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

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

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

People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
- William P. Rogers
- Conversation with Haldeman
- Henry A. Kissinger
- Comments
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] trip
- India

India-Pakistan war
- Haldeman's talk with Rogers
- Press stories
- Rogers-Kissinger
- President’s instructions
- Haldeman’s possible call to Rogers
- Press articles
- Staff meeting
- Ronald L. Ziegler
- Administration policy

- Press stories
  - *Time* and *Newsweek*
  - Lead story for the week
  - Mary McGrory
-Types of stories
  -Kissinger
    -United Nations [UN]-Taiwan
    -India-Pakistan war
  -Administration responsibility
    -Frank F. Church
    -Edward M. Kennedy
    -Refugees
    -India
  -The President’s conversation with Rogers
    -Rogers working style
      -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
-Television
  -Kissinger’s style
-Backgrounders
  -Rogers
  -PRC
  -Kissinger and Rogers

Connally’s news conference

Agniew
  -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.

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
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
  - 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.

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

-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
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

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

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

Page | 17
- 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
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
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]

-Refugees

Kissinger’s talk 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]

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

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

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

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

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[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

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George Meany
  -Health

Page | 24
-George P. Shultz report
-Dr. Walter R. Tkach
-John F. O'Connell [?]
  -Extent of illness
    -Projected recovery time
-[Joseph] Lane Kirkland
-Eugenia Meany
-Shultz
-Connally
  -“Touch-up”
-Shultz
-O'Connell
  -Possible plans to replace Meany
  -International concerns
-Probable successor to Meany
-Tkach
-Meany’s health
-Kirkland
  -Miami
    -Blame
-Meany’s health
-Time and Newsweek articles
-Letters to the editor
  -Unfavorable to Meany

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[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.

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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

-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 p.m.

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.

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

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[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

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

Page | 30
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 Sadrudin Khan
    -Youth
      -Friendly to the Administration
      -Yahya Khan's brother
      -Iranian passport
      -Zanzibar
      -Education
      -Harvard University
    -Qualifications

-Jacobson
  -USSR
  -Arabs
  -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
- 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 PRMFA 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
Revenue sharing
-Tax bill

Ehrlichman left at 6:10 pm.

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.
The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
- Ronald L. Ziegler

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

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.]

White House social affairs
-Entertainers
-Bevery Sills
-The President’s comment

White House social affairs
-Entertainers
-Bevery 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

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[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
        - Trial heats
          - Versus the President
            - Republicans–Democrats
- National committee

Haldeman left at 7:04 pm.

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
[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.]

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