Gray]. You're not going to, they're doing it for us.

Finch: Right.

Nixon: [*Unclear*] you come by, and help [me get this list].

Finch: [*Unclear*].

Nixon: [*Unclear*] in charge on that. Sit down, and they're going to take the polls. They're going to structure this [*unclear*] situation you want for your home state without [*unclear*].

Finch: The charter says they can [stick him in and take Valenti's place].

Nixon: Can they? Well it's about time.

Finch: That's one responsibility. But the other one is the fact that there's [*unclear*].

Nixon: Copley's a waste for it, I agree. Copley will double around one way or another.

Finch: But my point is, get Herb out there. Herb gets along with Reagan. Herb can get along with Gordon Luce [*unclear*].

Nixon: But wait a minute. If Herb can get Valenti [*unclear*] does he have to be in Washington?

Finch: Well, that's part of the problem. Actually, he could live out there [*unclear*].

Nixon: Goddamn it, that Valenti is [*unclear*].

Finch: So, that's possible. Anyway, getting [*unclear*], getting a front man out there, it's understand this is somebody who [doesn't give a] [*unclear*]. Why wouldn't they understand [that going after] [*unclear*]?

Nixon: Yeah.

Finch: But, [you've got to find a key vote] [and keep knocking them] [*unclear*]. [He keeps these people who have the vote] because the party is just gone. And you keep that as a critical mass, and then you ask Connally to make a decision. I'll go either way. I can withdraw. And right now just because I give a damn about that Party and I'm tired of being screwed by a lot of the nuts. I'd like to go for governor because that's where the

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power is, in terms of the short term. Then what I'd do, frankly, if I could win that, then I'd take Tunney. I'd be in by 50 to 37.

Nixon: I know.

Finch: [*Unclear*] I've got to get stronger.

Nixon: No, you'd have to do that.

Finch: I'd do that. I'd give it the effort. I'd do that and I wouldn't give a shit. I'd be governor, and then I'd go for it.

Nixon: Right.

Finch: Here's the point. Nobody's going to hold the governorship after 8 years, after [*unclear*]. Not for long. [*Unclear*] from Reagan. The Democrats are so divided. They've got Moretti, and Alioto who isn't worth a damn [*unclear*], Moscone, Waldie, Jerry Brown Jr., and they're all just [*walking around*]. The other discouraging thing is about the damn Senate seats. That's essentially a Democratic state to begin with, California, Cranston's a left [*unclear*] operator, [*unclear*] that Democratic majority, you get the Jews, you get [*unclear*] Shriver and Tunney, [*and put out*] the vote the whole Goddamn minorities. Now you've got a knife to cut into them. [*unclear*] But, it's going to be a [*scrape*] [*unclear*] game [*unclear*] very fast. Because Reinecke will [*unclear*].

Nixon: Is Reinecke going to run for governor?

Finch: Sure. [*Unclear*] [*he's going*] unless I go [*unclear*] got the [*unclear*]. [*Unclear*] Chandler [*unclear*]. But if we all go in [*unclear*] it just opens the possibility [*unclear*]. But I'm satisfied by [*moving them off the vessels*] [*unclear*].

Nixon: But Reinecke, for Christ's sakes, is just too damn dumb!

Finch: Well he runs third or fourth in all the polls among Republicans. He hasn't got [*unclear*]. I'd like to [*unclear*].

Nixon: Who would you run for Senate? Well how about a new man for the Senate? You might talk to [*unclear*]. It'd have to be a nut cutting—

Finch: [*Unclear*] Flournoy [*unclear*]. You know—

Nixon: [*You've*] got to cut his nuts. [*You*] can't be too liberal with this fellow. That is some contrast.

Finch: Barry Goldwater [*unclear*]. Matthias [*unclear*].

Nixon: But not him [*unclear*].

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Finch: [*Unclear*].

Nixon: [*Unclear*].

Finch: [*Unclear*].

Nixon: [The] Weinberger meeting?

Finch: [*Unclear*].

Nixon: Oh, no question about that. He's strong.

Finch: [*Unclear*].

Nixon: I know, I know.

Finch: Visibility is almost [*unclear*] [for him to do it]. Unless [*unclear*].

Nixon: [How soon are] you going to get going on it?

Finch: Fairly soon. Start sorting. [*Unclear*].

Nixon: You know, instead, [I don't know] [*unclear*] [before the election], [*unclear*] Mitchell and others [*unclear*] Rockefeller and [*unclear*] being afraid of him. I don't give a shit [*unclear*]. [*Unclear*].

Finch: [*Unclear*]. I don't know anything about [*unclear*]. [*Unclear*]. Teddy White thinks he will.

Nixon: Do you think he'd like another shot at being President?

Finch: He's [serious]. [You've got to love him]. He's a vigorous fellow. If this were [*unclear*]. [I don't know] [*unclear*] Percy [*unclear*].

Nixon: Percy? Never. [I don't see] a Republican massive shift in that direction [*unclear*]. [*Unclear*] oppose him.

Finch: [*Unclear*]. Reagan [*unclear*].

Nixon: [Rocky] is how old now?

Finch: He's 62, 64, isn't it? 65?

Nixon: How old is Reagan?

DRAFT

Finch: He's [unclear].

Nixon: They're too old then. Bob, they can't run in '68, [they're too big] for the President. [Unclear] that's what I mean. Disraeli did it at 68, but hell, it's a different system. Churchill, ha! [Unclear] it's a miracle after all, I noticed [unclear] he just about slipped [unclear] 50-50 or 51-49, I couldn't tell what it was. But that's a hell of an achievement.

Finch: [Unclear] feel good about that. [Unclear] percentage [you got] [unclear] blacks, Jews [unclear].

Nixon: What did we get with the Spanish? About 30?

Finch: [Actually] better than that. [Unclear] the Puerto Ricans in New York, I mean that was a [lost cause]. My God, the Chicanos, and the Cubans—

Nixon: We got the Cubans.

Finch: That paid off. [Unclear]

Nixon: We had to go out to Texas to carry Texas.

Finch: I'd like to go out for it. This thing, I'd like to put this thing together—

Nixon: And I don't want to urge you though, don't do it too much around the Jews, and all those. Go, the way I think you should to do it is to build the new majority and pull them out. Goddamn it, go for the Teamsters, go for the building trades, go for the Catholics. That's the way to do it, Bob. You can get 'em. Build it around that. The Democrats have lost those people.

Finch: And out there, in particular. [Unclear] the propositions.

Nixon: [I took your ballot] and marked it all that way. I don't know [unclear]—

Finch: [Unclear].

Nixon: [Unclear].

Finch: [Unclear] came out just about the way you said.

Nixon: But did you notice the capital punishment? Of course, I heard that was, Ziegler told me here—

Finch: Two to one.

Nixon: Two to one? And marijuana two to one?

DRAFT

Finch: Two to one.

Nixon: It must tell you something.

Finch: Busing was three to two.

Nixon: [*Unclear*].

Finch: Of course that was a [*unclear*] figure, because it's a reverse.

Nixon: [*Unclear*].

Finch: Well, part of [*unclear*]. There's another side of it. [*Unclear*] anything that Californians in the [White House] [which you might want to buy]. Part of it is [*unclear*], circumstances. [*Unclear*] resignation. [*Unclear*] considered, or whatever.

Nixon: Oh hell yes.

Finch: That language is critical [to the game we're playing].

Nixon: Hell yes.

Finch: The only thing is—

Nixon: Incidentally, did Rogers handle it all right after I left?

Finch: Yes, sir. [*Unclear*].

Nixon: Everybody, I mean, all up and down the line?

Finch: [*Unclear*].

Nixon: As you know, it's going to be much more ruthless than they realize. I don't mean with them personally, but some of them, too. But, mainly, down the line, there isn't going to be a Johnson holdover or a Kennedy holdover left in the government. No!

Finch: [*Unclear*] your cabinet. Shultz [*unclear*] just a plain budget consideration [*unclear*]. [*Unclear*] cut [*unclear*] reductions in force [*unclear*].

Nixon: Right. [Rip it right over the place].

Finch: [*Unclear*] meetings today [*unclear*]. But the other [*unclear*] was good.

Nixon: We had to [*unclear*]. [*Unclear*] have it today, don't wait. You know, he said, well, I should wait a week. The Cabinet deserves it. They all work their asses off. And I [*unclear*].

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Finch: [*Unclear*].

Nixon: [*Unclear*] you see, I'll talk to each of them individually.

[*Phone rings; British Prime Minister Heath is returning the President's call*]

Nixon: You know this kind of [*unclear*], as you can imagine, has an enormous effect on the—

Finch: Well, I think that's, I was just saying that—

Nixon: [Were you]?

Finch: It's—

Nixon: See Johnson, you must remember, also [had his own war]. But then he bogged down: first, the Great Society, and then second, the damn war. He handled it so badly.

Finch: [He] [*unclear*] [campaign].

Nixon: And also he was so Goddamn cocky after he won.

Finch: [*Unclear*]. He never really understood the international thing.

Nixon: You know, I thought we made one good decision last night. You know, by, I thought it was good I went, instead of going right over to the Shoreham, I went to the Oval Office, very quietly, for three or four minutes, and then to the Shoreham. How do you feel?

Finch: [*Unclear*] in contrast with that asshole McGovern [*unclear*].

Nixon: Being sour to the last. The Oval Office thing, it's very impressive. And then over at the Shoreham—

Finch: [*Unclear*] you know, [*unclear*], period. [*Unclear*] set of circumstances [*unclear*] Shoreham [*unclear*]. [I mean], it was a nice [*unclear*] [thanking those you worked] [*unclear*]. [*Unclear*] the [*unclear*] Oval Office [*unclear*].

Nixon: Well, let's leave it this way: you get your tail out to California and make your decision. I don't need to talk to you, whatever you want to do, we'll do, and the timing is up to you, too.

Finch: [Sure].

DRAFT

Nixon: And if you decide, you know what I mean, you want to do it, incidentally, how many [cabinet] [unclear] do it [unclear] we'll do [fix each of the timings] in a way that each guy gets his own ride, you know. It builds his personality. Romney wanted it that way, he's going to want to talk about it. [Unclear] of course we'll do it [so that] he doesn't want [it to be felt] that he's being thrown out with a whole lot of other people. [Unclear] Romney has to go, as you know, Volpe [unclear]. I mean, it's been, four years is long enough! It really is, Bob.

Finch: Sure is. [I was surprised that was there] this morning [about the]—

Nixon: Exhausted volcano?

Finch: [Unclear] second term [unclear] an example [unclear] that's true, in state government it's true, [it was] true with Eisenhower [unclear]. Roosevelt [unclear]—

Nixon: Oh! Look back [unclear] same Goddamn acts in the cabinet. Well Eisenhower's cabinet, remember Eisenhower kept Art Summerfield, George Humphrey, and all the rest. Damn ruined it!

Finch: Well, I [unclear] you're dead serious, you're dead serious [about it] [unclear] reorganize [unclear]. If you can get this Goddamn thing reorganized, that's going to be a short term proposition! Just put it [unclear]—

Nixon: Right.

[Tape ends]

[See 388-8C for remainder of conversation]