



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

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[Conversation No. 639-001](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 12:37 pm and 12:42 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule

- Press picture
- Butterfield's call to Ronald L. Ziegler

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:42 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-002](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 12:37 pm and 12:42 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.



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[See Conversation No. 16-106]

[Conversation No. 639-003](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 12:37 pm and 12:42 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Rose Mary Woods.

The President's schedule

[Conversation No. 639-004](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: 12:42 pm - 12:43 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 16-107]

[Conversation No. 639-005](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: 12:43 pm - 12:50 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

President's schedule



The President talked with the White House operator at 12:43 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-5A]

[See Conversation No. 16-108]

[End of telephone conversation]

John D. Ehrlichman

Meetings

Bernard J. ("Bunny") Lasker  
-Woods's location

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/14/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[639-005-w001]

[Duration: 46s]

The President talked with Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon between 12:44 pm and 12:45 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-5B]

[See Conversation No. 016-109]

[End of telephone conversation]

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Christmas cards  
-Messages



The President's schedule

- Football
  - Robert K. Gray
  - Binoculars
- Church
- Weather
- Bermuda
  - Florida
  - Christmas

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 12:45 pm.

President's schedule

Signing papers

Questions and answers sheet

[Pause]

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:50 pm.

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[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/14/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[639-005-w002]

[Duration: 3m 10s]

Relaxation

- Reading the paper

Cash gifts

- House
  - For unknown person's mother
- Five hundred per person
- Gift so no need to report it



-Marjorie Caulfield  
-Send gift for work done

Christmas card

\*\*\*\*\*

Woods left at 12:50 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-006](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: 12:50 pm - 1:09 pm  
Location: Oval Office

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

John B. Connally  
-Schedule  
-The President's schedule

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 12:50 pm and 1:09 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-6A]

Connally's return

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule  
-Cabinet dinner  
-Rose Mary Woods  
-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon  
-Former members  
-Clifford M. Hardin



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- Maurice H. Stans
- Daniel P. Moynihan
- Invited guests
  - List
- Staff members
  - Leonard Garment
  - Herbert G. Klein
- Arthur F. Burns
- Dr. John A. Hannah
- Robert J. Dole
- Woods
- Date
- Alexander P. Butterfield
- Charles W. Colson
- Woods
- Mrs. Nixon
- Telephone calls
- Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
  - President's Christmas message [?]
- Press gathering
  - New Year's Eve
  - Christmas Eve
  - Planning
- Connally
  - Talk with Haldeman

Haldeman left at 1:09 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-007](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 1:09 pm and 1:11 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.



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*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[639-007-w001]  
[Duration: 7s]

The President's schedule  
-Time

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Butterfield left at an unknown time before 1:11 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-008](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 1:09 pm and 1:11 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Meeting with Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:11 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-009](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: 1:11 pm - 1:34 pm



Location: Oval Office

The President met with Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Haig's schedule

Pakistan

- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
- Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
- Press photograph
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
  - Andrei A. Gromyko
- Bhutto
- President's schedule
  - Length of Bhutto meeting
  - Group of Ten meeting
    - Timing
    - John B. Connally
- West Pakistan
  - Haig
    - Kashmir
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] ships
    - Missile ships
    - Karachi
  - Student feelings towards Yahya Khan
    - Ceasefire
    - Attitude toward US and People's Republic of China [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]

[639-009-w001]

[Duration: 21s]

Pakistan



- West Pakistan
  - People's Republic of China [PRC] actions
  - No movement towards border

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Pakistan

- West Pakistan
  - USSR-PRC relations
  - Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
    - Visit with PRC Ambassador in Paris
- US actions

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-033. Segment declassified on 05/24/2019. Archivist: DR]*

[National Security]

[639-009-w002]

[Duration: 25s]

Pakistan

- West Pakistan
  - US actions
    - Southeast of Port Phong [?]
    - Nuclear powered vessel
    - Anti-American

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Pakistan

- Relations with US
  - PRC
  - USSR
  - Henry A. Kissinger statement
  - United Nations [UN] veto



-USSR reaction

India

- Reply to Indira Gandhi
  - Haig
  - Indian Ambassador
    - William P. Rogers
    - Ziegler
      - Timing of release
  - Kissinger
  - US commitment

India-Pakistan relations

- Current conditions
- Ceasefire

US-USSR relations

- Possible strategy
  - Ceasefire
    - US policy
  - Peacemaking
  - Gandhi

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*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment declassified on 06/23/2016. Archivist: DR]*

[National Security]

[639-009-w003]

[Duration: 14s]

US–Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] relations

- Possible strategy
  - Indians
    - The President’s opinion of

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Vietnam

- Enemy activity
  - Laos
  - Cambodia
- US losses
  - Planes
    - T-28's
    - F4's
      - Mikoyan-Gurevich [MIGs]
    - Surface to Air Missiles [SAMs]
- US strategy
  - Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
  - Kissinger
  - Implementation of plan
    - Timing
  - Department of Defense [DOD]
  - Ziegler
  - Post-Christmas attack
  - Willy Brandt
  - Kissinger
  - USSR

Cuba

- Panama
- US strategy

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

*[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-033. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 05/09/2019. Archivist: DR]*

[National Security]

[639-009-w004]

[Duration: 2m 3s]

INTELLIGENCE



END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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USSR

- Dialogue with US
- Ziegler

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 1:28 pm.

Monetary meeting

- Status of agreement
  - John B. Connally
  - Canadians
  - Japanese
  - Trade
- Schedule
- Status
  - Germans
    - Karl Schiller
    - Brandt
  - Italians
    - Devaluation
    - Number
    - Italian election
  - French
  - Great Britain
  - Maurice Schumann
    - Location
    - French

Haig left at 1:31 pm.

- Connally
  - Possible need for new meeting
  - Italian election



- Stock Market
- Japanese
- Canadians
- Germans
  - Kissinger
    - Upcoming call to Egon Bahr
    - Brandt
- Progress
- President's view
  - Possible statement
  - Strategy
    - Canadians

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 1:31 pm and 1:34 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-9A]

[See Conversation No.16-110]

[End of telephone conversation]

Haldeman left at 1:34 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-010](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 1:34 pm and 1:36 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

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*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[639-010-w001]  
[Duration: 4s]

Request

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The unknown person left at an unknown time before 1:36 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-011](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: 1:36 pm - 2:06 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Nawabzada Am Raza, and Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.; members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

[General conversation]

Photograph

President's schedule  
-John B. Connally call

Pakistan  
-US position  
-United Nations [UN]  
-Bhutto's speech  
-Bhutto expresses appreciation for US support  
-Bhutto previous meeting with the President  
-President's visit to Pakistan in 1964



-Refreshments

Telephone call for President

The President left at 1:40 pm.

President's schedule  
-Group of Ten meeting

Oval Office  
-Change

\  
Manolo Sanchez entered at 1:40 pm.

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:46 pm.

[General conversation]

President's schedule  
-President's forthcoming trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]  
-Timing  
-Press corps

Bhutto's schedule  
-Rome  
-Paris

South Asia  
-US embassy  
-Reports  
-Fighting in west  
-Students

\*\*\*\*\*



*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[639-011-w007]  
[Duration: 30s]

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

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*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-009. Segment declassified on 11/03/2017. Archivist: DR]*

[National Security]  
[639-011-w001]  
[Duration: 23s]

- South Asia
  - Indian forces possible plans
  - Pakistan
  - Bangladesh

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*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[639-011-w002]  
[Duration: 49s]

- South Asia
  - Alexander M. Haig's assurance
  - No reports
  - Unknown incident



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South Asia

- Japanese surrender
- US forces
- French surrender to Germans

The president entered at 1:46 pm.

President's schedule

- Connally
- International monetary situation

Bhutto's schedule

- Rawalpindi
- Rome
  
- Post-war difficulties
- Occupation by force
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- Middle East
- German occupation
- Joseph Stalin's comment
- US position
  - Reasons
  - Time* and the *New York Times*
  - Press reaction
    - US rationale and justification
  - Anti-aggression
  - Internal affairs
- Balance of power
- Vietnam
- Future of Pakistan
  - In possible contrast
    - India
    - Burma
    - Ceylon



- USSR
- President's opinion
- PRC position in Indian Sub-continent
- PRC
  - Ability
  - Resources
- Support
- Concern over violence
- Territorial integrity
- Ceasefire
- Military aid
  - Congress
- Economic aid to Pakistan
  - Attitudes
  - Changes needed in Pakistan
    - "Live and let live" society
  - Henry A. Kissinger
  - William P. Rogers
- Physical damage
  - Karachi
  - Haig
- Negotiations
  - Possibilities discussed
  - US position

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*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[639-011-w003]  
[Duration: 15s]

- India–Pakistan relations
  - Negotiations
  - William P. Rogers
    - At present no US plan to interfere



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- India–Pakistan relations
  - Negotiations
    - Role of the UN
    - Humanitarian concerns
    - Possible difficulties
  - US aid to Pakistan
    - Amount comparison
  - Kashmir

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*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[639-011-w004]  
[Duration: 8s]

- India–Pakistan relations
  - Negotiations
    - Kashmir
    - Indian statement

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- India–Pakistan relations
  - Negotiations
    - Ceasefire

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]*



[Unintelligible]  
[639-011-w005]  
[Duration: 16s]

- India–Pakistan relations
  - Negotiations
  - Pakistani desire
  - Indira Gandhi

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- India–Pakistan relations
  - Help to achieve peace
  - President’s advice to Bhutto

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*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[639-011-w006]  
[Duration: 28s]

- India–Pakistan relations
  - Efforts with Indira Gandhi
  - Activist political candidates
  - Political speakers

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- India–Pakistan relations
  - Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
  - Nixon Doctrine
    - Need for self-help
  - USSR
  - PRC



-Need for dialogue

President's upcoming campaign

Gifts

-Agha Muhomammad Yahya Khan

Christmas celebrities

-Plans on Christmas Eve [?]

1960 election

Bhutto, Raza, and Haig left at 2:06 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-012](#)

Date: December 18, 1971

Time: Unknown between 2:06 pm and 2:10 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 06/14/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[639-012-w001]

[Duration: 20s]

Request

-Coat

The President's schedule

-Executive Office Building [EOB]



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Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:10 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-013](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 2:06 pm and 2:10 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule  
-Meeting with Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:10 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-014](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: 2:10 pm - 2:31 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

The President's schedule  
-Recent meeting with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

Pakistan  
-United Nations [UN]  
-Bhutto's speech



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*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment declassified on 06/23/2016. Archivist: DR]*

[National Security]

[639-014-w001]

[Duration: 1m 1s]

Pakistan

-Indians

-Perceived desire to take Pakistan

-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s opinion

-Indira Gandhi

-Racism

-Whites compared to non-whites

-The President's opinion

-US aid

\*\*\*\*\*

Pakistan

-Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

-Toughness

-Future with US

-Possible outcome

-George H.W. Bush

-Feelings toward US

-People's Republic of China [PRC]

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*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]

[639-014-w004]

[Duration: 13s]



Pakistan

- The President's strategy
- Foreigners [?]

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Pakistan

- Effect on US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] relations
  - President's opinion
    - Henry A. Kissinger
    - Need for discretion
    - US role
- Outcome of conflict

Middle East

- Haig's opinion
- Possible trouble spots
- Egypt
  - USSR involvement
  - Kissinger
- Egyptian arms
- USSR air coverage

South Asia

- Gains in the Middle East

Middle East

- Negotiations
  - State Department
- Egypt
  - Possible frustrations

Pakistan

- USSR action
  - Restraint
- Kissinger's role
  - USSR view
  - Yuli M. Vorontsov



- Meeting with USSR Agriculture Minister
- USSR-India relations
- Dhaka

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*[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]  
[639-014-w003]  
[Duration: 24s]

Pakistan

- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]–India relations
- Intelligence report
- Required for Indian guarantee
- Dhaka
- Indira Gandhi
- Bangladesh

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*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[639-014-w002]  
[Duration: 4s]

Pakistan

- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]–India relations
- Indira Gandhi

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#### Pakistan

- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]–India relations
  - US position towards the USSR
- PRC role
- US plans
  - USSR and PRC
    - John A. Scali

#### Vietnam

- North Vietnam
  - Objections
    - Laos
    - Cambodia
      - Possibility for internal collapse
- Cambodia
  - Gen. Lon Nol
    - Health
- South Vietnam
  - Unknown leader
  - Forces
    - Chup
      - Regiment 271
      - Rout 6
  - Strategy
  - Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN] [South Vietnam]
- Air power
  - ARVN
    - Cambodians
- US strategy
  - Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
  - Post-Christmas offensive
    - Air fields
      - Mikoyan-Gurevich [MIGs]
    - Military targets
      - Vinh
  - Off-shore forces
    - South Vietnam
- Paris talks
  - Postponement



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- Enemy initiative
  - Propaganda
- William J. Porter
  - Performance
- Strategy
  - Propaganda
    - Analogy to Korean War

PRC

- PRC and USSR involvement
- Effect of India-Pakistan conflict
- US-PRC relations
  - Strengthening of relations
  - Laos
  - Cambodia
    - Possible beneficial effects

Haig left at 2:31 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-031](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 2:31 pm and 5:05 pm  
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

The President's location  
-Executive Office Building [EOB]

The unknown people [Secret Service agents] left at an unknown time before 5:05 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-015](#)



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Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 5:05 pm and 5:12 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:12 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-016](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 5:05 pm and 5:12 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule

- Phone call to John B. Connally
- Bill signing
- Departure for New York City
  - Timing
  - Tricia Nixon Cox
  - Connally
    - Smithsonian Institute
  - Press release
  - Helipad

President's schedule

- Possible statement in New York City

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:12 pm.



[Conversation No. 639-017](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 5:05 pm and 5:12 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

President's schedule

[Conversation No. 639-018](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: 5:12 pm - 5:20 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Vietnam

- Melvin R. Laird conference with Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
  - Enemy activity
  - Plane losses
  - Announcement from Saigon
    - Strategy
    - Schedule
- Laos
  - Enemy activity
  - Timing
- US offensive
- Laos
  - Enemy activity in Northern Laos
- US offensive in Laos



- Possible setbacks
  - Firebases
    - Meo irregulars
- Timing
  - Congress
- India-Pakistan
- Message to People's Republic of China [PRC], Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] and Europe
- Impact
  - Laird
    - Enthusiasm
- Weather
  - Possible impact on offensive
- Number of sorties
- Strategy
  - B-52's
  - “Cave busters”

#### India

- Indira Gandhi's letter
  - Publicity
    - Henry A. Kissinger
    - Ronald L. Ziegler
- Tone

#### USSR

- John A. Scali
- Ziegler

Haig left at 5:20 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-019](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 5:20 pm and 5:26 pm  
Location: Oval Office



The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 16-117]

[Conversation No. 639-020](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: 5:26 pm - 5:28 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with John B. Connally.

[See Conversation No. 16-118]

[Conversation No. 639-021](#)

Date: December 18, 1971  
Time: 5:28 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule  
-Smithsonian Institute  
  Departure  
  -Timing  
  -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon  
  -Press  
  -Car

Bull left at 5:28 pm.



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[Conversation No. 639-022](#)

Date: December 19, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 4:43 pm and 5:03 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

*Time* magazine interview  
-Cameras

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:03 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-023](#)

Date: December 19, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 4:43 pm and 5:03 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

Request for fire in fireplace [?]

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 5:03 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-024](#)

Date: December 19, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 4:43 pm and 5:03 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.



President's schedule  
-Forthcoming interview

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:03 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-025](#)

Date: December 19, 1971  
Time: 5:03 pm - 6:35 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Jerrold L. Schecter, Hugh S. Sidey, Hedley W. Donovan, and Henry A. Grunwald; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

General conversation

The President's term  
-Appraisal  
-Franklin D. Roosevelt  
-War  
-January 1969  
-US economy

Vietnam  
-US role

Middle East

New York City

Vietnam

1969  
-Historical context



People's Republic of China [PRC]

- Communication with US

Vietnam

US world role

- Protector

Domestic issues

- Economic policy
  - Inflation
  - Housing
  - Future price rises
    - Comparison to 1971
  - Jobs
  - Inflation
- Monetary policy
  - Meeting with Europeans
  - Convertibility of the dollar [?]
- Environment
- Drugs
- Revenue sharing
- Welfare
  - Work requirements
- Health
- Government reorganization

Decisions made by the President

- PRC overture
  - Importance
- Economic policy
  - Inflation
    - Jobs
  - International monetary crisis
    - US role
  - Free market economy
    - American economy
      - Probable outlook
      - Phase II



- Predictions for 1972 economy
- Controls
- Confidence
- Inflation
- Wage-price controls
  - Support of US citizens
  - Importance
  - Success of controls
- Inflation
- Decontrol
- American people
  - Commitment to control inflation

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]-US relations

- Upcoming summit
  - Berlin
  - Seabeds
  - Biological and accidental war
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
  - South Asia
  - Middle East
- President's upcoming trip to PRC
- South Asia
- India-Pakistan conflict
  - Ceasefire
- Areas of agreement between US and USSR
  - Berlin
  - Leonid I. Brezhnev
  - Arms control

India-Pakistan conflict

- India operations in East Pakistan and West Pakistan
  - Strategy
  - Reports

\*\*\*\*\*



*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[639-025-w002]  
[Duration: 3s]

India-Pakistan conflict  
-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

\*\*\*\*\*

India-Pakistan conflict  
-US role

\*\*\*\*\*

*[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]  
[639-025-w001]  
[Duration: 3m 38s]

India-Pakistan conflict  
-The President's conversation with Indira Gandhi  
-Unknown airport  
-Death of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri  
-Tashkent negotiations  
-Positivity  
-West Pakistan  
-President's opinion of Indira Gandhi's attitude towards West Pakistan  
-Importance  
-US interests  
-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]  
-US position

Middle East  
-Israel



- US emotional ties
- Actions

### South Asia

\*\*\*\*\*

### PRC

- Henry A. Kissinger
- Brezhnev

### US foreign policy

- Thought and care exercised
- PRC trip
  - Purpose
- USSR trip
  - Purpose
- Long-term

### Upcoming election

- Foreign and domestic policy
  - Fulfillment of objectives
- Congress
  - Democratic majority
- President's plans
  - Opposition candidates
  - Involvement in issues
    - PRC
    - USSR
    - Vietnam
      - Successful conclusion
  - Domestic programs
    - Revenue sharing
    - Welfare reform
    - Tax reform
- Spiro T. Agnew
  - Expression of support
  - Praise for Agnew



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- Democrats' nominee
  - President's opinion
- Past elections
  - Franklin D. Roosevelt
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
  - Majority president
  - John F. Kennedy
- Democrats' nominee
  - Potential candidates
    - Issues
      - Vietnam
      - Economy
      - Cities
      - Youth
      - Race relations
      - Vietnam

Vietnam

- End of war
  - Understanding
  - Historical view
    - Possible outcome
      - USSR
      - PRC

US-USSR relations

- Middle East
  - Israel
  - Oil
  - Africa
- South Asia
- Cambodia
- Laos
- PRC
- Summit meeting
  - Need for peace
  - Differences



US-PRC relations

- Possible future of relations
- Vietnam
- Korea
- Japan
  - Power
- PRC

Need for charismatic leader

- Types of leaders
  - Characteristics
- Need for experience

President's administration

- Type of leadership
- President's style
- Need for confidence in leadership
- PRC and USSR announcements
- The President's August 15, 1971 speech
- PRC announcement
- Theodore ("Teddy") Roosevelt
- Vitality and style
- Mood of US citizens
- Expectations of US citizens
  - Vietnam
  - World leadership position
- President's opinion
  - Recent past
    - Lyndon B. Johnson
    - Vietnam
    - Drugs
    - Violence in cities
- US economy
  - Effect of end of Vietnam war

PRC

USSR



Economic policy

Revenue sharing

Government reorganization

Expectations for coming year

- Pride in US foreign policy
  - Middle East
- Importance of US leadership role
  - US position in the world
- Domestic issues
  - Housing
  - Busing
    - Boston
  - Segregation
- “Quiet revolution”

US world role

- Historic precedence
- Expression of confidence
- Peace possibilities
- World War II
- Dwight D. Eisenhower
- John F. Kennedy
  - “Seize the moment” philosophy

US relations with USSR and PRC

- Strategy
- Importance of PRC
- Nuclear war
  - Global effects
  - Horrors
  - Prospects for confrontation
    - Japan
- Need for leadership
- Competition
- Cooperation
  - [Thomas] Woodrow Wilson



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- UN
  - Times of peace
- US and European power
  - Britain
  - France
  - Germany
- USSR
- PRC
  - Potential power
- Japan
- Latin America
  - Brazil
- Africa
  - Potential power
- South Asia
- Need for balance of power
  - Europe, Japan

Presidency

- Power
- Motives
  - [Arnold] Eric Sevareid
    - Maturity of political figures
- Bureaucracy
- Press
- Enjoyment of the job
  - Relations with Congress
  - Opportunity for leadership
    - World peace
    - Progress

Christmas decorations

- Number
- Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon [?]

[General conversation]

- Walter H. Annenberg's gift
  - "Star of the President"



President's schedule  
-Bermuda

Gifts  
-Money clips

[General conversation]

Schechter, et al. left at 6:35 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-026](#)

Date: December 19, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 6:35 pm and 6:38 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/14/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[639-026-w001]

[Duration: 47s]

Football  
-San Francisco 49ers  
-Score: 39-27

Request  
-Door open

\*\*\*\*\*



Bull left at an unknown time before 6:38 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-027](#)

Date: December 21, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 5:58 pm and 6:07 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[639-027-w001]  
[Duration: 8s]

Request

\*\*\*\*\*

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:07 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-028](#)

Date: December 21, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 5:58 pm and 6:07 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.



[See Conversation No. 16-128]

[Conversation No. 639-029](#)

Date: December 21, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 5:58 pm and 6:07 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator; John N. Mitchell was present at the beginning of the conversation.

[See Conversation No. 16-129]

[Conversation No. 639-030](#)

Date: December 21, 1971  
Time: 6:07 pm - 6:59 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John N. Mitchell.

- President's schedule
  - Meeting in Bermuda
    - Weather
    - Cooperation
      - France, West Germany
  - Public reaction
  - Edward R.G. Heath
  - Work involved
  - Willy Brandt
- President's past Christmas plans
  - Eisaku Sato



H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman entered at 6:09 pm.

[General conversation]

President's schedule

- Swearing-in of Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist
- Timing
- Wallace H. Johnson

Unknown person

- American Broadcasting Company [ABC]

The President’s schedule

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/14/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[639-030-w002]

[Duration: 6s]

John D. Ehrlichman’s comment on the President

\*\*\*\*\*

The President’s schedule

- Willy Brandt

Jack N. Anderson columns

- Use of classified documents
  - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] reports
  - India-Pakistan
  - Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG]
  - Egil G. (“Bud”) Krogh, Jr.
  - David R. Young, Jr.



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- Henry A. Kissinger
- Maturity
- Leak
- Source
  - Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
  - National Security Council [NSC]
  - Yeoman Charles E. Radford
    - Relationship with Anderson
    - Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
    - Experiences in Vietnam
  - Polygraph
- Adm. Robert O. Welander
  - JCS
- Unknown person
- Radford
  - Experience
  - Polygraph
    - Question on stolen documents
    - Administrator
  - R[embrandt] C. ("Hugh") Robinson
  - Welander
  - Kissinger
  - Haig
  - NSC
  - JCS
    - Length of activity
  - Kissinger
  - Haig
- Young
  - Report
    - Interrogator
    - Excision
      - Department of Defense [DOD]
- Haig
  - Knowledge
- Source
  - Activities
    - JCS liaison officer
- Types



- Studies
- Young
  - DOD interrogation
  - Conversation with Mitchell
- Anderson
- Radford
  - Knowledge
    - Kissinger and North Vietnamese negotiations
    - Possible court martial
    - Administration strategy

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

*[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]

[639-030-w004]

[Duration: 50s]

INDIA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

\*\*\*\*\*

Jack N. Anderson columns

- Use of classified documents
  - Richard M. Helms
  - Haig
    - Call to Ehrlichman
  - Kissinger
    - Informed by Ehrlichman
  - Radford
    - Access



- WSAG meetings
- The Pentagon and NSC
  - Methods used
- Phone tap
- Possible arrest
- JCS liaison office
  - Location
  - Executive Office Building [EOB]
- NSC
- Robinson
- Young
  - DOD
- JCS
- Prosecution
- Strategy proposed
  - JCS liaison officer
    - Proposed relocation
  - Need for security officer
  - Kissinger
  - JCS
    - Transfer of Welander
    - Transfer of Radford
    - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
      - Possible discussions with Mitchell
        - Melvin R. Laird
    - Discipline of Welander, Robinson
      - Necessity for discipline
      - Robinson
        - Cambodia briefing

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[639-030-w001]  
[Duration: 30s]



Jack N. Anderson columns

- Use of classified documents
  - Military officer
    - Attempts to acquire intelligence
    - Charles E. Radford
    - Robert O. Welander

\*\*\*\*\*

Jack N. Anderson columns

- Use of classified documents
  - JCS
  - Story
    - US Naval action in Straits of Malacca, Bay of Bengal
  - Radford's relationship with Anderson
    - Welander
    - Robinson
      - Previous knowledge
  - Radford's experience
    - India
    - Anderson
  - Anderson
    - Possible prosecution
      - Possession of documents
      - Welander
      - JCS
  - Haig
    - Knowledge
      - Tour of Vietnam with Radford
    - Polygraph of Radford
  - Anderson
    - Normandy
    - Parents
  - Radford
    - Age
      - Religious faith
      - Moorer
    - Possible transfer



- JCS
- Kissinger
- Anderson columns
  - Examination
  - Young
- Robinson
  - Relationship with Radford

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 06/14/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Privacy]  
[639-030-w008]  
[Duration: 41s]

- Jack N. Anderson columns
  - Use of classified documents
    - Charles E. Radford
      - Marital situation
      - Finances
        - Second job
      - Bank account balance
      - John D. Ehrlichman's opinion
      - Jack N. Anderson
      - Interrogation

\*\*\*\*\*

- Jack N. Anderson columns
  - Use of classified documents
    - Radford
      - Call to Moorer
    - Haig
      - Involvement
        - People's Republic of China [PRC]
      - JCS



- Kissinger's briefcase
- NSC staff
  - Helmut ("Hal") Sonnenfeldt
  - Kissinger
    - Secretaries
  - Haig
  - John Negroponte
  - Richard Smyser
  - Col. Richard T. Kennedy
  - Jack D'Arcy [sp?]
  - [Forename unknown] Murphy
  - Kennedy
- Strategy
  - Laird
    - Ehrlichman's telephone conversation
      - John Glenn [?]
  - Gen. [Forename unknown] Percy [?]
  - Radford
    - JCS
      - Possible view of India
  - Maj. Gen. James D. ("Don") Hughes's knowledge
  - Haig

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-033. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 05/09/2019. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[639-030-w005]

[Duration: 26s]

INTELLIGENCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5



\*\*\*\*\*

Jack N. Anderson columns

- Use of classified documents
  - Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.
    - Involvement
  - Radford
  - Moorer
  - Zumwalt
  - Mitchell's forthcoming meeting with Moorer
    - Mitchell's view
    - President's presence
  - Documents from Kissinger's briefcase
    - JCS
    - Robinson
      - EOB
    - Welander
  - Moorer
  - Radford
    - Possession of documents
    - Interrogation
      - Results
  - Welander
    - Kissinger
    - Haig
    - Kissinger
      - Leak
- Candidate for NSC Security Officer
  - Charles Sither
    - Ability

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 06/14/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Privacy]

[639-030-w006]



[Duration: 5s]

- Jack N. Anderson columns
  - Candidate for NSC Security Officer
    - Charles Sither
      - John D. Ehrlichman's opinion of sexual orientation

\*\*\*\*\*

- Jack N. Anderson columns
  - Candidate for NSC Security Officer
    - Charles Sither
      - John D Ehrlichman's opinion
      - The President's question on conduct

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 06/14/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Privacy]  
[639-030-w007]  
[Duration: 4s]

- Jack N. Anderson columns
  - Candidate for NSC Security Officer
    - Charles Sither
      - John D. Ehrlichman's opinion of sexual orientation

\*\*\*\*\*

- Jack N. Anderson columns
  - Candidate for NSC Security Officer
    - [First name unknown] Specter[?]
      - Location
        - Certification
          - Hughes



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- Haig
- Kissinger
- Radford
  - Tap
  - Surveillance
- NSC
  - Welander
  - Robinson
    - Possible action taken
  - Moorer
  - Strategy
- Kissinger
  - Security
  - Office
- Interrogation
  - Anderson
  - Welander
  - Laird
    - Election
- JCS
  - Security
  - Interrogation
    - Welander knowledge
      - Haig and Kissinger
    - Robinson
    - Involvement
- Laird
- Meeting with Moorer
- Welander
  - Transfer from EOB
    - Kissinger's briefcase
    - Radford
    - Relationship with JCS
- JCS
  - Other possible activities
    - Moorer
    - Lyndon B. Johnson Administration
- Recommendations to Mitchell
  - Strategy



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- Kissinger
  - Welander
    - Possible interrogation
  - Anderson
  - Haig
- Security officer
  - Unknown activities
- John B. Martin [?]
- Welander
  - Interrogation
- Alger Hiss case
  - Compared to Radford interrogation
    - Knowledge
- Welander interrogation
  - JCS
  - Relationship to Kissinger
  - Strategy
- Moorer
- Haig
- Kissinger

The President, Mitchell, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman left at 6:59 pm.