



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 631-1

Date: December 7, 1971

Time: Unknown between 12:57 pm and 1:58 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

[The recording begins at an unknown time while the conversation is in progress]

People's Republic of China [PRC] trip

- William P. Rogers
  - Conversation with Haldeman
  - Henry A. Kissinger
  - Comments
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] trip
  - India

India-Pakistan war

- Haldeman's talk with Rogers
  - Press stories
  - Rogers-Kissinger
- President's instructions
  - Haldeman's possible call to Rogers
    - Press articles
    - Staff meeting
      - Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Administration policy
- Press stories
  - Time* and *Newsweek*
    - Lead story for the week
  - Mary McGrory
    - Types of stories
  - Kissinger
    - United Nations [UN]-Taiwan
    - India-Pakistan war
- Administration responsibility
  - Frank F. Church
  - Edward M. Kennedy
  - Refugees
  - India
- The President's conversation with Rogers
  - Rogers working style

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631- 1(cont.)

- Compared to
  - John B. Connally
  - Kissinger
    - George P. Shultz
      - Previous conversation with Kissinger
    - Connally
- Kissinger resignation
  - Previous attempt by Kissinger
    - Timing
  - Laos
  - PRC trip
  - 1972 election
    - Probable timing of resignation
  - Possible reasons
  - Paris Peace Talks
  - State Department
    - Magazines
      - James B. Reston

Foreign policy

- Rogers
  - Expertise [?]

PRC

- Rogers
  - Talks with Haldeman
  - State Department

Kissinger

- India
  - The President's stance
  - Military aid
  - Economic aid
  - Indira Gandhi
    - Difficulties
    - Kennedy
    - Kenneth B. Keating
- Rogers
  - National Security Council [NSC]
    - Kissinger
      - Appearance on National Broadcasting Company's [NBC]

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631- 1(cont.)

program, "A Day in the Life of the President", December  
6, 1971

Pierre E. Trudeau meeting

- Kissinger's location

The President's schedule

- Appearance on NBC program, "A Day in the Life of the President"

- Haldeman

- Charles W. Colson

- Peter M. Flanigan

- Robert H. Finch

- Donald H. Rumsfeld

- Finch

- Location

- Domestic Council meeting

- Spiro T. Agnew

- Possible agenda for meeting [?]

- Rogers

- Kissinger

- Haldeman's previous calls

Kissinger

- Relations with staff

- Trudeau dinner

- Toast

- Television

- Kissinger's style

- Backgrounders

- Rogers

- PRC

- Kissinger and Rogers

Connally's news conference

Agnew

- Style and manner at Trudeau dinner

Kissinger resignation

- State Department

- Frustration over policy

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631- 1(cont.)

- Haldeman's talk with Ziegler
  - Backgrounder
- Kissinger
  - Handling
  - Actions
  - Concern from Haldeman

Haldeman left at 1:58 pm.

Conversation No. 631-2

Date: December 7, 1971  
 Time: 2:59 pm - 3:02 pm  
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

- Henry A. Kissinger
- Ziegler's talk with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  - Talk with Ziegler
    - State Department
  - Edward M. Kennedy
  - United Nations [UN]
    - India-Pakistan
      - Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
      - Coalition government
      - Kissinger
    - Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
      - State Department
      - Joseph J. Sisco
        - Backgrounder
        - Timing
  - Kennedy
    - India-Pakistan
    - Refugees into India
      - Humanitarian aid
      - Kissinger
      - The President's forthcoming talk with Ziegler

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631- 2(cont.)

Ziegler left at 3:02 pm.

Conversation No. 631-3

Date: December 7, 1971  
Time: 3:04 pm - 3:11 pm  
Location: Oval Office

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

India-Pakistan

- Backgrounder
- Ronald L. Ziegler's talk with Henry A. Kissinger

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:04 pm.

The President's schedule

- Meeting with Maurice H. Stans

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:11 pm.

India-Pakistan

- Kissinger's backgrounder
  - Talk with Ziegler
  - Talk with Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - The President's view
  - State Department
    - The President's talk with Ziegler
      - William P. Rogers
  - Ziegler's previous conversation with Haldeman
    - Rogers's speech at Pierre E. Trudeau dinner
      - Timing
      - Kissinger's comments
        - Conversation with Haldeman
        - Possible fallout from Rogers' speech
          - Cienfuegos crisis
          - India-Pakistan

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631- 3(cont.)

- State Department
  - Middle East negotiations
- Kissinger's negotiations
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - [Pakistan and India]
  - Iran
    - Cable
      - Haldeman's questions to Kissinger
- Rogers's speech
  - National Security Council [NSC]
  - Backgrounder
  - The President's statement
    - Tone
      - Haldeman's view
  - Canadians' comments

Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:04 pm.

- The President's schedule
  - Meeting with Stans
    - Peter G. Peterson and Kissinger
    - Timing

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:11 pm.

Kissinger's backgrounder

Haldeman left at 3:11 pm.

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conversation No. 631-4

Date: December 7, 1971  
 Time: 3:12 pm - 4:29 pm  
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with Maurice H. Stans, Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., and Peter G. Peterson; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting

Greetings

Stans's trip to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR], November 20-30, 1971

- Length
- Sweden
- USSR
- Poland
  - Duration
- Sweden
  - Courtesy call by Stans
- Poland
  - Bank credits
  - Debt
    - Stans' report
    - Export-Import [Ex-Im] Bank credits
      - Romania
      - Timing
- USSR
  - Moscow
  - Leningrad
  - Azerbaijan Republic
    - Baku
  - Georgian Republic
    - Tbilisi
      - Duration of time
  - Stans' visits with Aleksei N. Kosygin
    - Length of meetings
  - Proposed agenda
    - US-USSR relations
    - Trade
    - Kosygin's view

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- Working groups
- The President's forthcoming trip
  - Timing of working groups announcement
- Political situation
  - Importance and possible improvement
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
- Commercial situation
- Letter to the President
  - Contents
    - Agreements reached during Stans' visit
    - Description of letter
- Stans's meetings with Minister of Foreign Trade
- Stans's meeting with the Ministers of Petroleum, Gas, Automobiles, Shipping, and Standards
- Stans's meeting with the Chairman of the State Committee on Science and Technology, The Chamber of Commerce, Foreign Trade Bank and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers
  - Azerbaijan and Georgian Republic
- US-USSR relations
- Kosygin's five-year plan
  - Significance
  - Supreme Soviet
    - Helmut("Hal") Sonnenfeldt
    - Stans' attendance at the Supreme Soviet
    - Treatment
- Georgian Republic
  - Entertainment for Stans' group
- Plane
- Escorts
- Entertainment
- Pravda
  - Stories about Stans' visit
- Commercial relationship
  - Trade
  - Improvement of relations
- Most-favored nation [MFN] status
  - Possible discrimination
- Export-Import [Ex-Im] bank credits
- Trade restrictions
  - Possible negotiations
- Lend-lease debt

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- Potential settlement
- Working groups
  - Minister of Foreign Trade
  - US Department of Commerce
    - Continuance of discussions
  - Four members from each
    - Location of meetings
  - Joint trade ventures
  - American businessmen in the USSR
    - Special arrangements
      - Discussed on fact finding groups
  - Kosygin's view
- Trade possibilities
  - Peterson's figures
    - Possible conversation between Stans and Peterson
      - President's previous meeting
  - Western Europe
    - Amount
  - Stans' goal
    - Projections
      - 1975
        - Poland
  - Eastern Europe figures
    - Comparison with USSR
    - Vietnam
  - Kosygin
    - Grain sales
      - Ex-Im bank credit
        - Compared to industrial equipment
        - Duration
          - Poland
        - Yugoslavia and Romania
        - Duration
          - Commodity Credit Corporation [CCC] credits
      - Political value
        - Amount
      - Grain supplies in Eastern Europe
      - Credit terms
      - Maritime unions
  - Factories and plants
    - Off-shore oil operations in Baku

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- Steel mills, generator factories
- G.U.M store
- Travel restrictions
  - Freedom for Stans
- Stans's talk with workers and shopkeepers
  - The President's forthcoming visit
    - Possible tone of reception
    - Desire for understanding from all Russians
- Press
- Stans's letter to the Minister of Foreign Trade
  - January 6, 1972 meeting
    - Location
  - Grain agreement
  - Ex-Im bank credit
    - Lend-lease agreement
      - Pace of negotiations
  - Offer of visit to the US
    - Stans' counterpart
    - Timing
      - The President's forthcoming trip to the USSR
- USSR bank in the US
  - Location
  - Reciprocal basis
- Stans' impressions
  - Store merchandise
    - Quality of merchandise
  - Housing shortage
  - Automobiles
  - Five year plan
    - Consumer goods
  - Standard of living
  - Factories
    - Performance
    - Profit motive
  - Progress
  - Poland and USSR
    - Similarities
  - Stans in Poland
  - Apparent US-USSR differences
  - Kosygin
- US business in USSR

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF****Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- Natural resources
  - Gas
  - Copper
  - Diamonds
    - World production
    - Percentage
- Potential US rival
  - Timing
- Issues
  - Level of importance
  - MFN status
    - 1951 trade agreement
    - Kosygin's view
    - Congressional action
      - Poland
      - Romania
      - Vietnam
  - Trade
    - US tariffs
    - USSR difficulties
  - Ex-Im bank credit
    - Consumer goods
    - Capital
    - Joint ventures and credit facilities
  - Export controls
    - Ongoing reductions
    - List
      - Kosygin's view
  - Increase in scientific and technological cooperation
    - Working group
      - Space flight
      - Pollution control
    - Range of cooperation
  - Trade agreement
    - 1936-1951
      - Duration of US-USSR agreement
    - Other countries
      - Number of agreements
    - Lend-lease negotiations
  - State committee for science and technology
    - Cooperation

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- Canada and France
  - Potential working group
- US issues
  - Access for us business
    - Offices
      - Lack thereof
    - Pan American [PanAm]
    - American express
      - Telex
        - Intourist
  - MFN restrictions
  - Market requirements
    - Freedom
      - Access to factories
  - Bilateral procedures for settling commercial disputes
  - Agricultural exports
  - Lend-lease debt
- Joint ventures
  - US equipment
    - USSR natural resources development
      - Mining of copper, nickel, chrome, gas and oil
  - Pay back in product
    - Including interest
      - Long-term supply contract
  - Gas pipeline
    - Location
      - Baltic Sea
        - Analogy to Algeria
    - Possible national security concerns
- Trade
  - Proposed increase with the US
  - Contracts to US companies
    - Kama River truck plant
      - Timing
  - Minister of petroleum
    - “Shopping list”
      - Technology and equipment
        - Cost
    - Advantages of US
      - Labor intensive products
      - US buying of resources

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- Europe
  - Joint ventures
    - Other European countries
      - USSR agreements with western countries
      - Types of ventures and development
  - MFN status
    - Amount of trade
  - Ex-Im bank credit
    - Credit from other countries
- Economy
  - Increase in productivity and trade
  - Growth rate
    - Projected amount
      - Gross National Product [GNP]
  - Japan comparison
  - Kosygin's speech
    - Five year plan
      - Potential equivalent of US in production
  - Potential truck plant
  - Kama River
    - Ford Motor Company
      - USSR representatives
- Raw materials
  - Titanium, platinum, copper, zinc
  - Timber development
    - US-USSR collaboration
- Significance
  - Step up economic relations with US
  - Develop greater understanding of US
- Technological growth
  - Need to catch up
- Government
  - Structure
- MFN status
  - Limitations
    - Possible psychological barrier
- American goods
  - Equivalent amount
- USSR self-interest
- US economy
  - USSR propaganda

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- Capitalism
  - Possible USSR attitudes
- Stans' conversation with Minister of foreign trade
  - Press criticism
    - The President's forthcoming visit
    - SALT
      - USSR press towards the US
  - Separation of commerce and political activities
- Stans's recommendations
  - Fact finding group
    - Continuation
  - Ex-Im bank credit
    - Step towards normalizing relations
      - Romania
    - Lend-lease debt negotiation
  - Grains
    - Five year agreement
      - Value to US
  - Export control lists
    - Coordinating Committee [COCOM]
    - Military hardware
  - US-USSR high level working group
    - Scientific and technological cooperation
  - Travel restriction reduction
    - Tourism
      - Potential for buying more goods
  - MFN status
    - Lend-lease debt
  - Johnson Act repeal
    - Congress
      - Private financing limits
  - Negotiation of a trade agreement
    - Establishment of US control
      - USSR protection of copyrights
- Stans' report to the president
  - Memorandum of conversations
  - USSR trade agreements with other countries
  - USSR joint ventures
    - United Kingdom
    - West Germany
    - Italy

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- France
  - Stans' letter to the Minister of Foreign Trade
- Kosygin
  - Previous conversation with Stans
    - The President
      - Decision-making
      - Possible tenure
      - Democrats
    - Future of US-USSR relations

The President talked with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman at an unknown time between 3:12 pm and 4:00 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-4A]

The President's schedule

- Meeting with Ronald L. Ziegler and Henry A. Kissinger
- Timing

[End of telephone conversation]

Stans' trip to the USSR

- Kosygin
  - Conversation style
    - Alertness
    - Age
    - Tea
    - Bridges
    - US
  - USSR bureaucrats
    - Minister of Shipping
    - Age
    - People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - Spain
      - Age comparisons to USSR leaders
  - Stans' forthcoming press meetings
    - "Face the Nation"
    - "Meet the press"
    - Press conference
      - Nature of Stans' trip to the USSR
  - India/Pakistan situation

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- Stans' report
  - Guidance paper
- President's instructions
  - Recommendations
    - State Department
    - US bargaining position

Kissinger and Ziegler entered at 4:00 pm.

- Stans' recommendations
  - Press
    - Relations
  - American businessmen
    - Stans' deal
    - [Unintelligible]
- Length of trip
- Press interviews
  - US News and World Report*
    - Interview
      - Timing
      - Stans' relationship with the press
- Importance
- Grain credits
- Bank credits
- Joint ventures
- Long term financing efforts
  - John [Surname unknown] telephone call
    - Timing
  - SALT
- Stans' report
  - Copies
  - Possible watershed in US-USSR relations
- Kosygin
  - Optimism
- Entertainment
- Haig
- Press interviews
  - Stans and Peterson meeting with Haig
    - Stans' possible comments
    - Recommendations
      - Briefing paper

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- Stans' tone with the press
  - USSR
    - Possible MFN status
    - India/Pakistan
- Stans' possible comments
  - Businessmen
  - USSR learning US markets
  - Kosygin's interests
  - Politics
- The President's recommendations
  - The President's upcoming meeting with USSR leaders
    - Thoughts for Stans
  - European alliance
  - COCOM
  - American businessmen in USSR
  - Department of Commerce
  - Trade documentation center
    - Poland
  - State Department
- Value of trip
- Briefing the cabinet

Stans, Haig and Peterson left at 4:15 pm.

The President left and returned at an unknown time before 4:19 pm.

An unknown person entered and left at an unknown time before 4:19 pm.

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 26s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

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**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

India-Pakistan situation

- Press conference
  - Number of participants
  - Backgrounder
  - India as a country
- President's instructions
  - The President's trips to India in 1953, 1957, and 1969
    - Backgrounder preparation for Kissinger
      - Foreign aid
      - Indira Gandhi
      - Marvin L. Kalb
  - Summarize the administration's efforts
- Indians
- East Pakistan
  - William P. Rogers
  - Economic and military aid cut-off
- Kissinger's trip to India
  - Pakistanis
  - Kissinger's conversations with the Indians
- Alternatives
- Military aid

The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 4:15 pm and 4:19 pm.

[Conversation No. 431-4B]

Kissinger's request for Haig

[End of telephone conversation]

Haig entered at 4:19 pm.

Kissinger's schedule

India-Pakistan situation

- Press
  - Edward M. Kennedy
  - Intended action
- US actions
  - Documentation

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

-East Pakistan

Haig left at 4:20 pm.

India-Pakistan situation

- Press
- Ziegler's conversation with Kalb
  - Concerns from Kalb
- President's schedule
  - Transcript
- The President's previous conversations with Gandhi and Indian officials
- USSR
  - Kalb

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

INTELLIGENCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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- President's instructions
  - US influence
  - United Nations [UN] observers
  - Military and civilian governments
- Kissinger's meetings with Indian ambassador and the Pakistan foreign secretary in November 1971
  - Timing
- Refugees
- Political settlement
  - Negotiations

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

Haig entered at 4:23 pm.

- Aid program
  - Amount
  - Timing
- Bureaucracy
- Soviets and India
- Chinese and Pakistan
  - US interests
- Joseph J. Sisco
- Kissinger's plan
- Refugees

Kissinger talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 4:23 pm and 4:29 pm.

Request for a call to Harold H. Saunders

[Conversation No. 431-4C]

[End of telephone conversation]

- Backgrounder
  - White paper
- Bangladesh
  - US contact
  - Indians
- Gandhi
  - Possible withdrawal of forces
  - Difference of opinion
- UN
  - Support of Administration's position
  - General assembly
    - Kissinger's talk with George H. W. Bush
    - Vote
- Kennedy
  - Possible actions taken by the Administration
- USSR
  - Indians
  - Message
- Kissinger's forthcoming briefing

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

Ziegler, Kissinger and Haig left at 4:29 pm.

Conversation No. 631-5

Date: December 7, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 4:29 pm and 4:33 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Harold H. Saunders.

Henry A. Kissinger's location

Conversation No. 631-6

Date: December 7, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 4:29 pm and 4:33 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Henry A. Kissinger's call to Harold H. Saunders  
-Return call from Saunders

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:33 pm.

Conversation No. 631-7

Date: December 7, 1971  
Time: 4:33 pm - 5:05 pm  
Location: Oval Office

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

Henry A. Kissinger  
-Backgrounder

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

- India-Pakistan situation
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
    - US position vis-a-vis
      - Timing
  - State Department
    - Negotiations
- Middle East
- William P. Rogers
  - Remarks
- People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
- USSR
  - Haldeman's talk with Kissinger
    - Opportunities
  - State Department
- Edward M. Kennedy

John B. Connally

- Meeting with Haldeman
  - Timing
- Meeting with the President
  - Connally's schedule

Kissinger

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 1m 18s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

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George Meany

- Health
  - George P. Shultz report
  - Dr. Walter R. Tkach

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-7 (cont.)

- John F. O'Connell [?]
- Extent of illness
- Projected recovery time
- [Joseph] Lane Kirkland
- Eugenia Meany
- Shultz
- Miami American Federation of Labor and Congress of International Organization [AFL-CIO] conference
- Connally
- “Touch-up”
- Shultz
- O'Connell
- Possible plans to replace Meany
- International concerns
- Probable successor to Meany
- Tkach
- Meany's health
- Kirkland
- Miami
- Blame
- Meany's health
- Time* and *Newsweek* articles
- Letters to the editor
- Unfavorable to Meany

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 7m 14s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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The President's schedule

-Connally meeting

-Timing

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-7 (cont.)

- Congressional message
  - Pension plan
    - Possible statement
- Peter M. Flanigan
  - Previous conversation with Haldeman

Kissinger

- Other motivations
- USSR
- Vietnam War negotiations
- India-Pakistan
  - USSR
    - Possible arms deal with India
- Resignation
  - PRC trip
  - Haldeman's talk with Kissinger
    - Haldeman's point to Kissinger
      - Possible solutions
  - Close out business
  - PRC
    - Interest in Kissinger's possible resignation
  - Story
    - Kissinger
      - Possible future scenario
  - Election
  - Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
  - Teaching career
    - Recognition
      - Lyndon B. Johnson administration
        - Walt W. Rostow
        - McGeorge Bundy
        - Robert S. McNamara
        - Dean G. Acheson
        - Dean Rusk
          - Georgia
  - Proposed book by Kissinger
    - Content
    - Notes
      - John D. Ehrlichman
        - Description of notes

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-7 (cont.)

Stock market  
-Figures

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 4:33 p.m.

Meeting with Moynihan  
-Location

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 5:05 pm.

Stock market

Kissinger

- Connally
  - Meeting
    - Possible times
    - Purpose of meeting
- Handling
  - Methods in dealing with potential problems
  - Haldeman
    - Possible second guessing
- USSR
  - State Department
    - Haldeman's view
    - Aid cut off

Haldeman left at 5:05 pm.

Conversation No. 631-8

Date: December 7, 1971  
Time: 5:05 pm - 6:16 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan and John D. Ehrlichman.

United Nations [UN]  
-Ambassador

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-7 (cont.)

- India/Pakistan
- Israel

India-Pakistan situation  
-War

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[National Security]  
[Duration: 17s]

INDIA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

- Withdrawal
  - Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
- Talks with East Pakistani leader
  - Location
    - Calcutta
- Indira Gandhi
  - Trip

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4  
[National Security]  
[Duration: 28s]

INDIA

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

\*\*\*\*\*

- East Pakistan
  - Refugees
- Military operations
  - Possible duration
    - Cleanup in East
    - Duration
- UN
  - Indian elections [?]
  - East Pakistan
    - Partition

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[National Security]

[Duration: 1m]

INDIA-PAKISTAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

\*\*\*\*\*

- United Nations [UN]
  - George G.W. Bush
    - Praise from Moynihan
  - Unknown Stalinist
  - PRC representatives
    - [Forename unknown] Jackson [?]
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Moynihan's schedule
  - Secretary General [U Thant]

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

- Max Jacobson
- Agha Sadruddin Khan
- Maurice Strong
  - Canada
    - Environment concerns
    - Chances to become Secretary General
- Jacobson
  - Background
    - Jewish descent
  - USSR
  - Arabs

Arab-Israeli dispute

- Unknown person
  - Background
    - Saudi Arabia

Secretary General

- President's view
  - U Thant
    - Possible asylum
      - Burma
        - Unable to return
- Bush
  - Moynihan's upcoming conversation with Bush
- Agha Sadruddin Khan
  - Youth
    - Friendly to the Administration
  - Yahya Khan's brother
  - Iranian passport
  - Zanzibar
  - Education
    - Harvard University
  - Qualifications
- Jacobson
- USSR
- Arabs
- Importance of selecting the Secretary General
  - Type
- Strong
  - Support from the President

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

- People's Republic of China [PRC]
- USSR
- Sadrudin Khan
  - Security council
  - Refugee reports

## Busing issue

- Politics
- Constitutional amendment
  - Civil rights issue
- James S. Coleman
- Effects on children
- North compared to South
- Moynihan's view
  - Civil rights movement
    - Consequences
      - Possible damage to race relations
        - William H. Rehnquist
    - Constitutional amendment
      - Possible perception by Blacks
        - Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education*
- January 1969
- State of the nation
  - Decline in confidence
- Whites
  - Majority
    - Degree of wellness individually
      - Discouragement over the future
      - Large percentage believe country is "worse off"
    - Studies
- Brown* decision
  - President's accomplishments
  - Integration
    - Supreme Court
      - Dual school systems in the South after *Brown* decision
        - Percentage
        - Percentage during the Nixon Administration
- North
  - Dual school system
    - Non-existent
    - Ethnic community schools

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

- Neutral
  - Ethnic pockets in the North
- Court decisions
  - Learning about the education process
  - Courts are usually proven wrong
    - Brown* decision
      - Difficult to prove in court
- President's message to Congress on education, March 1970
  - Style of messages
  - Timing
    - Cambodia
- Congressional action
  - Moynihan's previous telephone conversation with John W. Gardner
- Dual school system
  - National requirements
- Schools' performance
  - Lower class students
  - More choice
  - Expenditures
  - South
- National Institute of Education [NIE]
  - Education bill
    - Progress
      - Possible results
- Dual school system
  - Possible elimination
    - Particular methods tried
- New York Times*
- H.L. Mencken quote
- Race relations
  - Hostility in schools
    - Elementary and secondary
      - Blacks
      - Jews
  - Local control
    - New York City
      - Tax brackets
- John V. Lindsay
  - Re-election chances
- Public schools
- Parochial schools

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

- Financing
  - Domestic Council
  - British
  - Dutch
  - French
  - Canadians
  - Australians
  - Consequences
  - Possible Constitutional amendment
    - End of the dual school system
  - Alexander M. Bickel paper
  - John N. Mitchell
  - New York Times*
  - Increase in elementary and secondary school population during the 1970s
  - Teachers
    - Increase
  - President's instructions
    - Education bill
      - Possible Congressional action
      - Moynihan-Ehrlichman meeting
      - Comparison to revenue-sharing
      - Senate
        - Tax bill
          - Wilbur D. Mills
          - Check off
  - Bickel letter
    - New era of education
    - National Primary and Secondary School Educational Opportunities Act of
- 1972
- Busing and desegregation
  - California and Michigan decision
    - Compared to the President's People's Republic of China [PRC] initiative
    - 1967
  - Neil H. McElroy Commission
    - [Forename unknown] Serrano [sp?]
  - Congressional action
  - President's instructions to Moynihan
  - Bickel letter
    - New era
      - Possible support from Blacks
  - Race relations

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

- Potential speech from the President
  - Leadership
  - Reassurance
- Desegregation
  - Progress since 1969
    - Dual school system
    - Congress
- McElroy Commission
  - Duration
- Moynihan's suggestions
  - National institute [?]
    - March 1970
- Emergency school aid
  - Finances
- School vouchers
  - Opportunity for children
  - Experiments
    - California
      - Legal decision
    - Florida
      - Possible changes
  - Property tax and value added tax
  - Private schools
- Blacks
  - Reassurance
    - Symbolic gesture by the President
      - John N. Mitchell quote
- Ideal school system
  - Choices
    - Legislation
- Bickel arguments
  - Busing is symbolic
  - New era of education
    - Busing and desegregation
    - Declare peace
  - Federal money
  - Equality of education
  - Inequality in educational opportunities
    - California decision
      - Serrano [sp?]
- Intelligence Quotient [IQ] scale

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

- Comparison
  - Asians, Europeans, Blacks, and the Irish
  - Unknown person
- Education bill
  - Preamble
    - Equality of educational opportunity
- Moynihan's suggestions
  - Measure of outputs
- Property tax bill
- Education bill
  - Special interests
    - National Education Association [NEA]
    - Private compared to public schools
- Moynihan's suggestions
  - Moynihan's talk with Ehrlichman
- Bickel
- Brown* decision
- How to present
  - Brown* brief
  - Tax system comparison
    - Change
      - Idealistic overtones
      - Honesty
- Parochial schools
- Segregation and busing
- New era
- Bringing people together
  - Choices
  - No inferior education
    - Right of every American to a superior education
- Presidential leadership
  - Generosity
- Dual school system
- George C. Wallace
  - Polls
- Articles
- Letters
- Moynihan
- Note to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- Jews
- Chinese

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

- Work ethic
- Richard Herrnstein
- The President reads from a letter
  - Vice President [Spiro T. Agnew]
- Mitchell
- Herrnstein's article
- Nathan Glazer
- Further discussion
- Allegation
- Coleman

Economy

- Taxes
  - Unknown person
  - Money supply

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 49s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

\*\*\*\*\*

Moynihan left at 6:08 pm.

Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO] legislation

- Veto
  - Votes
    - Number
- Child care
- Gerald R. Ford
- Ronald L. Ziegler
- Timing
  - Veto
- Continuing resolution

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

- Conservatives
- Seeking credit

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3  
 [Personal Returnable]  
 [Duration: 32s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

\*\*\*\*\*

- Busing
  - Alexander P. Butterfield
  - Moynihan
    - Position
      - Compared to Bickel
    - Idealism
  - Comparison to Vietnam
  - Revenue sharing
    - Tax bill

Ehrlichman left at 6:10 pm.

Conversation No. 631-9

Date: December 7, 1971  
 Time: Unknown between 6:10 pm and 6:28 pm  
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF****Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-9 (cont.)

The President's schedule

- Photographs
  - White House social aides
- Upcoming White House dinner
  - Guest list
    - W. Averell Harriman
    - Nelson A. Rockefeller
    - Joseph M. Margiotta
    - Meredith Willson
    - William W. Keeler
    - W. Clement Stone
    - A. Pollard Simons

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 6:28 pm.

Conversation No. 631-10

Date: December 7, 1971

Time: Unknown between 6:10 pm and 6:28 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield [?]

The President's schedule

- Ronald L. Ziegler

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 6:28 pm.

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conversation No. 631-11

Date: December 7, 1971  
 Time: 6:28 pm - 7:04 pm  
 Location: Oval Office

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

The President's schedule

- Haldeman's talk with William P. Rogers
  - Call from the President
    - Rogers' location
    - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
      - Secretary of State attendance
      - Photograph session
    - Departure
      - Timing
  - Senate leadership meeting
    - Joseph J. Sisco
    - Edward M. Kennedy
    - Frank F. Church

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 6:32 pm.

India-Pakistan situation

- Henry A. Kissinger
  - Press
    - Reactions
    - The President's 1967 visit to India
      - Kissinger's previous conversation with the President
    - War
    - Negotiations
      - Bangladesh
    - Kissinger's attempts for peace
    - Backgrounder
      - Rogers and the State Department
        - Support
    - Indira Gandhi
    - Rogers speech on December 6, 1971
      - Possible fallout
      - Canada

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-11(cont.)

- Impact of Rogers' speech
- Rogers' talk with Ziegler
  - Timing
  - Concern from Rogers
    - Kissinger's point
- Canadians
- Kennedy and Church
  - Against US policy
    - Kissinger's perspective
- Margaret Chase Smith
- J. William Fulbright
- W[illiam] Stuart Symington
  - Support of US action
- Leadership Meeting
- Possible UN action
- Kissinger
  - Edmund S. Muskie
  - Kennedy
    - “Out of reality” rhetoric
    - East Pakistan
      - Supposed lack of compassion by Administration
  - Foreign aid
    - Amount
  - Diplomatic contacts
  - Trip to India
    - Gandhi
      - Previous meeting with the President
  - Pakistani government
    - Withdrawal of forces
    - Bangladesh
- White House social affairs
  - Entertainers
    - Jews
      - Performing at the White House
        - Francis A. (“Frank”) Sinatra
        - Itzhak Perlman
    - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
    - Beverly Sills

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-11(cont.)

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Privacy]

[Duration: 4s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

\*\*\*\*\*

- John D. Ehrlichman
- Singing style
- Ballet background
- Talent evaluated

India-Pakistan situation

- Kissinger
- White House statement
  - Press coverage
- War
  - Negotiations
- Kissinger's scheduled
  - Meeting with the President

The President's schedule

- White House [white-tie] dinner
- 1972 election

Ziegler talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 6:32 pm and 6:46 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-11A]

Ziegler conferred with the President at an unknown time during the telephone conversation.

[End of conferral]

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-11(cont.)

Kissinger's location  
 -Situation Room

[End of telephone conversation]

Kissinger  
 -Managerial style  
 -Staff meeting  
   -Particular actions at meetings  
   -Foreign policy discussions

India-Pakistan situation  
 -Kissinger's feeling  
 -War  
   -Impossible to avoid  
 -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]  
 -Gandhi

The President's schedule  
 -Rogers  
   -White House dinner  
     -Attendance  
       -Rogers' previous telephone conversation with Haldeman  
 -Press conference  
   -India-Pakistan  
 -Kissinger  
   -Backgrounder

Press  
 -Coverage  
   -People's Republic of China [PRC]  
   -Middle East  
 -Rogers  
   -Ziegler

Ziegler left at 6:46 pm.

Kissinger  
 -Rogers  
 -Ziegler  
 -Rogers' toast at White House dinner, December 6, 1971

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-11(cont.)

- Comments
  - Kissinger
    - Possible fallout from Rogers' toast
- Ziegler
  - Concern
    - Kissinger's previous conversation with the President
- Peter G. Peterson
  - Maurice H. Stans meeting
  - Questions raised about Peterson's attendance
  - Secretary of Commerce
    - Stans
      - Perks attributed to being Secretary of Commerce

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 6:46 pm and 6:51 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-11B]

[See Conversation No. 16-35]

[End of telephone conversation]

- India-Pakistan situation
  - United Nations [UN] vote
  - Unknown pollster

The President talked with William P. Rogers between 6:51 pm and 6:55 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-11C]

[See Conversation No. 16-36]

[End of telephone conversation]

- Rogers
  - Rose Mary Woods

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-11(cont.)

Kissinger and staff

- Sensitivity towards others
  - Methods
  - Compared to John B. Connally

The President's approach to others

Kissinger

- Jews

Entertainers

- Jews
  - Perlman

Leonard Garment

- Respect from the President

Polls

- India-Pakistan
- Anticipated results
  - Politics
    - Problem of war
    - Defense budget
      - USSR and clients
      - Amount
        - Domestic viewpoint
- Busing
  - Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
  - Elmo Roper
    - Question
- Economy
  - Perception
    - Meaning
- Vietnam War
  - Media
    - Doubt
    - Cambodia
    - Air war
- Trips abroad
  - New Hampshire comparison
  - PRC trip

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-11(cont.)

- Edmund S. Muskie
- USSR trip
- Timing
- California and Oregon primaries
- Economy
- Importance

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10  
[Personal Returnable]  
[Duration: 2m 19s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

\*\*\*\*\*

Haldeman left at 7:04 pm.

Conversation No. 631-12

Date: December 7, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 7:04 pm and 7:07 pm  
Location: Oval Office

Stephen B. Bull met with an unknown woman.

Oval Office

[Unintelligible]

The recording was cut off at an unknown time before 7:07 pm.