



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 631-1

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631- 1(cont.)

- 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]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 631- 1(cont.)

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

Agnew

- Style and manner at Trudeau dinner

Kissinger resignation

- State Department

- Frustration over policy

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631- 1(cont.)

- Haldeman's talk with Ziegler
 - Backgrounder
- Kissinger
 - Handling
 - Actions
 - Concern from Haldeman

Haldeman left at 1:58 pm.

Conversation No. 631-2

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
- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
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Conv. No. 631- 2(cont.)

Ziegler left at 3:02 pm.

Conversation No. 631-3

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 631- 3(cont.)

- 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.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 631-4

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- 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
 - [Unintelligible]
- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log**
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

- 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.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 26s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

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 situation

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

-East Pakistan

Haig left at 4:20 pm.

India-Pakistan situation

- 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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[National Security]

[Duration: 8s]

INTELLIGENCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
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Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-4 (cont.)

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

Conversation No. 631-5

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. 631-6

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. 631-7

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/06)

- India-Pakistan situation
 - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - US position vis-a-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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 1m 18s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

George Meany

- Health
 - George P. Shultz report
 - Dr. Walter R. Tkach

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
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Conv. No. 631-7 (cont.)

- 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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 7m 14s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

The President's schedule

-Connally meeting

-Timing

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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Conv. No. 631-7 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
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Conv. No. 631-7 (cont.)

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. 631-8

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-7 (cont.)

-India/Pakistan
-Israel

India-Pakistan situation
-War

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security]
[Duration: 17s]

INDIA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Withdrawal
- Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
-Talks with East Pakistani leader
-Location
-Calcutta
-Indira Gandhi
-Trip

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[National Security]
[Duration: 28s]

INDIA

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log**
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

- East Pakistan
 - Refugees
- Military operations
 - Possible duration
 - Cleanup in East
 - Duration
- UN
 - Indian elections [?]
 - East Pakistan
 - Partition

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[National Security]

[Duration: 1m]

INDIA-PAKISTAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

- 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]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

- People's Republic of China [PRC]
- USSR
- Sadrudin 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

- 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

[Personal Returnable]

[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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-8 (cont.)

- Conservatives
- Seeking credit

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 32s]

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.

Conversation No. 631-9

Date: December 7, 1971

Time: Unknown between 6:10 pm and 6:28 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-9 (cont.)

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. 631-10

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.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 631-11

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-11(cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-11(cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Privacy]

[Duration: 4s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

- 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]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-11(cont.)

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-11(cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 631-11(cont.)

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 631-11(cont.)

- Edmund S. Muskie
- USSR trip
- Timing
- California and Oregon primaries
- Economy
- Importance

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 2m 19s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

Haldeman left at 7:04 pm.

Conversation No. 631-12

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

[Unintelligible]

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