



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

[Conversation No. 631-001](#)
[Conversation No. 631-004](#)
[Conversation No. 631-007](#)
[Conversation No. 631-010](#)

[Conversation No. 631-002](#)
[Conversation No. 631-005](#)
[Conversation No. 631-008](#)
[Conversation No. 631-011](#)

[Conversation No. 631-003](#)
[Conversation No. 631-006](#)
[Conversation No. 631-009](#)
[Conversation No. 631-012](#)

[Conversation No. 631-001](#)

Date: December 7, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:57 pm and 1:58 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

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

People's Republic of China [PRC] trip

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

India-Pakistan war

- Haldeman's talk with Rogers
 - Press stories
 - Rogers-Kissinger
- President's instructions
 - Haldeman's possible call to Rogers
 - Press articles
 - Staff meeting
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Administration policy
- Press stories
 - Time* and *Newsweek*
 - Lead story for the week
 - Mary McGrory



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

- Types of stories
- Kissinger
 - United Nations [UN]-Taiwan
 - India-Pakistan war
- Administration responsibility
 - Frank F. Church
 - Edward M. Kennedy
 - Refugees
 - India
- The President's conversation with Rogers
 - Rogers working style
 - Compared to
 - John B. Connally
 - Kissinger
 - George P. Shultz
 - Previous conversation with Kissinger
 - Connally
 - Kissinger resignation
 - Previous attempt by Kissinger
 - Timing
 - Laos
 - PRC trip
 - 1972 election
 - Probable timing of resignation
 - Possible reasons
 - Paris Peace Talks
 - State Department
 - Magazines
 - James B. Reston

Foreign policy

- Rogers
 - Expertise [?]

PRC

- Rogers
 - Talks with Haldeman
 - State Department



Kissinger

-India

-The President's stance

-Military aid

-Economic aid

-Indira Gandhi

-Difficulties

-Kennedy

-Kenneth B. Keating

-Rogers

-National Security Council [NSC]

-Kissinger

-Appearance on National Broadcasting Company's [NBC]
program, "A Day in the Life of the President", December
6, 1971

Pierre E. Trudeau meeting

-Kissinger's location

The President's schedule

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

-Haldeman

-Charles W. Colson

-Peter M. Flanigan

-Robert H. Finch

-Donald H. Rumsfeld

-Finch

-Location

-Domestic Council meeting

-Spiro T. Agnew

-Possible agenda for meeting [?]

-Rogers

-Kissinger

-Haldeman's previous calls

Kissinger

-Relations with staff

-Trudeau dinner

-Toast



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

- Television
 - Kissinger's style
- Backgrounders
 - Rogers
 - PRC
 - Kissinger and Rogers

Connally's news conference

Agnew

- Style and manner at Trudeau dinner

Kissinger resignation

- State Department
 - Frustration over policy
- Haldeman's talk with Ziegler
 - Backgrounder
- Kissinger
 - Handling
 - Actions
 - Concern from Haldeman

Haldeman left at 1:58 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-002](#)

Date: December 7, 1971

Time: 2:59 pm - 3:02 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Henry A. Kissinger

- Ziegler's talk with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- Talk with Ziegler
 - State Department



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

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

Ziegler left at 3:02 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-003](#)

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

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

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

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

- The President's schedule
 - Meeting with Maurice H. Stans



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

India-Pakistan

- Kissinger's backgrounder
 - Talk with Ziegler
 - Talk with Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
 - The President's view
 - State Department
 - The President's talk with Ziegler
 - William P. Rogers
 - Ziegler's previous conversation with Haldeman
 - Rogers's speech at Pierre E. Trudeau dinner
 - Timing
 - Kissinger's comments
 - Conversation with Haldeman
 - Possible fallout from Rogers' speech
 - Cienfuegos crisis
 - India-Pakistan
 - State Department
 - Middle East negotiations
 - Kissinger's negotiations
 - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - [Pakistan and India]
 - Iran
 - Cable
 - Haldeman's questions to Kissinger
- Rogers's speech
 - National Security Council [NSC]
 - Backgrounder
 - The President's statement
 - Tone
 - Haldeman's view
 - Canadians' comments

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



The President's schedule

- Meeting with Stans
 - Peter G. Peterson and Kissinger
 - Timing

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

Kissinger's backgrounder

Haldeman left at 3:11 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-004](#)

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

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

Greetings

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

- Length
- Sweden
- USSR
- Poland
 - Duration
- Sweden
 - Courtesy call by Stans
- Poland
 - Bank credits
 - Debt
 - Stans' report
 - Export-Import [Ex-Im] Bank credits



- Romania
 - Timing
- USSR
 - Moscow
 - Leningrad
 - Azerbaijan Republic
 - Baku
 - Georgian Republic
 - Tbilisi
 - Duration of time
 - Stans' visits with Aleksei N. Kosygin
 - Length of meetings
 - Proposed agenda
 - US-USSR relations
 - Trade
 - Kosygin's view
 - Working groups
 - The President's forthcoming trip
 - Timing of working groups announcement
 - Political situation
 - Importance and possible improvement
 - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
 - Commercial situation
 - Letter to the President
 - Contents
 - Agreements reached during Stans' visit
 - Description of letter
 - Stans's meetings with Minister of Foreign Trade
 - Stans's meeting with the Ministers of Petroleum, Gas, Automobiles, Shipping, and Standards
 - Stans's meeting with the Chairman of the State Committee on Science and Technology, The Chamber of Commerce, Foreign Trade Bank and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers
 - Azerbaijan and Georgian Republic
 - US-USSR relations
 - Kosygin's five-year plan
 - Significance
 - Supreme Soviet
 - Helmut("Hal") Sonnenfeldt



- Stans' attendance at the Supreme Soviet
 - Treatment
- Georgian Republic
 - Entertainment for Stans' group
- Plane
- Escorts
- Entertainment
- Pravda
 - Stories about Stans' visit
- Commercial relationship
 - Trade
 - Improvement of relations
- Most-favored nation [MFN] status
 - Possible discrimination
- Export-Import [Ex-Im] bank credits
- Trade restrictions
 - Possible negotiations
- Lend-lease debt
 - Potential settlement
- Working groups
 - Minister of Foreign Trade
 - US Department of Commerce
 - Continuance of discussions
 - Four members from each
 - Location of meetings
 - Joint trade ventures
 - American businessmen in the USSR
 - Special arrangements
 - Discussed on fact finding groups
 - Kosygin's view
- Trade possibilities
 - Peterson's figures
 - Possible conversation between Stans and Peterson
 - President's previous meeting
 - Western Europe
 - Amount
 - Stans' goal
 - Projections
 - 1975



- Poland
- Eastern Europe figures
 - Comparison with USSR
 - Vietnam
- Kosygin
 - Grain sales
 - Ex-Im bank credit
 - Compared to industrial equipment
 - Duration
 - Poland
 - Yugoslavia and Romania
 - Duration
 - Commodity Credit Corporation [CCC] credits
 - Political value
 - Amount
 - Grain supplies in Eastern Europe
 - Credit terms
 - Maritime unions
- Factories and plants
 - Off-shore oil operations in Baku
 - Steel mills, generator factories
 - G.U.M store
- Travel restrictions
 - Freedom for Stans
- Stans's talk with workers and shopkeepers
 - The President's forthcoming visit
 - Possible tone of reception
 - Desire for understanding from all Russians
- Press
- Stans's letter to the Minister of Foreign Trade
 - January 6, 1972 meeting
 - Location
 - Grain agreement
 - Ex-Im bank credit
 - Lend-lease agreement
 - Pace of negotiations
 - Offer of visit to the US
 - Stans' counterpart
 - Timing



- The President's forthcoming trip to the USSR
- USSR bank in the US
 - Location
 - Reciprocal basis
- Stans' impressions
 - Store merchandise
 - Quality of merchandise
 - Housing shortage
 - Automobiles
 - Five year plan
 - Consumer goods
 - Standard of living
 - Factories
 - Performance
 - Profit motive
 - Progress
 - Poland and USSR
 - Similarities
 - Stans in Poland
 - Apparent US-USSR differences
 - Kosygin
- US business in USSR
- Natural resources
 - Gas
 - Copper
 - Diamonds
 - World production
 - Percentage
- Potential US rival
 - Timing
- Issues
 - Level of importance
 - MFN status
 - 1951 trade agreement
 - Kosygin's view
 - Congressional action
 - Poland
 - Romania
 - Vietnam



- Trade
 - US tariffs
 - USSR difficulties
- Ex-Im bank credit
 - Consumer goods
 - Capital
 - Joint ventures and credit facilities
- Export controls
 - Ongoing reductions
 - List
 - Kosygin's view
- Increase in scientific and technological cooperation
 - Working group
 - Space flight
 - Pollution control
 - Range of cooperation
- Trade agreement
 - 1936-1951
 - Duration of US-USSR agreement
 - Other countries
 - Number of agreements
 - Lend-lease negotiations
- State committee for science and technology
 - Cooperation
 - Canada and France
 - Potential working group
- US issues
 - Access for us business
 - Offices
 - Lack thereof
 - Pan American [PanAm]
 - American express
 - Telex
 - Intourist
 - MFN restrictions
 - Market requirements
 - Freedom
 - Access to factories
 - Bilateral procedures for settling commercial disputes



- Agricultural exports
- Lend-lease debt
- Joint ventures
 - US equipment
 - USSR natural resources development
 - Mining of copper, nickel, chrome, gas and oil
 - Pay back in product
 - Including interest
 - Long-term supply contract
 - Gas pipeline
 - Location
 - Baltic Sea
 - Analogy to Algeria
 - Possible national security concerns
- Trade
 - Proposed increase with the US
 - Contracts to US companies
 - Kama River truck plant
 - Timing
 - Minister of petroleum
 - “Shopping list”
 - Technology and equipment
 - Cost
 - Advantages of US
 - Labor intensive products
 - US buying of resources
- Europe
 - Joint ventures
 - Other European countries
 - USSR agreements with western countries
 - Types of ventures and development
- MFN status
 - Amount of trade
- Ex-Im bank credit
 - Credit from other countries
- Economy
 - Increase in productivity and trade
 - Growth rate
 - Projected amount



- Gross National Product [GNP]
 - Japan comparison
 - Kosygin's speech
 - Five year plan
 - Potential equivalent of US in production
 - Potential truck plant
 - Kama River
 - Ford Motor Company
 - USSR representatives
- Raw materials
 - Titanium, platinum, copper, zinc
 - Timber development
 - US-USSR collaboration
- Significance
 - Step up economic relations with US
 - Develop greater understanding of US
- Technological growth
 - Need to catch up
- Government
 - Structure
- MFN status
 - Limitations
 - Possible psychological barrier
- American goods
 - Equivalent amount
- USSR self-interest
- US economy
 - USSR propaganda
- Capitalism
 - Possible USSR attitudes
- Stans' conversation with Minister of foreign trade
 - Press criticism
 - The President's forthcoming visit
 - SALT
 - USSR press towards the US
 - Separation of commerce and political activities
- Stans's recommendations
 - Fact finding group
 - Continuation



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

- Ex-Im bank credit
 - Step towards normalizing relations
 - Romania
 - Lend-lease debt negotiation
- Grains
 - Five year agreement
 - Value to US
- Export control lists
 - Coordinating Committee [COCOM]
 - Military hardware
- US-USSR high level working group
 - Scientific and technological cooperation
- Travel restriction reduction
 - Tourism
 - Potential for buying more goods
- MFN status
 - Lend-lease debt
- Johnson Act repeal
 - Congress
 - Private financing limits
- Negotiation of a trade agreement
 - Establishment of US control
 - USSR protection of copyrights
- Stans' report to the president
 - Memorandum of conversations
 - USSR trade agreements with other countries
 - USSR joint ventures
 - United Kingdom
 - West Germany
 - Italy
 - France
- Stans' letter to the Minister of Foreign Trade
- Kosygin
 - Previous conversation with Stans
 - The President
 - Decision-making
 - Possible tenure
 - Democrats
 - Future of US-USSR relations



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

[Conversation No. 631-4A]

The President's schedule

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

[End of telephone conversation]

Stans' trip to the USSR

- Kosygin
 - Conversation style
 - Alertness
 - Age
 - Tea
 - Bridges
 - US
- USSR bureaucrats
 - Minister of Shipping
 - Age
 - People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - Spain
 - Age comparisons to USSR leaders
- Stans' forthcoming press meetings
 - “Face the Nation”
 - “Meet the press”
 - Press conference
 - Nature of Stans' trip to the USSR
- India/Pakistan situation
- Stans' report
 - Guidance paper
- President's instructions
 - Recommendations
 - State Department
 - US bargaining position



Kissinger and Ziegler entered at 4:00 pm.

- Stans' recommendations
 - Press
 - Relations
 - American businessmen
 - Stans' deal

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 07/11/2019.]

[Unintelligible]
[631-004-w001]
[Duration: 28s]

- Maurice H. Stans's trip to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - Maurice H. Stans's recommendations
 - American businessmen
 - Maurice H. Stans's deal
 - The President's order
 - American Express

- Maurice H. Stans's trip to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - Length of trip
 - Press interviews
 - US News and World Report*
 - Interview
 - Timing
 - Stans' relationship with the press
 - Importance
 - Grain credits
 - Bank credits
 - Joint ventures
 - Long term financing efforts



- John [Surname unknown] telephone call
 - Timing
- SALT
- Stans' report
 - Copies
 - Possible watershed in US-USSR relations
- Kosygin
 - Optimism
- Entertainment
- Haig
- Press interviews
 - Stans and Peterson meeting with Haig
 - Stans' possible comments
 - Recommendations
 - Briefing paper
 - Stans' tone with the press
 - USSR
 - Possible MFN status
 - India/Pakistan
 - Stans' possible comments
 - Businessmen
 - USSR learning US markets
 - Kosygin's interests
 - Politics
 - The President's recommendations
 - The President's upcoming meeting with USSR leaders
 - Thoughts for Stans
 - European alliance
 - COCOM
 - American businessmen in USSR
 - Department of Commerce
 - Trade documentation center
 - Poland
 - State Department
- Value of trip
- Briefing the cabinet

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



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

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

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/11/2019.
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[631-004-w002]

[Duration: 26s]

Maurice H. Stans's trip to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

-Henry A. Kissinger's brother

-Career

-Conglomerates

-German

India-Pakistan situation

-Press conference

-Number of participants

-Backgrounder

-India as a country

-President's instructions

-The President's trips to India in 1953, 1957, and 1969

-Backgrounder preparation for Kissinger

-Foreign aid

-Indira Gandhi

-Marvin L. Kalb

-Summarize the administration's efforts

-Indians

-East Pakistan

-William P. Rogers

-Economic and military aid cut-off

-Kissinger's trip to India



- Pakistanis
- Kissinger's conversations with the Indians
- Alternatives
- Military aid

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

[Conversation No. 431-4B]

Kissinger's request for Haig

[End of telephone conversation]

Haig entered at 4:19 pm.

Kissinger's schedule

India-Pakistan

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

Haig left at 4:20 pm.

India-Pakistan

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



[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number
LPRN-T-MDR-2014-032. Segment declassified on 05/22/2019. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[631-004-w003]

[Duration: 7s]

India–Pakistan

-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

-Intelligence report

-Informed India of US arms delivery to Pakistan

India–Pakistan

-President's instructions

-US influence

-United Nations [UN] observers

-Military and civilian governments

-Kissinger's meetings with Indian ambassador and the Pakistan foreign secretary in
November 1971

-Timing

-Refugees

-Political settlement

-Negotiations

Haig entered at 4:23 pm.

-Aid program

-Amount

-Timing

-Bureaucracy

-Soviets and India

-Chinese and Pakistan

-US interests

-Joseph J. Sisco

-Kissinger's plan



-Refugees

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

Request for a call to Harold H. Saunders

[Conversation No. 431-4C]

[End of telephone conversation]

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

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

[Conversation No. 631-005](#)

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



The President talked with Harold H. Saunders.

Henry A. Kissinger's location

[Conversation No. 631-006](#)

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

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

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

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

[Conversation No. 631-007](#)

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

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

Henry A. Kissinger
-Backgrounder
-India-Pakistan situation
-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
-US position vis-à-vis
-Timing
-State Department
-Negotiations
-Middle East



- William P. Rogers
 - Remarks
 - People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
- USSR
 - Haldeman's talk with Kissinger
 - Opportunities
 - State Department
- Edward M. Kennedy

John B. Connally

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

Kissinger

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/11/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[631-007-w002]

[Duration: 1m 18s]

Southern politics

- Harry S. Dent
 - Black support
 - Possible support for the President
- John N. Mitchell
 - Opposed to black support
 - Talk with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

George Meany

- Health



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

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/11/2019. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[631-007-w003]

[Duration: 7m 15s]

Polls

- Gallup trial heats, November 19-22
- Registered voters



- Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy changes
 - Publish on December 9
- The President's figures
 - Compared to Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
- George C. Wallace changes
- Undecided changes

The President talked to an unknown person at an unknown time after 4:33 pm.

Congress of Industrial Organizations [CIO] [?]

[End of telephone conversation]

Polls

- Gallup trial heats, November 19-22
 - Registered voters
 - Edmund S. Muskie changes
 - Hubert H. Humphrey changes
 - George S. McGovern changes
- December 12, 1971
- George H. Gallup, Jr.
 - Dinner on December 7, 1971
- H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's meal with Robert Teeter
 - John N. Mitchell
 - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's opinion
 - Opinion Research Corporation [ORC]
 - Computers
 - International Business Machines [IBM]
 - Key states
 - National
 - Gallup
- Edmund S. Muskie
- George S. McGovern
- Gallup poll
 - Registered voters
- George C. Wallace
 - Steady percentages
 - Approval
- Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy and Edmund S. Muskie



- Democrats rarely get blamed
 - Unfair blame to the President
- Papers
 - Dwight L. Chapin
 - John S. Davies
 - Donald H. Rumsfeld
 - George H. Gallup, Jr.

The President's schedule

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

Kissinger

- Other motivations
- USSR
- Vietnam War negotiations
- India-Pakistan
 - USSR
 - Possible arms deal with India
- Resignation
 - PRC trip
 - Haldeman's talk with Kissinger
 - Haldeman's point to Kissinger
 - Possible solutions
 - Close out business
- PRC
 - Interest in Kissinger's possible resignation
- Story
 - Kissinger
 - Possible future scenario
- Election



- Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
- Teaching career
 - Recognition
 - Lyndon B. Johnson administration
 - Walt W. Rostow
 - McGeorge Bundy
 - Robert S. McNamara
 - Dean G. Acheson
 - Dean Rusk
 - Georgia
- Proposed book by Kissinger
 - Content
 - Notes
 - John D. Ehrlichman
 - Description of notes

Stock market
-Figures

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

Meeting with Moynihan
-Location

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

Stock market

Kissinger

- Connally
 - Meeting
 - Possible times
 - Purpose of meeting
- Handling
 - Methods in dealing with potential problems
 - Haldeman
 - Possible second guessing
- USSR
 - State Department



-Haldeman's view
-Aid cut off

Haldeman left at 5:05 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-008](#)

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

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

United Nations [UN]
-Ambassador
-India/Pakistan
-Israel

India-Pakistan
-War

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-003. Segment declassified on 04/16/2015. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]
[631-008-w001]
[Duration: 17s]

India-Pakistan
-War
-Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan's opinion
-The President's opinion on Indian desire for war



- India–Pakistan
 - War
 - Withdrawal
 - Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
 - Talks with East Pakistani leader
 - Location
 - Calcutta
 - Indira Gandhi
 - Trip

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-003. Segment declassified on 04/16/2015. Archivist: DR]
 [National Security]
 [631-008-w004]
 [Duration: 27s]

- India–Pakistan
 - War
 - Destruction of ships
 - East Pakistan
 - West Pakistan

- India–Pakistan
 - War
 - East Pakistan
 - Refugees
 - Military operations
 - Possible duration
 - Cleanup in East
 - Duration



- UN
 - Indian elections [?]
 - East Pakistan
 - Partition

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-003. Segment declassified on 04/16/2015. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]
[631-008-w005]
[Duration: 1m]

- India–Pakistan
 - War
 - Movement of forces into West Pakistan
 - East Pakistan
 - Bengal
 - Ability of Indians to conquer West Pakistan
 - Possible length of war
 - People’s Republic of China [PRC]
 - Pressure on West Pakistan

- United Nations [UN]
 - George G.W. Bush
 - Praise from Moynihan
 - Unknown Stalinist
 - PRC representatives
 - [Forename unknown] Jackson [?]
 - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - Moynihan’s schedule
 - Secretary General [U Thant]
 - Max Jacobson
 - Agha Sadruddin Khan
 - Maurice Strong



- Canada
 - Environment concerns
 - Chances to become Secretary General
- Jacobson
 - Background
 - Jewish descent
 - USSR
 - Arabs
- Arab-Israeli dispute
 - Unknown person
 - Background
 - Saudi Arabia
- Secretary General
 - President's view
 - U Thant
 - Possible asylum
 - Burma
 - Unable to return
 - Bush
 - Moynihan's upcoming conversation with Bush
 - Agha Sadruddin Khan
 - Youth
 - Friendly to the Administration
 - Yahya Khan's brother
 - Iranian passport
 - Zanzibar
 - Education
 - Harvard University
 - Qualifications
 - Jacobson
 - USSR
 - Arabs
 - Importance of selecting the Secretary General
 - Type
 - Strong
 - Support from the President
 - People's Republic of China [PRC]



- USSR
- Sadruddin Khan
 - Security council
 - Refugee reports

Busing issue

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



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



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



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

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



- Federal money
- Equality of education
- Inequality in educational opportunities
 - California decision
 - Serrano [sp?]
- Intelligence Quotient [IQ] scale
 - Comparison
 - Asians, Europeans, Blacks, and the Irish
 - Unknown person
- Education bill
 - Preamble
 - Equality of educational opportunity
- Moynihan's suggestions
 - Measure of outputs
- Property tax bill
- Education bill
 - Special interests
 - National Education Association [NEA]
 - Private compared to public schools
- Moynihan's suggestions
 - Moynihan's talk with Ehrlichman
- Bickel
- Brown* decision
- How to present
 - Brown* brief
 - Tax system comparison
 - Change
 - Idealistic overtones
 - Honesty
- Parochial schools
- Segregation and busing
- New era
- Bringing people together
 - Choices
 - No inferior education
 - Right of every American to a superior education
- Presidential leadership
 - Generosity
- Dual school system



- George C. Wallace
 - Polls
- Articles
- Letters
- Moynihan
- Note to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- Jews
- Chinese
 - Work ethic
- Richard Herrnstein
- The President reads from a letter
 - Vice President [Spiro T. Agnew]
- Mitchell
- Herrnstein's article
- Nathan Glazer
- Further discussion
- Allegation
- Coleman

Economy

- Taxes
 - Unknown person
 - Money supply

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/11/2019.

Segment will remain closed.]

[Personal Returnable]

[631-008-w002]

[Duration: 49s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2



Moynihan left at 6:08 pm.

Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO] legislation

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/11/2019.

Segment will remain closed.]

[Personal Returnable]

[631-008-w003]

[Duration: 34s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Busing

- Alexander P. Butterfield
- Moynihan
 - Position
 - Compared to Bickel
 - Idealism
- Comparison to Vietnam



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

- Revenue sharing
- Tax bill

Ehrlichman left at 6:10 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-009](#)

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

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule

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

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

[Conversation No. 631-010](#)

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



The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield [?]

The President's schedule
-Ronald L. Ziegler

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

[Conversation No. 631-011](#)

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

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

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

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 6:32 pm.

India-Pakistan situation
-Henry A. Kissinger
-Press
-Reactions



- The President's 1967 visit to India
 - Kissinger's previous conversation with the President
- War
- Negotiations
 - Bangladesh
- Kissinger's attempts for peace
- Backgrounder
 - Rogers and the State Department
 - Support
- Indira Gandhi
- Rogers speech on December 6, 1971
 - Possible fallout
 - Canada
 - Impact of Rogers' speech
 - Rogers' talk with Ziegler
 - Timing
 - Concern from Rogers
 - Kissinger's point
 - Canadians
 - Kennedy and Church
 - Against US policy
 - Kissinger's perspective
 - Margaret Chase Smith
 - J. William Fulbright
 - W[illiam] Stuart Symington
 - Support of US action
- Leadership Meeting
- Possible UN action
- Kissinger
 - Edmund S. Muskie
 - Kennedy
 - “Out of reality” rhetoric
 - East Pakistan
 - Supposed lack of compassion by Administration
- Foreign aid
 - Amount
- Diplomatic contacts
- Trip to India
 - Gandhi



- Previous meeting with the President
- Pakistani government
 - Withdrawal of forces
 - Bangladesh

White House social affairs

- Entertainers
 - Jews
 - Performing at the White House
 - Francis A. (“Frank”) Sinatra
 - Itzhak Perlman
 - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
 - Beverly Sills

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 07/11/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]
[631-011-w002]
[Duration: 3s]

White House social affairs

- Entertainers
 - Beverly Sills
 - The President’s comment

White House social affairs

- Entertainers
 - Beverly Sills
 - John D. Ehrlichman
 - Singing style
 - Ballet background
 - Talent evaluated



India-Pakistan situation

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

The President's schedule

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

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

[Conversation No. 631-11A]

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

[End of conferral]

Kissinger's location

- Situation Room

[End of telephone conversation]

Kissinger

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

India-Pakistan situation

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



The President's schedule

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

Press

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

Ziegler left at 6:46 pm.

Kissinger

- Rogers
- Ziegler
- Rogers' toast at White House dinner, December 6, 1971
- Comments
 - Kissinger
 - Possible fallout from Rogers' toast
- Ziegler
 - Concern
 - Kissinger's previous conversation with the President
- Peter G. Peterson
 - Maurice H. Stans meeting
 - Questions raised about Peterson's attendance
 - Secretary of Commerce
 - Stans
 - Perks attributed to being Secretary of Commerce

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



[Conversation No. 631-11B]

[See Conversation No. 16-35]

[End of telephone conversation]

India-Pakistan situation

- United Nations [UN] vote
- Unknown pollster

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

[Conversation No. 631-11C]

[See Conversation No. 16-36]

[End of telephone conversation]

Rogers

- Rose Mary Woods

Kissinger and staff

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

The President's approach to others

Kissinger

- Jews

Entertainers

- Jews
- Perlman

Leonard Garment

- Respect from the President

Polls



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

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/11/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[631-011-w010]

[Duration: 2m 19s]



Polls

- Blacks
- The Left
- Democrats
 - Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
 - John N. Ashbrook
- John N. Mitchell
- Primary states
 - Results in January 1972
 - Wisconsin, New Hampshire and Florida
 - Robert Teeter's polling
 - Sealed ballot
 - John N. Ashbrook and Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
 - Trial heats
 - Versus the President
 - Republicans–Democrats
 - National committee

Haldeman left at 7:04 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-012](#)

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

Stephen B. Bull met with an unknown woman.

Oval Office



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

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 07/11/2019.]

[Unintelligible]
[631-012-w001]
[Duration: 14s]

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

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