



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973  
Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

[Conversation No. 613-001](#)  
[Conversation No. 613-004](#)  
[Conversation No. 613-007](#)  
[Conversation No. 613-010](#)  
[Conversation No. 613-013](#)  
[Conversation No. 613-016](#)

[Conversation No. 613-002](#)  
[Conversation No. 613-005](#)  
[Conversation No. 613-008](#)  
[Conversation No. 613-011](#)  
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[Conversation No. 613-017](#)

[Conversation No. 613-003](#)  
[Conversation No. 613-006](#)  
[Conversation No. 613-009](#)  
[Conversation No. 613-012](#)  
[Conversation No. 613-015](#)

[Conversation No. 613-001](#)

Date: November 2, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 3:00 pm and 3:07 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 13-76]

[Conversation No. 613-002](#)

Date: November 2, 1971  
Time: 3:07 pm - 3:11 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with George P. Shultz.

[See Conversation No. 13-77]

[Conversation No. 613-003](#)

Date: November 2, 1971  
Time: 3:15 pm - 3:37 pm



Location: Oval Office

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

Weather

- Visit by Australians

Press

- New York Times* Editorial Board
- Henry A. Kissinger
- The President's conversation with William McMahon
  - People's Republic of China [PRC] and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Relations with the White House

Kissinger

- Allegations
- State Department
- Meeting with staff, John N. Mitchell

State Department

- William P. Rogers
- Smith Hempstone, Jr.
- George Sherman
- Kissinger
- Time* magazine
- Article

Kissinger's schedule

- Possible appearances
- Timing
- PRC and USSR trips

The President's foreign policy

- Credit
- The President
- Kissinger and Rogers
- Foreign aid program
- Continuing resolution



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- Vietnam
  - Troop withdrawal announcement
- The President's forthcoming trip to the PRC
- Need for balance
  - Staff
- Foreign aid program
  - Rogers
    - Testimony
  - Senate vote
    - Family Assistance Plan
  - Press coverage
    - Kissinger

Intellectual liberals

- Balance

The President's recent call to Rogers

- William McMahon
  - Conversation with the President
    - Vietnam
      - US troop withdrawal
- Kissinger
- Press
  - Ronald L. Ziegler

Pay Board

- George P. Shultz

The President's schedule, November 3, 1971

Corn shipment

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:15 pm.

The President's schedule

- Eliot L Richardson

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:37 pm.



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The President's leadership

- Bryce N. Harlow
- Lyndon B. Johnson
- United Nations [UN] vote on Taiwan, Republic of China
- Foreign aid
- Kissinger
- PRC, USSR
- The President's opponents
  - Insistence on consistency
    - Conservatives
    - Liberals
  - Treatment of Edward M. Kennedy

United Nations [UN] vote on Taiwan

- Kissinger
- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s activities
- Kissinger's schedule

The President and Haldeman left at 3:37 pm.

[Conversation No. 613-004](#)

Date: November 2, 1971

Time: Unknown between 4:35 pm and 4:40 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Rose Mary Woods.

The President's schedule

- Previous trips to Australia

[Conversation No. 613-005](#)



Date: November 2, 1971  
Time: 4:40 pm - 5:24 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman.

Agriculture Department

- J. Philip Campbell
- Trading stock
  - Arnold R. Weber's negotiations
- Clifford M. Hardin's replacement
  - Possible meeting with the press
  - Possible statement on government reorganization
  - Farm organizations

Government reorganization

- Department of Agriculture
  - Prospects
- Labor Department
- Titles of Cabinet Secretaries
  - Secretary of State
  - Term, "Counselor"
  - Attorney General
  - Postmaster General
  - Secretary of Defense
    - Department of Community Development
  - Secretary of Transportation
- John A. Volpe

Volpe

- Ehrlichman's conversation with Dwight A. Ink
  - Ambassadorship to Italy
    - Highway interests
    - Italian elections
    - Emilio Colombo
    - William P. Rogers's view
    - Timing
      - Italian elections



Government reorganization

- Titles of Cabinet Secretaries
- “Counselor to the President”
- Secretary of State
- Administrators

Agriculture Department

- [Clayton Yeutter]
- Meeting with Ehrlichman, November 1, 1971
- Roman L. Hruska
  - John N. Mitchell
- Relationship with Carl T. Curtis

Curtis

- Wife
  - Ehrlichman's conversation with Bryce N. Harlow
- The President's schedule

Agriculture Department

- Earl L. Butz
- [Yeutter]
  - Present position
    - Department of Agriculture
      - Branch
        - Compared to Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
- Farm

J. Edgar Hoover

- Princeton University conference
  - Call for probe of Federal Bureau of Investigations [FBI]
  - Joseph Kraft's column, November 2, 1971
  - Possible attack on the FBI
    - Congress
  - Tone of presentation
- Tenure in office
  - Possible departure
    - Announcement
    - Timing



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- Ehrlichman's possible conversation with William H. Sullivan
  - Sullivan's possible role with the administration
- Mitchell
- The President's possible conversation with Hoover
  - 1972 campaign

Rose Mary Woods talked with the President at an unknown time between 4:40 pm and 5:13 pm.

[Conversation No. 613-5A]

[See Conversation No. 13-78]

[End of telephone conversation]

Hoover

- Tenure in office
  - The President's possible conversation with Hoover
    - Transition
    - 1972 campaign
      - Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
- Mitchell

Pentagon Papers

- White House response
  - John G. Tower
  - Government of South Vietnam
    - W[illiam] Averell Harriman
      - Ngo Dinh Diem
    - Lt. Gen. Duong Van ("Big Minh") Minh
  - Roger Hilsman
  - Dean Rusk
  - Robert S. McNamara
  - Henry Cabot Lodge
    - Coup
      - Diem
        - Successor
  - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] Station Chief
  - State Department
  - Defense Department



-CIA

- Richard M. Helms
- John A. McCone
- William E. Colby
  - Agency for International Development [AID]
  - Forthcoming meeting with Ehrlichman
  - Son, Jonathan Colby
    - Tricia Nixon Cox's wedding
    - Princeton University
  - Meeting with Ehrlichman in Vietnam
    - George P. Shultz
- Schedule
- Forthcoming meeting with Ehrlichman

Hoover

- Mitchell's call to Ehrlichman
- Trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]

Agriculture Department

- Harlow
- Conversation with John C. Whitaker

Government reorganization

- Titles
- Agriculture Department
  - Hardin's replacement
- Volpe
- George W. Romney
- Rogers C. B. Morton

Richard H. Poff

- Bill [Surname unknown]
- John L. McClellan

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:40 pm.

Henry A. Kissinger's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:13 pm.



Value Added Tax [VAT]

- Ehrlichman's conversation with Shultz
- Possible rate
  - Budget
- Shultz's view
  - Domestic initiative

Domestic program

- Revenue sharing
- Environment
- Government reorganization
- Congress
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
  - John F. Kennedy

Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:40 pm.

The President's schedule

- Kissinger
- Ronald L. Ziegler

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:13 pm.

VAT

- Preparation
  - Michigan

Daniel Ellsberg

- Andrew Coyne's article
  - News summary
  - Indiana University
- CIA psychoanalysis

Busing

- Possible constitutional amendment
- Pending Congressional vote
  - South
  - Democrats



- Amendment on higher education bill
- Edward L. Morgan's group's activities
- Louis P. Harris poll
  - Domestic Council
- Possible constitutional amendment
  - Edmund S. Muskie, Hubert H. Humphrey, Edward M. Kennedy and Jackson
- Morgan
- Philip A. Hart
  - Recall petition

Frank F. Church  
-Recall petition

Hart  
-Recall petition  
-Robert P. Griffin

Busing  
-Blacks' view  
-Popular opinion

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/03/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[613-005-w005]

[Duration: 54s]

Busing  
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower's conversation with the President  
-Relaying account from unknown Florida teachers
 

- Fourth grade students uncontrollable
  - Blacks
  - Poor whites
  - Fighting

-Compared to situation in California



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Busing

- Views of Daniel P. Moynihan's friend from Johns Hopkins University

Race relations

Kissinger entered at 5:13 pm.

- Universities
  - Black studies
    - Impact
  - University of Washington
    - Quotas
    - White man's suit
    - Judge's ruling

The President's forthcoming meeting with Gerald R. Ford and Leslie C. Arends

- Kissinger's conversation with Clark MacGregor
- Vietnam

Ehrlichman left at 5:20 pm.

- Troop withdrawal
  - Deadline
- Handling
  - Advance talk

Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:20 pm.

The President's schedule

- Ford and Arends

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:24 pm.

The President's forthcoming meeting with Ford and Arends

- Vietnam
  - Troop withdrawal



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- Deadline
- Kissinger's schedule
  - MacGregor
  - Foreign aid
  - H. R. Haldeman
  - Kissinger's conversation with MacGregor
  - Kissinger's role
  - Vietnam
    - Negotiations
      - North Vietnamese Foreign Minister's article
      - Political situation in House of Representatives
        - Public feeling
        - Votes
- MacGregor

Kissinger left at 5:24 pm.

[Conversation No. 613-006](#)

Date: November 2, 1971  
Time: 5:25 pm - 6:55 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Gerald R. Ford, Leslie C. Arends, Clark MacGregor, Henry A. Kissinger, Richard K. Cook and Ronald L. Ziegler; Stephen B. Bull and the White House photographer were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Ford  
-Schedule

[Seating arrangements]

Arends's district

Vietnam  
-Troop withdrawal



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- Political situation in House of Representatives
  - October 19, 1971 vote
  - Chart
    - April 1, 1971 vote
    - Draft bill
    - Withdrawal deadline
  - Democrats
  - Republicans
  - Procurement Bill
    - Michael J. Mansfield Amendment
    - MacGregor
  - Schedule
- Rate
- Numbers
- Need for secrecy in meeting
- Negotiations
  - Status
  - Troop withdrawal
    - Timing
    - Announcement
  - Prisoners of war [POWs]
  - North Vietnamese strategy
- US Air Force
- POWs
- Ceasefire
- South Vietnamese military capability
- Casualties
- POWs
  - Hanoi
  - Possible number
  - Missing in action [MIAs]
- Negotiations
  - Kissinger's experience
  - North Vietnamese strategy
  - The President's cease-fire offer
  - Military aid
  - POWs
    - Deadline
  - Aid



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- Nguyen Van Thieu
  - Political settlement
- Laos and Cambodia
- POWs
  - Possible military operations
    - Blockade
    - North Vietnam
      - Bombing
    - Escalation
- Political situation in House of Representatives
  - Possible action
  - Rate of troop withdrawal
    - Recent average
- Status of the war
- POWs
  - 1972 election
  - USS Pueblo
  - Negotiations
- Political situation in House of Representatives
  - Timing of vote
- Negotiations
- Political situation in House of Representatives
  - Speaker
- The President's forthcoming statement
  - Timing
- Negotiations
  - The President's opponents
    - Historical record
    - Activities
  - Possible House action
    - Conferees
- Political situation in House of Representatives
  - Carl B. Albert
    - Possible delay in action
  - Lewis Deschler
  - Pending legislation
    - Mansfield Amendment
    - Rhodesian chrome amendment
    - Gordon L. Allott



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- Military pay raise amendment
- Charles McC. Mathias
- Government employees comparability pay raise amendment

Rhodesian chrome

- State Department

Vietnam

- Political situation in House of Representatives
  - Pending legislation
    - Rules Committee
    - Appropriations bill
      - Delay
        - George H. Mahon
        - Albert
    - Otto E. Passman
      - Foreign aid bill
        - Timing

Foreign aid program

- Possible continuing resolution
  - Albert, Mahon, Frank T. Bow, Ford
  - House actions
    - Timing
  - Mansfield Amendment
  - Mahon and Bow
  - Allen J. Ellender and Mansfield
- Appropriations bill
  - Passman's scheduling

An unknown person [Manolo Sanchez?] entered at an unknown time after 5:25 pm.

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 6:22 pm.

- Possible continuing resolution
  - Dr. John A. Hannah
  - Stuart Symington and Lowell P. Weicker



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- Frank F. Church's views
  - Humanitarian
  - Israel
- Importance
  - National security
  - William P. Rogers
    - Korea, Thailand
  - Treaty obligations
    - South Vietnam, Thailand, Japan
- Mansfield amendment
  - Possible continuing resolution
  - Legislative strategy
- Senate vote, October 29, 1971
  - Marshall Plan
  - Robert J. Dole
  - Administration efforts
    - Football analogy
  - George D. Aiken
  - Previous votes on amendments
  - Democrats on Foreign Relations Committee
  - Edward M. Kennedy, Edmund S. Muskie, Hubert H. Humphrey, George S. McGovern and Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson

Vietnam

- Republicans' support of, 1960-68
  - Historical record
- Views of the President's congressional opponents
  - Robert L. Leggett

Foreign aid program

- Popular opinion
- Marshall Plan
  - Arends's vote in 1947
    - Chicago Tribune*
    - Theodore Roosevelt
- Democrats' views

Vietnam

- Democrats



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- Responsibility
- Actions
- The President's actions
  - Reduction of forces, casualties
- Leggett's speech
  - Democrats
- Humphrey, Muskie and Kennedy
- Ngo Dinh Diem's murder
  - John F. Kennedy
- Troop withdrawal announcement
  - Rate
  - Forthcoming announcement
    - Timing

Foreign aid program

- Arends's possible action
  - MacGregor
- Possible continuing resolution
  - Forthcoming troop withdrawal announcement
- Possible Senate action
  - Rogers
    - Statement
      - Forthcoming meeting with Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
        - Bill
  - Senate liberals
  - Israel
    - Aid
      - Military compared to humanitarian
      - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- Greece, Turkey, Israel and South Vietnam
  - US allies
  - Internal governments
- Forthcoming troop withdrawal announcement
  - Timing
    - November 15, 1971
  - Handling
- Democrats voting for the President's program
  - Forthcoming election
    - The President's endorsements



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- Republicans
- Mathias
- MacGregor's possible meeting with Robert C. ("Bob") Wilson
- Republican National Committee

House of Representatives

- Southern Democrats
- Budget

Busing

- Grand Rapids judge, Albert J. Engle, Jr.
  - Order
  - Father, Albert J. Engle
  - Order
    - John N. Mitchell
      - Conversation with Ford
      - Possible intervention
        - Supreme Court
        - Department of Justice
  - White House response
    - Mitchell and John D. Ehrlichman
- The South
- Order
  - Suburban school districts
  - Number
- Public opinion

Philip A. Hart

- Recall petition

Busing

- Possible Justice Department intervention
  - Grand Rapids case
- MacGregor
- Possible constitutional amendment
- Democrats
  - Forthcoming vote
- Grand Rapids case
  - Mitchell



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- Judge Engle
  - Discontinuation of order
  - Possible consequence

Vietnam

- POWs
  - 1972 election
- Negotiations
  - Mansfield Amendment
  - US options
    - Bombing
    - Cambodia and Laos
- POWs

Foreign aid program

- The President's forthcoming conversation with Kissinger
  - Announcement
  - Timing
- Possible continuing resolution
  - Timing of vote

Vietnam

- Forthcoming troop withdrawal announcement
  - Timing
- Troop withdrawal
  - Rate
  - Impact
  - Deadline

University of Michigan

- Football game previous week

[General conversation]

Arends's possible conversation with Peter M. Flanigan

- Dean Burch

Ford, Arends, MacGregor, Cook and Ziegler left at 6:22 pm.



MacGregor

Vietnam

- Forthcoming troop withdrawal announcement
  - Timing
    - Foreign aid program
      - Possible continuing resolution
  - Troop withdrawal
    - Rate
  - Possible reaction
    - Doves
    - Ford and Arends
    - Doves

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 6:22 pm.

Oval Office

- Rose Mary Woods
- Paintings

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:53 pm.

Vietnam

- Troop withdrawal
  - Deadline
  - Consequence
- POWs
  - The President's conversation with Josip Broz Tito
- Hawks
- Recent meeting
  - The President's allies
- Forthcoming troop withdrawal announcement
  - Timing
    - Foreign aid
    - Mansfield Resolution
    - Negotiations
      - Le Duc Tho
      - W[illiam] Averell Harriman's possible action
- Negotiations



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- Le Duc Tho
  - Paris
  - Senate's possible reaction
- US options
  - Publicity
- US strategy
  - North Vietnam
    - Dilatory line
    - USSR
- September 13, 1971 action
- US strategy
  - Congress's actions
  - Timing
    - Meetings
    - Draft
  - William J. Porter
    - Liaison office
    - POWs
  - Blockade
    - The President's forthcoming trip to PRC, USSR
- POWs
  - 1972 election
  - North Vietnamese strategy
- Soviets
  - Communist Party talks
    - Transcript
    - Summit
  - The President's reelection
- Previous US actions
  - Cambodia
  - Withdrawal
  - Negotiations
  - May 14, 1969 speech
  - February 1969
    - Bombing
- Possible US military action
  - 1972 election
    - Bombing
    - POWs



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- Timing
- Options
  - Bombing
  - Blockade
  - Timing
    - 1972 election
  - Blockade
    - USSR
  - Bombing
- Negotiations
  - Le Duc Tho
  - Foreign aid program
    - Possible continuing resolution
      - Senate
  - Xuan Thuy
  - Prospects
- Mansfield Resolution
  - The President's Senate opponents
    - Actions
      - Compared to the President's 1952 comments
    - Frequency of introduction
- Mansfield
- Pentagon Papers
- Ngo Dinh Diem murder
  - Thieu
    - Election
  - John Kennedy, McGeorge Bundy, Dean Rusk, Roger Hilsman and Henry Cabot Lodge
- Rusk
  - Cables
    - Harriman
- The President's opponents
  - Demonstrations
    - The President's press conference of September 16, 1971
    - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s trip to South Vietnam
  - State Department
  - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
  - The President's September 16 press conference
    - Significance



- Bureaucracy
  - Reaction to the President's successors

#### UN vote on Taiwan, Republic of China

- The President's statement
- The President's opponents' reaction
- US activities
- News magazines' coverage
- Edward Kennedy's speech
- US popular opinion
  - Reaction to UN conduct
- The President's reaction
  - Ronald L. Ziegler's statement
- Kissinger's previous trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Timing
- Foreign aid
  - Continuing resolution

#### The President's successes

- Kissinger's staff meeting
  - White House action
    - Number of participants
  - Press
  - Bureaucracy

#### UN vote on Taiwan

- The President's statement
  - Press reaction
- Ronald W. Reagan

#### The President's opponents

- Liberals

#### Possible Presidents

- Nelson A. Rockefeller
  - Views regarding John W. Gardner
- Democrats
  - Jackson
- Reagan



## Vietnam

- Negotiations
  - Foreign aid program
    - Possible continuing resolution
  - Kissinger's previous trip to the PRC
    - Backgrounders
  - Alternatives
  - The President's note to Tito
  - Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    - Content
      - Tito
      - POWs
      - Thieu

## Middle East

- Kissinger's negotiations
  - Timing
    - Dobrynin
- State Department
  - The President's possible handling
  - Israel
    - Phantoms
      - USSR
        - Diplomatic leverage
- The President's forthcoming conversations
  - William P. Rogers and John N. Mitchell
- Kissinger's forthcoming conversations
  - Dobrynin
  - Mitchell
  - Yitzhak Rabin
- Kissinger's forthcoming recommendations
  - Timing

## World War I

- Australian casualties
  - Gallipoli
  - New Zealand
- World War II



Vietnam

- Casualties
- 1970 election
  - Senators
    - Indiana
    - George A. Murphy and Robert H. Finch
    - Ralph T. Smith of Illinois
    - John V. Tunney
      - Murphy
      - Finch and Reagan
      - Murphy

The President's foreign policy

- International monetary policy
- UN vote, foreign aid vote
  - Press reaction

Kissinger's schedule

- New York Times* Editorial Board
  - John B. Oakes
- Washington Star*

The President's forthcoming trip to the PRC

- Kissinger's schedule
  - 1972 election
  - Television
    - Chicago

*New York Times*

- Pentagon Papers
- Oakes
- Kissinger's schedule
- William McMahon's comments
- Editorial Board
  - Daniel Schwarz
  - Abraham M. Rosenthal
- Kissinger's schedule
  - Oakes



The President's schedule  
-Forthcoming state dinner for McMahon

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*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-032. Segment declassified on 05/17/2019. Archivist: DR]*  
[National Security]  
[613-006-w014]  
[Duration: 8s]

Sonia R. (Hopkins) McMahon  
-Potential outfit for state dinner  
-Potential seating arrangement for state dinner

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The President and Kissinger left at 6:55 pm.

Conversation No. 613-007

Date: November 2, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 6:55 pm and 6:58 pm  
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

The President's schedule  
-Rose Mary Woods

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 6:55 pm.

-The President's location



Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:58 pm.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/03/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[613-007-w001]  
[Duration: 45s]

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

\*\*\*\*\*

The unknown people left and the President and unknown men entered at an unknown time.

State Dinner, November 2, 1971

The President and the unknown men left at an unknown time before 6:58 p.m.

[Conversation No. 613-008](#)

Date: November 2, 1971  
Time: 6:58 pm - 7:00 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown man.

The President's schedule  
-Unknown trip  
-Unknown people

[Conversation No. 613-009](#)



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Date: November 2, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 7:00 pm and 11:59 pm  
Location: Oval Office

An unknown man [Secret Service agent] talked with an unknown person.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/03/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[613-009-w001]  
[Duration: 2s]

[End of telephone conversation]

\*\*\*\*\*

Unknown people entered at an unknown time.

The President's schedule  
-Residence

The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.

[Conversation No. 613-010](#)

Date: November 4, 1971  
Time: 8:09 am - 8:12 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule



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-Tapings

Butterfield left at 8:12 am.

[Conversation No. 613-011](#)

Date: November 4, 1971  
Time: 8:21 am - 8:22 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Requested George P. Shultz and Charles W. Colson be asked to join him

Butterfield left at 8:22 am..

[Conversation No. 613-012](#)

Date: November 4, 1971  
Time: 8:24 am - 9:50 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Charles W. Colson and George P. Shultz.

National economy

-Pay Board

-News stories

-News summaries

-Leonard Woodcock

-Business's proposition

-Daniel L. Schorr's story

-Colson's meeting with Weldon L[amar] Mathis, teamster

-Schorr's story

-Paul A. Porter

-Administration strategy

-Possible agreement



- Administration strategy
  - George Meany's possible action
  - Arnold R. Weber
  - Possible extension of freeze
    - Duration
    - Status of freeze
    - Teachers
    - Auto workers
    - Colson's possible conversation with Jay Lovestone
- Rate of wage increase
  - Consumer Price Index [CPI]
  - Assumptions
  - CPI
    - Inflation

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 8:24 am.

The President's schedule

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 9:14 am.

National economy

- Rate of wage increase
  - Inflation
  - Productivity
  - Mathis
    - Frank E. Fitzsimmons
    - Views regarding Woodcock's formula
    - Meany
- Pay Board
  - Colson's conversation with Fitzsimmons
  - The President's possible television appearance
  - Schorr's story, November 3, 1971

Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]

- Schorr
  - Colson's conversation with Frank Stanton
- Cable television
- Schorr



National economy

- Freeze
  - Wholesale Price Index [WPI]
    - Paul W. McCracken's analysis
  - Interest rates
    - Inflation
  - New York Times* story
    - Automobile sales
      - Wall Street Journal*
    - Unemployment
  - Stock market
    - Washington Post* story
  - Employment
    - Seasonal
      - The President's conversation with Colson
    - Private sector
  - Unemployment
  - Status
  - Money supply
    - Arthur F. Burns's view
    - Shultz's call to Milton Friedman, November 3, 1971
    - Federal Reserve Board [FRB]
- Freeze
  - Effect
    - Friedman's view
    - Extension
- Money supply
  - Peter M. Flanigan's possible actions
    - Call to brokers
      - Burns
    - Gustave L. Levy
    - Bernard J. ("Bunny") Lasker
  - The President's possible memorandum to Burns
  - Burns
  - William Jennings Bryant
    - Greenback Party
  - Leonard S. Silk's article in the *New York Times*, November 3, 1971
  - Colson's possible actions



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- William L. Safire
- Silk
- Silk's article
- The President's forthcoming memorandum to Burns
  - Silk's article
    - Burns's committee
      - Interest rates
        - Monetary school
        - Decline
          - Effect on money supply
- Economic indicators
  - WPI
  - CPI
  - Inflation
  - Burns
- Shultz's talk at Calvin Bullock Forum, November 4, 1971
- Pay Board
  - Schorr's story
  - Shultz's previous conversation with Stanton
- WPI
- Freeze
  - Effect
    - Inflation
- Economic expansion
- Money supply
  - The President's forthcoming letter to Burns

The President dictated a letter to Arthur F. Burns at an unknown time between 8:24 am and 9:07 am.

[Conversation No. 613-12A]

- National economy
  - Money supply
    - Silk's article
    - Committee on interest rates
    - Calls to the President
      - Timing
        - Quadriad meeting



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- Wall Street
  - FRB policy
  - Comparison to 1959-60 period
    - William McChesney Martin
    - 1960 election
- Elections
  - Interest rates, cost of living
  - Unemployment
  - Inflation
- FRB
  - Economic expansion
    - 1972
    - Compared to 1960
- Distribution
  - Quadriad
  - John B. Connally
- Concerns
  - Financial communities
    - New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, St. Louis, Chicago, Atlanta
- Silk

[End of dictation]

National economy

- Money supply
  - Burns
  - Effect on interest rates
    - The President's letter to Burns
  - The President's letter to Burns
    - Silk
    - Burns's possible reaction
    - The record
- Economic indicators
  - The President's conversation with Colson, November 3, 1971
    - Shultz
    - James D. Hodgson
- Status
  - Stock market, WPI, retail credit, automobile sales, unemployment
  - Burns



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- Trade deficit
- Freeze
  - Prices
- Unemployment
- Shultz's role
  - Burns
  - Budget
- Construction funds
  - Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger
- Third quarter statistics
  - Retail sales figures for August
- Statistics
  - Budgets during Lyndon B. Johnson's administration
  - Importance
  - Wilson Allen Wallis of the University of Rochester
    - Schedule
      - Indira Gandhi dinner
      - The President
      - Commission on Statistics report
- Economic indicators
  - Third quarter
    - Retail sales
    - Inventories
    - Trade
      - Exports
      - Gross National Product [GNP]
    - Rates of increase
    - Figures
- Money supply
- Retail sales

Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 8:24 am.

The President's schedule

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 9:07 am.



The President talked with an unknown man [H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman?] at an unknown time between 8:24 am and 9:07 am.

[Conversation No. 613-12B]

The President's schedule  
-Rose Mary Woods

James R. ("Jimmy") Hoffa

[William?] Loeb

[End of telephone conversation]

Robert H. Finch  
-Forthcoming trip to Latin America  
-Shultz's conversation with Nelson A. Rockefeller

Rose Mary Woods entered at an unknown time after 8:24 am.

The President's letter to Burns  
-The President's review

Woods left at an unknown time before 9:07 am.

National economy  
-Money supply  
-The President's letter to Burns  
Silk  
-The President's friends in New York  
-J. Donald Rollins  
-Burns  
-Elections  
-Shultz's forthcoming conversation with Friedman  
-Soviet corn deal  
-Negotiations  
-Status  
-Possible announcement



Canada

- Negotiations with the US
  - Paul A. Volcker
  - The President's conversation with Henry A. Kissinger
    - Peter G. Peterson and Shultz

Latin America

- Connally's schedule
- Proposed action
  - Timing

Shultz left at 9:07 am.

Hoffa

- Loeb
- Clark Mollenhoff
  - Relations with Colson
  - Possible conversation with Colson
    - Conditions
      - Labor movement
    - Parole
    - Executive clemency
  - Forthcoming book
    - The President's treatment of organized crime
  - Possible conversation with Colson
    - Parole Board
      - Possible parole
        - Summer 1972

National economy

- Money supply
  - The President's letter to Burns
  - Burns
    - Trip to New York
    - Calvin Bullock Forum
    - Possible dinner
      - Flanigan
    - Flanigan's call to Colson, November 4, 1971
    - Colson



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-New York

-Schorr

CBS

-Schorr

-Stanton

National economy

-Pay Board

-Schorr

Congress

-Clark MacGregor's views

-Press reports

-J. William Fulbright and Michael J. Mansfield

Haldeman entered at 9:14 am.

Public broadcasting

-Flanigan

-Congress

-Possible cut in funds

-Personnel changes

-Possible staff changes

-Frank Pace, Jr.

-John W. Macy, Jr.

-Pace

-Abuses

-Dossier

-Flanigan's schedule

-Pace, John D. ("Jack") Wrather, Jr. and Fred? Coe

-Possible attacks

-Samuel L. Devine

-Investigation

-Clarence J. ("Bud") Brown

-William J. Scherle

-Tricia Nixon Cox

-Funding

-Possible personnel changes



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White House staff

- Russell E. Train's statement regarding environment and national security
  - John D. Ehrlichman and John C. Whitaker
  - Story
    - Court
  - Kissinger

Environment

- National security
- Environmentalists
- Train's statement
  - Story

Shultz

- McCracken
- Hodgson
- Possible statement on national economy
  - WPI

Vietnam

- Melvin R. Laird
  - Casualty figures
- Casualties
  - Reporting method
- Laird

National economy

- Possible news stories
- Money supply
- Automobile sales
  - Psychological effect
- GNP
  - Third quarter
    - Shultz
- Money supply
  - The President letter to Burns

Colson left at 9:20 am.



- Arthur B. Laffer
- Shultz
- Flanigan
- Burns
- Burns
- Visit to New York
- Money supply question

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/03/2019. Segment cleared for release.*]  
 [Personal Returnable]  
 [613-012-w010]  
 [Duration: 32s]

- George E. Allen
- The President's note
- Kansas City Chiefs game
- Rose Mary Woods

\*\*\*\*\*

- The President's schedule
- Luis Echeverria Alvarez
- Houston
- State Dinner
- Miami
- Willy Brandt
- Echeverria
- State Dinner
- San Diego
- Washington, DC
- Houston
- Trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Theodore H. White



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- Possible attendance
- Possible conversation with Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Time-Life* meeting
    - Timing
    - Decision regarding the President
    - Henry A. Grunwald
    - Hedley W. Donovan
  - Newsweek*

White House relations with press

- Time* and *Newsweek*
  - Supreme Court story
- Stewart J.O. Alsop
- Henry Hubbard
- Time* magazine
  - The President's conversation with Ehrlichman
  - Supreme Court story

News magazines

- Effect of economic freeze
  - Costs
  - Press
    - Escalators
    - Pay rate

Foreign aid program

- The President's schedule
  - Allen J. Ellender dinner
- Cooper-Church Amendment
  - William P. Rogers
  - White House reaction
    - Committee bill
    - Senate
- Vietnam
  - Troop withdrawal rate
- The President's possible actions
  - Mansfield breakfast
  - MacGregor



\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/03/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[613-012-w003]

[Duration: 26s]

Republican Party organization

- H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's conversation with John N. Mitchell
  - Need for younger men
  - Lane Dwinell
    - The President's opinion
    - New Hampshire

\*\*\*\*\*

Administration staff

- Age
  - Undersecretary of Agriculture
  - Commerce
    - Peter G. Peterson
  - Compared to the President
    - Mitchell
- Secretary of Agriculture
  - Earl L. Butz
    - Age
    - Name
  - Bryce N. Harlow
  - Butz
    - Qualities
  - Harlow

National economy

- Figures

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:20 am.



Unknown man [Kissinger?]  
-Meeting with the President

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:35 am.

Kissinger  
-Media  
-United Nations [UN] vote on Taiwan  
-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.  
-Haldeman's conversation with Kissinger  
-Maxine Cheshire  
-Haldeman's conversation with Kissinger  
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower

Vietnam  
-Troop withdrawal  
-Announcement

The President's schedule  
-December 1971

White House staff  
-Morale  
-Colson  
-MacGregor  
-Donald H. Rumsfeld  
-Wage and price boards  
-Public reaction

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 9:35 am.

Memorandum

[Indira Gandhi]

Haig

Kissinger's schedule



- Florida
- Washington Star*

The President's schedule

- Florida
  - Mitchell
  - Kissinger
    - Schedule
    - Haig
    - W. Kenneth Riland
    - Foreign policy concern

Rose Mary Woods entered at 9:37 am.

- Schedule
- Washington Star* lunch

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/03/2019. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[613-012-w006]

[Duration: 6s]

The President's schedule

- Florida
  - Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon not going

\*\*\*\*\*

The President's schedule

- Henry A. Kissinger's schedule
  - Florida
  - Woods
    - Riland



## The President's letter to Riland

Woods left at 9:39 am.

Haldeman left at 9:40 am.

### India-Pakistan relations

- Pakistani military disposition
  - Unilateral withdrawal
- The President's forthcoming conversation with Mrs. Gandhi
  - Arms supply
  - Agha Muhomammad Yahya Khan's proposals
    - Unilateral withdrawal
    - Mujibur Rahman
    - Possible meeting with Bangladesh leader
- US-Indian relations
  - Diplomatic relations
    - Treaty
    - Ideals
      - Progress, peace
  - US objectives
  - US actions
    - Relief, civilian government, amnesty, unilateral withdrawal
- Soviet-Indian Friendship Pact
  - India's non-aligned status
- Possible conflict with Pakistan
  - Gandhi's forthcoming conversation with Rogers, November 5, 1971
- Mujibur
  - Release
    - Possible effect
    - Yahya Khan

### The PRC

- Compared to Indians

### Kissinger's dinner at Joseph W. Alsop's

- Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
  - Views regarding other Democrats
  - Previous comments



- Timing
- Vietnam
- Edmund S. Muskie
- Foreign aid
- Comments regarding the President
- Stewart Alsop

#### Joseph Alsop

- Conversations with Kissinger
- Comments regarding the President
- Gerald R. Ford, Leslie C. Arends

#### The President

- Conversation with Josip Broz Tito
- Unknown writing

#### India-Pakistan

- Pakistani proposals
  - International relief
  - Amnesty
  - Mujibar Rahman
  - Civilian government
  - Arms supply
  - Unilateral withdrawal
- The President's forthcoming conversation with Gandhi
  - Yahya Khan
    - India's options
    - Accommodation
- Compared to war

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-001. Segment declassified on 03/19/2015. Archivist: DR]*

[National Security]

[613-012-w009]

[Duration: 36s]



India–Pakistan

- The President's forthcoming conversation with Indira Gandhi
  - Potential Indian victory
    - President's opinion
  - West Pakistan
    - Indian takeover
  - Potential questions
    - Breaking off US efforts with Pakistan
  - Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan

\*\*\*\*\*

India–Pakistan

- Gandhi
- Indian press
- The President's forthcoming conversations with Gandhi
  - Tone

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-001. Segment declassified on 03/19/2015. Archivist: DR]*

[National Security]

[613-012-w011]

[Duration: 24s]

India–Pakistan

- The President's forthcoming conversation with Indira Gandhi
  - Henry A. Kissinger's advice

\*\*\*\*\*

Kissinger left at 9:50 am.



Conversation No. 613-013

Date: November 4, 1971  
Time: 9:57 am - 10:00 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/03/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]*  
[Personal Returnable]  
[613-013-w001]  
[Duration: 3m 14s]

Weather  
-Golf

Forthcoming meeting with Indira Gandhi  
-The President's opinion  
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower  
-Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon

Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon's schedule  
-Foreign trips  
-Union of Socialist Soviet Republics [USSR]  
-Department of State [DOS]  
-The People's Republic of China [PRC]  
-Compared with Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy Onassis  
-Paris  
-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman  
-Language instruction  
-The President

An unknown man [Alexander P. Butterfield?] entered at an unknown time after 9:57 am



Arrival ceremony for Indira Gandhi  
-Arrangements

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 10:00 am

Weather

\*\*\*\*\*

President and Mrs. Nixon left at 10:00 am.

Conversation No. 613-014

Date: November 4, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 10:00 am and 10:29 am  
Location: Oval Office

An unknown man [Secret Service agent] talked with an unknown person.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/03/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[613-014-w001]  
[Duration: 4s]

\*\*\*\*\*

Conversation No. 613-015



Date: November 4, 1971  
Time: 10:29 am - 12:35 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Indira Gandhi.

Seating

Agenda

- Pakistan
- People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

Ronald L. Ziegler and members of the press entered at an unknown time after 10:29 am.

[Photograph session]

Unknown men's homes

Gifts

- Pens
- Congressmen

Ziegler and the press left at an unknown time before 10:36 am.

Gandhi's schedule

- New York

Refreshments

Agenda for meetings

- Indian Ambassador
- State Department
- The President's forthcoming trips to the PRC and the USSR
- Henry A. Kissinger
- Arms control
- Middle East



- Importance
- South Asia

Parmeshwar N. Haksar and Kissinger entered at 10:36 am.

Seating

The President's previous meeting with Josip Broz Tito  
-Translator

Agenda for meetings

- The President's forthcoming trips to the PRC and USSR
  - Kissinger
- Vietnam
  - The President's conversation with Gandhi in 1969
- Pakistan
- Records
  - Leaks

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 10:36 am.

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:35 pm.

The President's forthcoming trip to the PRC

- Indian relations with the PRC
- Reaction of US conservatives
- The President's handling
- Gandhi's reaction
- The President's conversation with Gandhi in 1969
- Importance
- USSR and Asians
- Chinese
- State Department
- Views of Llewellyn E. ("Tommy") Thompson and Charles E. ("Chip") Bohlen
  - USSR
  - India
  - Japan



- Importance
  - The President's view
- Gandhi's reaction
  - William P. Rogers

India

- Importance in world
  - The President's conversation with Gandhi
  - Unknown book
  - US public perception
  - Chester Bowles's conversation with the President
  - PRC
    - Totalitarianism
    - Compared to freedom

Foreign aid program

- Senate vote
- Refugees
  - Appropriations
- Views of Senate and House
- The President's meeting with Leslie C. Arends and others
- Possible continuing resolution
- Senate vote
- Gandhi's possible statement at Press Club, November 5, 1971
  - Refugees

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-001. Segment partially declassified with 1h40m42s cleared for release and 00m01s remains exempt as 613-015-w001 per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 03/19/2015.*

Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[613-015-w001]

[Duration: 1hr 40m 42s]

- India's relations with Pakistan
  - US relations with Pakistan



- Refugee problem
  - East Pakistan
- US press
  - Critical of US position
- Possible war
  - Power rests with India
  - No desire for war
- US relations with Pakistan
  - US influence
  - People's Republic of China's [PRC] relations with Pakistan
  - US military aid program
    - Contracts with Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
    - Contract finished
    - Dock strike in New York
  - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy's views
    - Cut off all aid to Pakistan
  - Importance of aid in giving US a voice
  - Isolated Pakistan is to be avoided
- Refugees
  - Overcrowding
  - 1967
  - Burden to India
    - US desire to help
- US relations with Pakistan
  - Economic aid
    - Consortium
  - Refugees
    - East Bengal
      - Humanitarian relief and food
      - Prevent famine
  - Military aid
    - Last shipment in New York
  - Economic aid
    - Consortium
      - Debt rescheduling
  - Pakistani government
    - Attitude towards refugees
    - Administration of economic aid
    - Refugees



- East Bengal
  - Pakistani agreements
    - Discussions
  - Status of Mujibar Rahman's trial
    - President's assurance it won't end with execution
- Kenneth B. Keating
- The President's conversation with William McMahon
- Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
  - Potential replacement
  - Military man not political
  - Possible successors
    - Autonomy
    - Refugee situation
  - Options
- Pakistani ambassador
- East Bengal
  - Possible autonomy
  - Ethnic differences
  - Reversing refugee flow
  - Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan's political situation
  - US policy goals
- Possible war
  - US view of conflict
  - Consequences
    - India's relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
      - Effects on Pakistan
    - India's relations with the People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - People's Republic of China's [PRC] relations with Pakistan
    - US feelings for India
    - Neo-isolationism in the US
    - US desire to facilitate peace
    - Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
      - Survival of government
    - Kenneth B. Keating
- US and Indian press
  - Gives wrong impression
  - US given bad rap
  - US deeply concerned
    - Refugee problem



- Messages to Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
- Refugees
  - US aid
- The President's efforts
- Indira Gandhi's view
  - Feelings towards Pakistan
  - Feelings towards US
  - Status
  - Background
- India's Muslim population
- Jawaharlal Nehru's and other's views
- Indira Gandhi's view
  - Background
  - Wars
- 1965 war
- Dwight D. Eisenhower's shipment of arms to Pakistan
  - Jawaharlal Nehru's view
- Struggle for independence from Great Britain
  - Division of India and Pakistan
    - Political leaders' views
    - Baluchistan and other province
    - Jawaharlal Nehru's conversation with [unintelligible name]
- The People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Pro-Chinese movement in India
- 1965 war
  - Language
  - Economic conditions
    - Industry
  - Burma
  - West Pakistan
- Separatism in India
- Unity of India
- Mujibur Rahman
  - March 24, 1971
  - Events of March 25, 1971
  - Intellectuals
  - Musicians
  - Artist
  - East Pakistan



- Muhammad Ali Jinnah
- Refugees
- Geographical areas of India
  - Differences and problems
    - Refugees
      - Hindus
      - Non-Christians
- Refugees
  - Numbers
    - Henry A. Kissinger
    - Department of State
  - West Bengal
  - Foreign economic aid
    - 250 million from US
    - 250 million from rest of world
  - Indira Gandhi's forthcoming appearances
    - Senate
    - House members
      - Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen
      - Otto E. Passman
      - Gerald R. Ford
  - Pressure on European allies
  - Social problems
  - Effect on India
    - Compared to Cuban refugees in Florida
      - Taking jobs from blacks
    - Compared to Mexican workers in California
  - Language
- Previous elections in India
  - Bengal
  - Communists
  - Unknown man
    - Message to Indira Gandhi
  - Baluchistan
- Upcoming elections in India
  - June 1972
- Indian floods
  - West and north
- Cyclone



- Indira Gandhi's response
- Political, social, and economic problems
  - Threat to India's security
- Refugees
  - Strategy for handling
  - United Nations [UN]
    - High Commissioner
  - Australia
  - [First name unknown] Williams
    - Pakistan
    - Humanitarian relief
  - Cooperating nations
    - Canada
    - New Zealand
    - Japan
    - Lebanon
    - Norway
  - Destruction of grain ships
    - Potential Communist involvement
  - Situation in Dhaka
    - 50-60 thousand
  - Situation in East Bengal
    - Indira Gandhi's conversation with unknown woman
- India's interests
  - Indira Gandhi's cabinet
- Rhetoric
  - Indian press's antagonism towards US
  - US not getting enough credit
- Economic assistance
  - US role
- Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan's agreements
  - Civilian government
  - Pakistan's supporters
  - Language of Jihad
- India's position vis-à-vis
  - The US
  - The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - The People's Republic of China [PRC]



Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:36 am.

The President's schedule

- Private lunch

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:35 pm

India's relations with Pakistan

- Possible war between the US and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Leonid I. Brezhnev
  - Mutual destruction
- India's future
  - Great democratic experiment
  - US desire for India's success
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
    - Perceived lack of desire for confrontation in South East Asia
- London blitz during World War II
- Forthcoming meeting of Indian parliament, November 5
  - President's 1953 visit to India
- India's goals
  - West Pakistan
- US relations with Pakistan
  - Military aid
- Mujibur Rahman
- West Pakistan
  - Alternatives to solve unrest
- Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan's agreements
  - US efforts
- Mujibur Rahman
- British
- Instability in region
  - Military or economic
- Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
  - US military assistance is finished
- Mujibur Rahman
  - East Bengal
  - Parmeshwar N. Haksar's opinion
  - British
  - Possible settlement



- Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
- Henry A. Kissinger's assessment

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
 [National Security]  
 [613-015-w001]  
 [Duration: 1s]

INDIA-PAKISTAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

- India's relations with Pakistan
- Possible mutual pullback of forces
    - US congressmen
    - Problems
      - Western end compared to eastern end
      - Compared to mutual drawback in Europe
      - Parmeshwar N. Haksar's view
  - Incident with Indian aircraft

Memorandum of meeting

- India's relations with Pakistan
- Messages between the US and Pakistan
    - Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan's agreements
      - Unilateral troop pullback
      - Possible Indian response
      - East Bengal
  - US role facilitating agreement
    - Pakistani pullback
    - Possible Indian reciprocation
    - Henry A. Kissinger's conversation with Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan



- Continue discussion at November 5 meeting
- Refugees
- Possible war
  - US reaction
    - Middle East situation
      - Israel
      - Egypt
  - Possible reaction by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Possible reaction by the People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - Chou En-lai's statement
  - India's interests

US relations with India  
-Chester Bowles and Kenneth B. Keating

Agenda for November 5 meeting  
-India—Pakistan  
-Vietnam  
-Middle East  
-US role

\*\*\*\*\*

Forthcoming statement to press  
-Agenda of meeting

[General conversation]

The President, Gandhi, Haksar and Kissinger left at 12:35 pm.

Conversation No. 613-016

Date: November 4, 1971  
Time: 12:35 pm - unknown before 12:37 pm  
Location: Oval Office



Unknown people met.

- Oval Office
  - Cleaning
  - Steam iron
  - Chair

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/03/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[613-016-w001]  
[Duration: 6s]

\*\*\*\*\*

The unknown people left at an unknown time before 12:37 pm.

Conversation No. 613-017

Date: November 4, 1971  
Time: 12:37 pm - 12:40 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

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

- The President's previous meeting with Indira Gandhi
  - Ziegler's forthcoming press statement
  - Agenda of meeting



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- Bilateral relations
- Refugees
- Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
- Gandhi's possible statement

The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 12:40 pm.