Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 8:32 am and 8:38 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Request
-Coffee

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 8:38 am.
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 16-98]

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: 8:45 am - 9:42 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

India–Pakistan
-Messages
-Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
-Leonid I. Brezhnev proposal
-Acceptance
-People’s Republic of China [PRC]
-Cease-fire
-US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
-Possible setback
-The president’s meeting with Vladimir V. Matskevich

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 05/23/2019. Archivist: DR]
[National Security]
[637-003-w001]
[Duration: 27s]

INDIA–PAKISTAN

Page | 2
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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

India–Pakistan
- Public relations
  - Press conferences and backgrounders
  - John A. Scali
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
- Departments
  - Usefulness
  - George H.W. Bush
- John A. Scali and Ziegler

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

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment declassified on 05/23/2019. Archivist: DR]
[National Security]
[637-003-w002]
[Duration: 2m 42s]

India–Pakistan
- Public relations
- Indians
  - Wires
    - Effort to make US look bad
    - Indira Gandhi’s cabinet meeting
    - East and West Pakistan
      - Movement of forces
    - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
      - Naval forces
      - Pakistani submarines
    - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Rowland Evans column
India–Pakistan

- USSR
  - Military aid to India
    - Numbers and amounts
  - Scali
  - Ziegler
- Yahya Khan
  - Alignment with the US
- Kissinger call to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
- PRC

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[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment declassified on 05/27/2015. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]
[637-003-w003]
[Duration: 16s]

India–Pakistan

- Henry A. Kissinger’s telephone call to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
  - People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    - Troop movement needed for talks
    - The President’s view

Page | 4
India–Pakistan
- Henry A. Kissinger’s telephone call to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
  - People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    - Kissinger’s refusal to talk with the PRC
- PRC-USSR
  - Comparisons
    - Thomas W. Braden article
      - Kissinger and the President
    - PRC trip
- Kissinger’s previous visit with Roy H. Jenkins
  - Jenkins accomplishments
    - Common Market
- Braden
  - PRC trip
  - Braden’s opinion
- Indian ambassador
  - Press campaign
- East Pakistan
  - The President’s possible statement
    - Labeling India as the aggressors
- Indians
  - Press
    - Susceptibility to public opinion
  - Rowland Evans
  - USSR support
    - Press
      - United Nations [UN] vote
  - Backgrounder
    - Washington Post

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment declassified on 05/27/2015. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]
India–Pakistan
-Indians
  -Indira Gandhi
    -Henry A. Kissinger’s opinion

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

India–Pakistan
- The President’s statement
  - Kissinger’s disagreement with the President
  - Kissinger’s previous conversation with Bhutto
  - USSR
  - Pakistan refugee situation
    - Proposed action
    - Indian foreign minister
      - Refusal to grant reassurances
        - Kashmir
    - UN Security Council
  - Press statement from White House
  - UN General Assembly resolution
    - Results
      - India’s refusal to accept
  - Kissinger’s meeting at the State Department
    - Timing
  - East Pakistan
    - Dacca
  - Contents
    - Wording of statement
  - Draft
  - Background
  - Leaders’ meeting
    - Aid to India
-Purpose of statement
  -PRC
  -USSR
  -Indians
  -American public opinion
    -American apathy towards India-Pakistan conflict
-Statement
  -Ziegler
  -William P. Rogers
-Yahya Khan
-Gandhi
  -Public apathy
-Brezhnev
  -Hotline
    -Great Britain
  -Contents
    -Security Council
    -Joint action with the USSR
    -Ceasefire
    -Advantage
      -Urgency
      -Public record
-State Department
-British
  -Earl of Cromer [George R.S. Baring]
  -Edward R.G. Heath
  -Sir Alexander F. (“Alec”) Douglas-Home
-USSR Naval presence in the Indian ocean
  -British concern
-Kissinger's talk with Cromer
  -Discussing the President’s options

[Pause]

India-Pakistan situation
  -British and French
  -US relations
    -Singapore
    -Indian Ocean
- Cromer
  - US message to the British
- UN Security Council
  - State Department
  - Ceasefire and withdrawal
  - UN General Assembly resolution
- Timing
- Ceasefire resolution
- Public statement
  - Purpose and importance
    - USSR
    - PRC
    - Bhutto
    - American public opinion
  - Rogers
  - Ziegler
  - Cambodia comparison
- Cromer
  - Call from Kissinger
    - Importance of discussions with the British
    - French
    - Involvement
- USSR
  - Hotline
  - The President’s meeting with Matskevich
  - Vorontsov
    - Possible reply from the USSR
- PRC
- US fleet
- USSR tanks and ships
  - India
    - Lack of response from “liberal” media
    - US policy
  - Comparisons to current situation
    - Czechoslovakia
    - South Africa
    - “Exposure” of liberals
    - Morality
Vietnam negotiations
- Meeting
  - William J. Porter
  - Cancellation
  - Duration
- USSR
- North Vietnamese
  - Bombing halt
  - Kissinger's trip to Paris
  - Peace talks
- Porter
- Public statement
- Paris
- January 1972 announcement
  - Sign of strength
  - Advantages
  - PRC trip
- Porter
  - Bombing halt
  - Henry Cabot Lodge
  - Unknown person
  - David K.E. Bruce
- American public opinion
  - Percentage of support
- January 1972
  - Two months announcement
  - Reasoning for delay
  - Infiltration
- PRC trip
- Prisoners of war [POW] issue
- US troops
  - Numbers
- Porter's return from Paris
  - Immediacy
  - January announcement
- North Vietnam
  - Strikes
  - PRC
  - Kissinger
India–Pakistan
-PRC, USSR, Indians
-Effect of Vietnam bombing
-Toughness

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[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment declassified on 05/27/2015. Archivist: DR]

India–Pakistan
-People’s Republic of China [PRC]
-Troop movement

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India–Pakistan
-UN
-President’s instructions
-Deadline

Haig entered at an unknown time after 8:45 am.

India–Pakistan
-PRC meeting
-New York
-Timing
-Kissinger’s availability
-Haig’s schedule
-Huang Hua
India–Pakistan
  - People’s Republic of China [PRC] meeting
    - Troop movement
    - Henry A. Kissinger’s impression

India–Pakistan
  - People’s Republic of China [PRC] meeting
    - Haig’s schedule
    - Kissinger’s schedule
    - Haig’s schedule
      - Upcoming meeting with Huang Hua
        - Timing
    - Kissinger’s schedule
      - Azores
    - Press release

India–Pakistan
  - People’s Republic of China [PRC] meeting
    - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.’s opinion
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Dishonesty
  - Action against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
    - Possible US actions
      - Nuclear weapons
    - Henry A. Kissinger’s assessment
    - Alexander M. Haig’s assessment
  - Consequences of US inaction
    - People’s Republic of China [PRC] initiative
    - Faceoff with People’s Republic of China [PRC]
  - Consequences of Indian victory
    - Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
      - Message from People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    - People’s Republic of China [PRC] troop movement
      - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] military
    - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]–Indian relations
    - People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    - Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
      - Requested troop movement
    - The President’s assessment
    - Compared with Korea

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

India–Pakistan
  - Pakistan
    - India
      - USSR
    - Balance of power
      - Possible changes
    - Middle East
    - Indonesia
    - Japanese
    - Europeans
    - US
      - Latin America
    - Television
    - Cambodia
-Laos
-Kissinger’s schedule
-Azores trip
-Haig
-Attendance at PRC meeting

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[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment declassified on 05/27/2015. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]
[637-003-w008]
[Duration: \text{5m 55s}]

India–Pakistan
-John F. Kennedy memoranda
- November 5, 1962
-People’s Republic of China [PRC]–Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- Nuclear weapons
  -Henry A. Kissinger’s assessment
- US forces

-Vietnam
-Hanoi
- Blockade Haiphong
- North Vietnam
  -People’s Republic of China [PRC]

-War
-Middle East
- Potential for war
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- Irrationality towards People’s Republic of China [PRC]
- US–People’s Republic of China [PRC] relations
  -Henry A. Kissinger’s assessment
  -Alexander M. Haig, Jr’s assessment

-Cuba
- Message to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
- Cienfuegos
- Middle East
Kissinger and Haig left at 9:42 am.

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: 10:26 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

The President's location

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: 10:26 am
Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.
Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
  -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  -Christmas special
    -Timing
    -Dogs
    -Accidents

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

Conversation No. 637-006

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: 10:27 am - 10:37 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

India-Pakistan situation
  -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
    -Message
      -Indira Gandhi
    -Ceasefire
  -People’s Republic of China [PRC]
  -Kissinger’s call to Yuli M. Vorontsov
    -United Nations [UN] Security Council
  -Soviet message
    -Kissinger’s talk with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
      -The President’s actions described
  -State Department
    -William P. Rogers
    -Reaction to the President’s action
- Attitude
- World Wars I and II comparison to current situation
  - Adolf Hitler
    - Jews
  - Allies
- EC-121 shootdown
- Korea comparison to current situation
  - Yalu River
    - Gen. Douglas MacArthur
- Haig
- Vorontsov
  - John F. Kennedy treaty
    - Vorontsov’s reaction
- UN
- India
  - White House statement
    - Importance
  - Kissinger’s preparation
    - Timing
  - Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG]
- The President
- Release
  - Timing
- Hotline
  - Contents of hotline
    - USSR message
      - Gandhi
        - Vasily V. Kuznetsov
        - West Pakistan
  - Ceasefire
    - Repatriation of prisoners
      - Andrei A. Gromyko

- PRC
- Maurice H. Stans
  - Trade
- The President’s foreign policy
  - Politics
  - Bureaucracy
  - Congress
Kissinger left at 10:37 am.

Kissinger left at 10:37 am.
The President dictated a memorandum for the file [?]

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/16/2019. Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[637-007-w001]
[Duration: 2m 30s]

The President's schedule
-Florida trip
-Dan Rather interview
-Executive Office Building [EOB] office
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower
-Telethon
  -President’s forthcoming conversation with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

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

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:37 am and 11:04 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Silver Star
- Walter H. Annenberg
- Delivery to Oval Office
- Placement in Oval Office

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:04 am.
Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:37 am and 11:04 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

The President's schedule
- Press conference [?]
  - State Department
  - Timing
- Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
  - Ziegler's talk with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
    - Timing
    - The President’s forthcoming interview with Dan Rather

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 10:37 am.

Gift from Walter H. Annenberg
- Placement in Oval Office
  - Picture of George Washington

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:04 am.

CBS
- Ziegler's talk with Haldeman
  - National Broadcasting Company [NBC]
    - "A Day in the Life of the President"
      - Timing
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - Christmas special
    - Timing
- Ziegler's talk with William Small [President, CBS News Division]
  - CBS
  - NBC
    - "A Day in the Life of the President"
-News worthiness
-Gen. Charles A.J.M. de Gaulle
-Lyndon B. Johnson
-News release
  -NBC’s statement
-Leadership meetings
-National Security Council [NSC] meeting
-Henry A. Kissinger meeting
-Cabinet Room
-State dinner
-Pierre E. Trudeau meeting
-Optimism for NBC program
-Ziegler’s talk with Charles Colson
  -Meeting
    -Program for incoming wires and phone calls to NBC
    -Number
    -Rerun
    -Program defined as historical document
-Middle East
  -Anwar el-Sadat
-India/Pakistan situation
-Camera movement
-Ziegler’s briefing
-Kissinger

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 11:04 am.

**Conversation No. 637-010**

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:37 am and 11:04 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 16-99]
Date: December 12, 1971
Time: 11:04 am - 11:14 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez and Henry A. Kissinger.

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:14 am.

India-Pakistan situation
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] message
- Contacts with Indian Government
  - Indira Gandhi

The President talked with Alvin Snyder between 11:05 am and 11:07 am.

[Conversation No. 637-11A]

[See Conversation No. 16-100]

[End of telephone conversation]

India-Pakistan situation
- USSR message
  - Gandhi
    - Military Action
  - Pakistan Government

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:07 am.

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:14 am.
India-Pakistan situation
-Indian government
-Military action
-Statement
-Hotline message to Leonid I. Brezhnev
-Contents
  -Vladimir V. Matskevich
  -Yuli M. Vorontsov
  -United Nations [UN Security Council
  -Wording
    -Emphasis on urgency
      -Possible settlement
      -PRC
      -UN Security Council
  -Ronald L. Ziegler
    -Talk with Kissinger
  -Wording
  -Public statement
    -Indians
    -Bureaucracy
      -PRC
    -USSR
    -Indians
      -World opinion
      -Kissinger’s possible comments
    -Hotline
      -U. Alexis Johnson
      -Vorontsov
      -William P. Rogers

The President's and Kissinger's schedule

Kissinger left at 11:14 am.

Conversation No. 637-018
Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:14 am and 12:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] entered.

The President’s location
- West Wing

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person.

[Conversation No. 637-18A]
[End of telephone conversation]

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

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 07/16/2019.]
[Unintelligible]
[637-018-w003]
[Duration: 39s]

[This portion of the tape is mostly room noise with some muffled background conversation.]

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

The President’s location
- Residence

The unknown people [Secret Service agents] left at an unknown time before 12:04 pm.

Conversation No. 637-012

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:14 am and 12:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/16/2019. Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:04 pm.

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:14 am and 12:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:04 pm.
Date: December 12, 1971
Time: 12:04 pm - 12:06 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President’s schedule
- Meeting
- Henry A. Kissinger

Butterfield left at 12:06 pm.

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:06 pm and 12:22 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President’s schedule

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:22 pm.

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:06 pm and 12:22 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President’s schedule
- Unknown person
Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:22 pm.

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: 12:22 pm - 12:26 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Location of items

The President's schedule

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 12:22 pm.

[Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon’s] schedule

The President's schedule
-Airplane

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:26 pm.

The President's schedule
-Airplane
-Talk

Butterfield left at 12:26 pm.