Date: December 2, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 11:31 am and 11:35 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.  
[The recording begins at an unknown time while the conversation is already in progress]

The quality of an item [?]  

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 11:35 am.  

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:31 am.

The President's schedule
   -Henry A. Kissinger meeting
     -Time

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:35 am.  

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 11:31 am.  

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:35 am.

Conversation No. 628-2
Date: December 2, 1971
Time: 11:35 am - 12:13 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

John B. Connally's reports of the Group of Ten meeting
-Questions
  -Gold issue
    -Prices
    -Ziegler's comments
  -The President's instructions

Ziegler left and Henry A. Kissinger entered at 11:37 am.

David M. Kennedy
-Appointment
  -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]

Golda Meir meeting
-Talking points
  -Sent to the President
    -William P. Rogers
  -Kissinger's talk with Meir
    -Rogers
      -President’s hard line with Meir
  -Phantoms
    -Joseph J. Sisco and Yitzhak Rabin
  -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] Summit meeting
    -Middle East topic
      -Preparatory talks
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security]
[Duration: 44s]

MIDDLE EAST

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Agreements
  -Summit
  -Rogers' plan
  -USSR
  -Settlement
    -Rogers’ plan
    -Frontier
      -Meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
      -Anwar el-Sadat
      -Military action
        -Leonid I. Brezhnev-Sadat meeting
        -No interim agreement
  -USSR
  -Israelis
  -Berlin comparison
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[National Security]
[Duration: 20s]

MIDDLE EAST

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

-Kissinger's talk with Dobrynin
-Israelis
  -United Nations [UN] forces
-Type of discussion
  -Rogers' plan
  -Phantoms
  -State Department
  -Sisco
  -Possible Israeli attitudes
-Military action in the Middle East
  -Potential outcome
-Summit
  -Agreement
  -Egyptian-USSR meetings
    -Negotiations style
    -Brezhnev
-Talking points

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman entered at 11:46 am.

The President's schedule
-Dr. Arthur A. Fletcher
  “Meet and greet” session
-Business Council meeting
  -Sears
  -J.C. Penney’s
- Federated stores
  - Representatives
- Retail sales
  - Percentage
- Phase II
  - Thanksgiving
  - Christmas
    - Anticipated revenue
- Foreign policy
  - Peter M. Flanigan
- Kissinger
  - Praise from the President
  - Potential schedule conflicts
- Flanigan
- Meeting with Kissinger
- Los Angeles, Chicago, and Cincinnati
  - Kissinger’s schedule
- Gordon M. Metcalf and Fred Lazarus, Jr.
- Timing
  - Fletcher meeting
    - Time
      - “Meet and greet”
  - Meir meeting
    - Timing
- Earl L. Butz's swearing-in ceremony
  - Corn issue
  - Senate vote
    - Possible outcome
  - Corn price supports
  - John C. Whitaker
    - Timing
  - Business Council meeting
    - Time

Haldeman left at 11:56 am.

Meir meeting
  - USSR
  - Summit
    - Possible preparatory talks
    - Withdrawal of forces
-Egyptians
  -USSR position
    -Sisco
-Kissinger's talk with Meir
  -Rogers
  -Settlement
    -Dobrynin
      -Potential discussions with Kissinger
    -Passage issue
      -Rogers
    -Troops
    -Roger and Sisco
      -A question of trust
-Egyptians and USSR
-Rogers' plan
-USSR
  -Possible scenarios
-Phantoms
-Sisco-Rabin meeting
  -Written instructions from the President
-USSR summit
-Kissinger's talk with Meir
  -The President
    -Negotiation style towards Meir
-USSR
-The President-Meir photograph
  -Kissinger and Rabin
    -“Goodwill” gesture

Cambodia
  -North Vietnamese
  -South Vietnamese
    -Cautious approach
-Bombing
  -Other objectives
  -North Vietnamese planes
    -Airfields
      -Numbers of planes
-Bombing
  -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
    -Upcoming conversation between Kissinger and Moorer
-Gen. John D. Ryan
  -Call for youth
-Melvin R. Laird
  -Potential conversation between Kissinger and Laird
-Briefing on air strikes
  -Moorer
-David Packard
-Laird
  -Location
    -Briefing
      -Timing

India
- State Department
  - New license cut off
    - Announcement
      - President's instructions
        - Old license cancellation
  - Briefing

[Sounds of note taking]

Kennedy appointment
- NATO
  - Conditions
    - Statement by the President
      - National Security Council [NSC] meetings
      - Attendance at Georges J.R. Pompidou, Willy Brandt, Edward R.G. Heath and Eisaku Sato meetings
    - John R. Schaeetzl and Joseph A. Greenwald
      - Information on economic issues
  - Brussels staff
    - Upgrade
  - Rogers
    - Talk with Kissinger

Television
- Rogers in Europe
  - Call from the President
    - Report
      - National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC]
Conv. No. 628-2 (cont.)

-Length of conversation
-Kennedy
-NATO

People's Republic of China [PRC]
-Kissinger announcement
-Media coverage
-James B. Reston column
-Favorable
-J. William Fulbright committee
-Chinese reaction
-Two-China issue
-Thelma C. (Pat”) Nixon
-Media
-Reactions
-Vietnam War
-Support of foreign policy
-Charles H. Percy
-Talk with Kissinger
-Senate
-Establishment

Kissinger left at 12:13 pm.

Conversation No. 628-3

Date: December 2, 1971
Time: 12:13 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 15-197]

Conversation No. 628-4

Date: December 2, 1971
Time: 12:15 pm - 12:17 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Frances (Grant) [Mrs. Wallace F.] Bennett.

[See Conversation No. 15-198]

Date: December 2, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:17 pm and 12:21 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

President’s schedule
- Upcoming trip to Florida
- Call from Pierre Rinfret
  - Unknown location
- Upcoming dinner for Pierre E. Trudeau, December 6, 1971
  - Canada

Woods’ conversation with an unknown woman
- Award
  - Unknown musician

The President’s schedule
- Bermuda
  - Woods’ schedule
- Woods’ schedule
  - Robert L. King

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 6s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

**************************************************************************

- King
  - Possible position on staff
    - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:17 pm.

Clark MacGregor
  - Meeting with the President
  - Taxes

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:21 pm.

Suggestion

Woods left at 12:21 pm.

Conversation No. 628-6

Date: December 2, 1971
Time: 12:21 pm - 12:43 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Clark MacGregor.

Golda Meir
  - Jews

Tax bill
  - Conferees
  - Check off
  - Wilbur D. Mills proposal
    - John W. Byrnes
- President’s position
- Three elements of Mills’ proposal
  - Check off concept retained
  - Timing
- Appropriations
  - Court test of constitutionality of the check off
- 1972 election
  - Mills’ gambit
  - Campaign promises
    - The President’s remarks to the White House Conference on Aging,
      December 2, 1971
      - Possible approaches
      - History of proposal
- Veto
- History
- Congress
  - MacGregor’s view
- Mills
  - Thoughts
  - Byrnes' reaction
    - Broadcast expenditures
      - Limitations
- Election
  - Democrats
  - Money in the fund
  - Provision of the law
- Check off
  - Taxpayers
    - Possible number
    - Percentage
- Veto
- Implementation
- Congress
  - The President's signature
    - Historian context
      - President’s attitude
  - Appropriations
    - Possible veto
- Mills
  - Democrats' and Republicans' votes
    - Speculation
- Veto
- Democrats
  - Unpredictability
    - Lawrence F. O'Brien, Jr.
  - Local, county and district chairmen
    - Joe D. Waggonner, Jr.
    - Possible Democrat support
- Check off defeat
  - MacGregor's recommendations
    - Elimination of check-off
    - Authorization of various expenditures
    - Less chance of abuse of funds
- Byrnes
  - The President's signature
- MacGregor’s forthcoming meeting with Byrnes
- Mills
  - Stake
  - House vote
    - Modified check off
  - President’s instructions
  - Check off defeat
    - Repeal
      - The President's message
- Business committee
  - Mills
    - Possible action
- MacGregor's statement
  - Distribution
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Follow-up
      - President’s decision
        - MacGregor’s statement
- Mills
  - Possible change in vote
    - President’s remarks to the White House Conference on Aging

Earl L. Butz's swearing-in
  - President’s schedule
    - Upcoming trip to Florida
- Corn price support
  - Mills [?]
-Hint of certain actions
  -Possible withdrawal
-Amount
-Taft-Hartley Act
  -State Chairman
  -County chairman
  -Minneapolis
  -Previous call to MacGregor
  -President’s decision on Taft-Hartley Act
  -Impact on rural areas

George Meany
  -Health
    -H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman
  -Meany’s attitude
    -Illness

Meir
  -Meeting with the President

Tax bill
  -The President's signature

MacGregor left at 12:43 pm.

Conversation No. 628-7

Date: December 2, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:43 pm and 12:45 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Call from Tricia Nixon Cox
  -Clark MacGregor

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:45 pm.
Date: December 2, 1971
Time: 12:45 pm - 2:03 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

Earl L. Butz nomination
- Possible withdrawal
  - Patrick J. Buchanan
    - *New York Times*
    - *Washington Post*
  - Farm media
    - Support for Butz
    - Percentage
  - Agri-business support
  - Farm General
  - Successful Farming
    - Support for Butz
  - Walter J. Hickel
    - Compared to Butz’s nomination
  - Democrats
    - Possible outcome
  - Farm radio in Chicago
    - Orion C. Samuelson
      - Letter to the editor
      - Liberals
    - *New York Times*
    - *Washington Post*
  - [Forename unknown] Hershey
    - Corn price support
      - “Option 2”

President’s schedule
- Heads of State meetings
  - Details
-Format
-Pierre E. Trudeau
-Joint statements at airports
  -Azores
    -Dr. Marcello Caetano's statement
    -Black tie dinner
      -British
        -Options
-French
  -Joint luncheon
  -Henry A. Kissinger
-Caetano
  -Meeting with the President
    -Timing
-Georges J.R. Pompidou
  -Meeting with the President
    -Timing
    -Schedule
  -Joint advisors
-Lunches
-Bermuda meetings
  -Timing
  -Advisors
-Key Biscayne
  -Willy Brandt
    -Timing
  -Eisaku Sato
    -Timing
  -Foreign ministers
  -Kissinger
-People’s Republic of China [PRC]
  -Press corps
    -Reduction in numbers
-Advance men
  -Taking too much of the President’s time
    -Reduction
-Rose Mary Woods
-Travel
-PRC
  -Kissinger
    -Written statements
-Unknown writer
  -Press
  -Traveling with the President
- Buchanan
  -Experience
  -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] trip
    -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
-Press
  -William L. Safire
  -Noel C. Koch
  -John K. (“Cap”) Andrews
  -Safire
    -Previous trips
      -European and Asian trip
      -Camp David
      -USSR trip
-Azores
-Bermuda
  -Possible press assignment
-PRC advance
  -John A. Scali
    -Potential travel
    -Kissinger
    -Advisor role
    -Scali
      -Justification for travel to PRC
        -Potential problems
-Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
-Ronald L. Ziegler
-Dwight L. Cheapen
-Scali
  -Ziegler
    -Comparisons
-Kissinger-Haig meeting
-Television coverage
  -Importance
    -Compared to press coverage
-Scali and Ziegler
-Haig

Haldeman’s schedule
-Florida
  -John D. Ehrlichman [?]
  -Alexander P. Butterfield

-Price speech
  -President’s trip to Chicago, December 1, 1971
  -Senior citizen support
    -Amount of aid
    -Check off
      -President’s support of the elderly
        -Rising costs
  -Foster grandparents
  -Arthur S. Flemming
  -Earl Warren

Speech team
  -California speech
  -Speech quality
    -Apparent difficulties in writing speeches
    -Various reactions to speeches
  -Andrews
    -Haldeman’s upcoming talk with Andrews
  -Price
  -Old compared to young
  -Style

White House Conference on Aging
  -Flemming
  -Warren
  -Press
    -Compared to the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health, December 2, 1969
    -Reactions
      -Unknown elderly black man
        -Emotional talk with the President
  -Ehrlichman
  -Price

Unknown man at Justice Department
  -Work style
    -Richard A. Moore
      -Previous conversations with Haldeman
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Conv. No. 628-8 (cont.)

- John N. Mitchell

Speeches
- Moore
- Writers
  - Work
  - Attitudes
- Price
  - Talk with Haldeman
- PRC trip
  - Buchanan
- USSR trip
  - Price
  - Attendance

PRC trip
- Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon's attendance
  - Media coverage
    - Television
    - Street crowds
  - Lack thereof

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:45 pm.

Clark MacGregor
- Tax bill
- Butz confirmation
  - Meeting with the President

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:20 pm.

PRC trip
- Crowds

MacGregor entered at 1:20 pm.

Butz confirmation
  - Senate vote
  - Result

Tax bill
-Conferees
-Agreement
 -Wilbur D. Mills
   -Modified check of proposal
     -John W. Byrnes's call to MacGregor
       -Appropriations
         -Effective date
 -Lawrence F. O'Brien, Jr.
 -Fund
   -Amount
     -Concerns
 -The President's signature
   -History of tax bill
 -Effective date
   -Tax returns
 -George S. McGovern
   -Mills
 -Charls E. Walker and Byrnes
   -Previous conversation with MacGregor
 -The President's statement
   -Price
     -Written statement
 -Ziegler
   -Questions
     -Check-off
 -1972
 -The President's statement
   -Options
 -Senate
   -Mills
     -Proposal
 -Democrats
   -Speculation
     -President’s statement
 -O'Brien
   -Mills
 -House of Representatives
 -MacGregor’s call to George P. Shultz
   -Support

Butz confirmation
MacGregor left at 1:28 pm.

Questions
  -Importance
  -MacGregor

Speech
  -Environment [?]

President’s schedule
  -National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC]
    -“A Day in the Life of the President”, December 6, 1971

Press
  -President of Dahomey
    -Vote
      -State visit
    -President’s schedule
      -Pompidou meeting
        -Timing

Haldeman left at an unknown time before 1:33 pm.
Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:28 pm.

Schedule
- Chief Justice
- Butz nomination
  - Harry A. Blackmun
- Timing
  - Availability
  - Butz swearing-in ceremony

Bull left and Rose Mary Woods entered at 1:33 pm.

Call from unknown man
- Return call from the President [?]
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 1:33 pm and 2:03 pm.

[Conversation No. 628-8A]

[See Conversation No. 15-199]

[End of telephone conversation]

Call to an unknown person
   -Unknown White House event
   -Performance [?]  

PRC trip
   -[Dwight] David Eisenhower, II
   -Pictures
   -Ziegler

********************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[Privacy]
[Duration: 1m 40s ]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

********************

John J. McCloy
   -Letter to Woods
   -Appointments
   -Arms Control Committee
   -William W. Scranton
   -Pay Board
   -New members
   -Christmas

The White House operator talked with the President at 1:50 pm.
[Conversation No. 628-8B]

[See Conversation No. 15-200]

[End of telephone conversation]

Letter from an unknown woman
- Tone of letter
- The President's possible response
- PRC
- United Nations [UN]
- Letter from Woods
- Jews
- Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo telephone call
  - The President's instructions
- PRC
  - Wars
    - Korea and Vietnam
    - Number casualties
- USSR summit

Schedule
- Visit to Washington Redskins football practice, November 23, 1971
- Phone calls
  - [Forename unknown] Brown, building secretary [?]
    - President’s availability
  - Kissinger
    - Timing of phone calls
  - Butz
  - Meeting with John B. Connally
  - Brown [?]
- The President’s location
- Handling of
  - Possible solutions
- Melvin R. Laird
- John N. Mitchell
- Connally
- William P. Rogers
- Meetings
  - Possible solutions
Woods left at 2:03 pm.

Woods left at 2:03 pm.
Conversation No. 628-10

Date: December 2, 1971
Time: Unknown between 2:03 pm and 2:07 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Business Council meeting
- Gordon M. Metcalf
- Ziegler's talk with Richard A. Moore
- Ziegler's attendance
- Press picture

Dr. Arthur A. Fletcher
- Press picture
  - Speaking for the press

Photographs
- Amount

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 2:07 pm.

Conversation No. 628-11

Date: December 2, 1971
Time: 2:07 pm - 2:19 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 15-202]
Conversation No. 628-12

Date: December 2, 1971
Time: 2:19 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
- Meeting with Gordon M. Metcalf

Bull left at 2:19 pm.

Conversation No. 628-13

Date: December 2, 1971
Time: 2:19 pm - 2:50 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Gordon M. Metcalf, William M. Batten, George P. Shultz, Richard A. Moore and Ronald L. Ziegler; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings
Photograph

Economy
- Sears Roebuck sales
- Retail sales figures

[Unintelligible]
- December
- Fall season
Success
-Geographic breakdowns
  -November, 1970
    -Percentages
      -Chicago
      -Pittsburgh
      -Dallas
      -Cleveland
      -California
      -Statistics
-Advertising
  -Television
    -Changes over the years
  -Sears
    -Tag line
-Inflation
  -Potential set backs
-J.C. Penney sales
  -Percentages
  -Seattle
    -Los Angeles
  -Managers
  -Southeast
    -Miami
  -Midwest
  -November
  -Breakdown
  -Competition
  -Slight setbacks
-Controls
-Stores in San Francisco
  -Number
-Organized labor compared to unorganized labor
  -Bargaining position
  -Differences
-November
-Tax bill
  -Perception of
    -Effect on retail sales
  -Campaign expenses
  -Candidates for political office
-Methods of raising money
-Congress
-Taxpayers
-Special interest groups
-The American economic system
  -Predictions for Christmas season
  -Boost for economy
-Wage-price freeze
-September
  -Retail forecast
  -Percentages

Golf
-Recruitment
-Merrill Lynch

Economy
-Stock market
  -Reactions
- Sears
  -Shares
  -Number
  -Dow exchange
  -History
  -Dr. Arthur A. Fletcher [?]

California
  -Possible trip by the President
  -Timing

[General conversation]

Metcalf, Batten, Shultz and Moore left at 2:42 pm.

Tax bill
  -Campaign check off
  -Conference committee

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:42 pm.

Earl L. Butz's swearing-in ceremony
-Timing

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:50 pm.

[Ziegler taking notes in the background]

Tax bill
  -Campaign check off
    -The President's statement
      -Legislative process
    -Possible veto
    -Ziegler
    -Clark MacGregor's statement
      -Repeal
    -The President's statement
      -The American political system
      -Congress
      -First session
    -Ziegler's comments
      -Possible effects on 1972 Presidential elections
      -Compromise
      -Veto
    -The President's statement
    -Veto
    -Legislative matter
    -Veto
    -House
      -Henry A. Kissinger
      -Future events

Ziegler left at 2:50 pm.

Date: December 2, 1971
Time: 2:50 pm - 3:04 pm
Location: Oval Office
The President met with Arthur A. Fletcher and Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

Campaign check off [?]
   -News magazine article
   -Unknown magazine

Schools
   -Harvard
   -Youngsters
      -Numbers
         -Private schools
            -Numbers
            -Economic package

Domestic Council
   -Press

[Unintelligible]

Public relations
   -Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday
   -Abraham Lincoln’s birthday
      -Timing
      -National campaign
         -Finances
            -Amount
            -1972 Presidential elections
-Reverse racism
  -Black colleges
  -Discrimination
  -Farm people [?]
  -Schools
  -Integration

-Project
  -Economic development

Fletcher and Cole left and Henry A. Kissinger entered at 2:59 pm.

State Department
  -Presidential order
    -Disregarded by the State Department
  -Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr. and Kissinger
    -Writing possible scenarios
    -John N. (“Jack”) Irwin, II
      -Charles W. Bray, III
  -Pakistan and India
    -Possible interpretation
    -Briefing
      -Bray
    -William P. Rogers
      -Feelings on subject
    -Confrontation
      -Attempt to avoid conflict
    -Kissinger's talk with the President
    -Kissinger's talk with Rogers
  -Indira Gandhi [?] 
    -Conversation with the President
  -Clark MacGregor
    -Kissinger’s talk with Peter [Surname unknown]
  -Hugh Scott statements
    -Statement by Willy Brandt
  -Kissinger's call to Rogers
    -Different tactics
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Conv. No. 628-14 (cont.)

-Non-appropriated funds
  -John B. Connally
  -Rogers

Kissinger left at 3:04 pm.

Conversation No. 628-15

Date: December 2, 1971
Time: 3:04 pm - 3:05 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Meeting with Golda Meir

Bull left at 3:05 pm.

Conversation No. 628-16

Date: December 2, 1971
Time: 3:05 pm - 4:53 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Golda Meir; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

Photograph

[General conversation]

[Unintelligible]
Meir’s schedule
- Henry A. Kissinger and Yitzhak Rabin
- Frank discussions with Meir

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- Relations with Israel
- US and Israel
  - Strategy
  - Meir's talk with Kissinger

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:05 pm.

Refreshment

Rabin

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:13 pm.

US and Israel relations
- Rabin and Kissinger
- Kissinger
  - Relations with Israel
    - William F. (“Billy”) Graham’s call to the President
    - Timing
    - Concern by Graham
  - American Jews
  - William P. Rogers

Kissinger and Rabin entered at 3:13 pm.

Kissinger and Anatoliy F. Dobrynin communications

Map room
- Dwight D. Eisenhower
  - World War II
    - Maps
      - Robert Taylor [?]
  - Franklin D. Roosevelt

US and Israel relations
- Possible leaks
Conv. No. 628-16 (cont.)

-Less than confident feelings between US and Israel
  -Issues
    -Payments [?]
  -The President's trip to the USSR
  -Issues
    -Aircraft
      -Presidential responsibility
      -Joseph J. Sisco
        -Working out technical aspects
  -Congress
  -Kissinger's meeting with Meir
    -Unknown person
  -Sisco and Rabin meeting
    -Instructions to Sisco
      -Time limit
      -Rogers
  -Negotiations
    -Leonid I. Brezhnev
      -Future negotiations
    -State Department
    -Political program
    -Sisco
    -Kissinger's meeting with the President
    -Sisco
      -Instructions
      -Kissinger and Dobrynin communications
        -Airplanes
          -Dinner
            -Kissinger’s recommendation
            -Rogers
    -President’s schedule
      -Signing of memorandum
    -Talk with Kissinger
    -USSR
    -Phantoms
      -Separate understanding
        -Working out the details with Rabin
      -USSR
      -US attempts to maintain balance
    -Politics
    -Backgrounders
-Ronald L. Ziegler
  -Under the President’s instructions
  -Kissinger
  -Balance
- President’s advice to Meir
  -Sisco/Rabin meetings
  -Pressure
  -Politics
  -Rogers
    -Kissinger’s forthcoming conversations with Rogers
  -Agreement
- President’s schedule
  -Sisco/Rabin meetings
  -Rogers
  -Protocols
    -Brezhnev and Anwar el-Sadat
- President’s view
  -Delivery of planes
  -Political side
    -Planning
      -Continuance of frank talks
  -Monthly rate
  -Rabin/Sisco/Kissinger agreement
  -Dates of deliveries
  -Presidential decisions
    -Political side
      -Need for US discussion
        -Israeli/Egyptian agreement
          -State Department
        -Linkage with the Phantoms
        -US commitment to balance
        -USSR
      -Delivery schedule
        -Proposed date of arrival
    -President’s view
      -Speculation on Israel’s future
  -Sadat
    -Possibility of negotiations
      -US interests
  -Political settlement
    -Balance
- Mediterranean
- Middle East
- USSR
  - Prospects for peace
- Progress
- Attempts
  - President’s view
  - Meir’s response
- Pressure
  - Communication with the President
  - Rabin
- Meir’s outlook
  - Ceasefire
  - Rabin
  - Attrition
  - Compromise
  - Possible Israeli concessions [?]
- Egyptians
  - Sadat
  - Procedures
- Egyptians
  - “The Rogers Plan”
  - International borders
    - United Nations [UN]
    - People’s Republic of China [PRC]
      - Unknown person
      - Negotiations with Israel [?]
    - Trade matters
    - Andrei A. Gromyko’s talk with Chou En-lai
    - USSR
      - Alliance with the Arabs
        - Moscow
        - Money to Vietnam and Egypt
          - Amount
          - Brezhnev
            - Mao Tse-tung [?]
- Israeli perspective
  - World view
    - Suez agreement
    - Pressure
    - War
- Past conflicts
  - 1957
  - Golan heights
  - Israeli position
  - 1957
  - UN
    - Gaza Strip
- Promises
  - Egyptians
  - Freedom in negotiations
- Military
  - Level of strength
  - US agreement on 1969 border policy
- Potential US diplomatic problem
  - Kissinger’s conversation with unknown Prime Minister
  - USSR
    - Gromyko
    - Talk with the President
  - Rogers
  - Military action
  - Brezhnev
  - State Department
    - Unknown Prime Minister
    - Kissinger’s instructions to Meir and Rabin
  - [Unintelligible]
- Ceasefire
  - Possible scenarios
    - Egypt and USSR
    - Kissinger
  - USSR
    - Potential escalation of tensions between the US and USSR
    - Concerns
      - Subsidies in the Middle East
    - Unknown situation
      - USSR
        - Jordan crisis
        - 1967 war
- Meeting in May
- Meir’s Skill
  - “Two track operation”
  - Negotiations
- 1967 war
- Diplomatic reasonableness
  - Request from the President
- US
  - Security
- Two tracks of negotiations
- USSR summit
  - Discussions
    - US attempt to work out negotiations
  - Suez Canal
  - Arabs
    - Attempt to quell tensions
- Israeli cabinet
- USSR
  - Egypt’s inability to negotiate with the USSR [?]
- Interim period
- US-Israel negotiations
  - Pressure-free
- Kissinger’s proposal
  - General statement
    - Timing
    - Kissinger’s conversation with unknown Prime Minister
- Talk with Dobrynin
  - Status of US actions
  - Egyptians
  - Timing
  - Gromyko
  - Rogers
    - Talk with the President
- USSR
  - Trust
- Previous US-USSR discussions
  - Dobrynin
  - Brezhnev
    - Previous discussions
    - The President/Meir meeting
    - The President's talk with Gromyko
- Potential settlement
- Meir and Rabin
  - Elections [?]
- The President's talk with Meir
- Kissinger
- Kissinger's talk with Dobrynin
  - Possible stand by the President
  - Dobrynin talk with Meir [?]
- Dobrynin
  - Possible meeting
  - Timing
- [Unintelligible]
- Kissinger’s view
  - Dobrynin
    - Moscow
    - Egyptians
      - Prepared to talk
    - Negotiations
    - Kissinger’s view
    - The President's talk with Gromyko
      - Reductions [?]
- Egypt
  - Possible opening of dialogue
- Syria
- USSR
- US-USSR relations
  - Possible uncomfortableness from Israel
- Kissinger-Rabin talks
  - Status of world situation
- USSR
  - Clark MacGregor [?]
- State Department
  - Proposed action
- Dobrynin
  - US options
  - UN
  - USSR
    - Negotiations
    - Gromyko
- Sisco [?]
- USSR
  - [Unintelligible]
  - Exploratory talks [?]
- Rabin-Kissinger meeting
  - [Unintelligible]
-Israeli army
  -Figures
-State Department
-The survival of Israel
-Rabin
-USSR
  -Possibility of war
    -Finances
-USSR
  -Potential breakthrough in negotiations
-Kissinger’s forthcoming conversation with Rabin
-[Unintelligible]
-Rogers
-Rabin
-[Unintelligible]
-Report from unknown person
-Mecca [?]
-Israeli situation
  -Meir’s view on the situation
-US position
  -Security
    -Possibility for tough discussions with Israel
-Kissinger
  -USSR
    -Negotiations
-Dobrynin
  -Talk with Kissinger
    -Timing
    -US position
      -Related to the USSR
-Deadlock
  -Negotiations
    -Egypt
-State Department
-Moscow
-[Unintelligible]
-Golan Heights [?]
  -Military equipment
    -Request for Meir [?]
      -Vietnam
        -Rabin [?]
-Credibility
  -Lack of credit
-Arabs
  -Vietnam
    -Laos comparison
      -Risky proposition
-USSR
  -President’s view
  -Balance of power in the Mediterranean and Europe
    -Result
-USSR
  -US position concerning the USSR
    -Possible catalyst for negotiations
-Meir
  -PRC and USSR
    -Possible negotiations [?]
-Arabs
  -Control
    -Egypt
      -Concern by Meir
-Kissinger’s previous meeting with an unknown woman
-President’s view
-Dobrynin
-Kissinger
-Closing remarks

The President, et al. left at 4:53 pm.

Date: December 2, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:53 pm and 4:55 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

[Unintelligible]
President’s schedule

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 4:55 pm.

Date: December 2, 1971
Time: 4:55 pm - 5:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Meeting with Golda Meir
  - Presidential authority
  - Election
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
    - Israelis
      - Negotiation tactics
    - William P. Rogers
      - History of negotiations with Israel
    - Politics

Rose Mary Woods entered at 4:57 pm.

The President buzzed Woods

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 21s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 21s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

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Woods left at 5:00 pm.

Meeting with Meir
- Middle East negotiations

Woods entered at an unknown time after 5:00 pm.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 34s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

Woods left at an unknown time before 5:15 pm.

Middle East negotiations
- Possible scenario
- Joseph J. Sisco
- Rogers
  - The President’s proposed talk with Rogers
- Egyptians
  - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    - Proposed conversation with Kissinger
- Meeting with Meir
  - President’s style
  - Politics
    - Give and take
- USSR
  - 1973
  - Rogers's proposal
    - Israelis
  - Meir
    - Proposed toughness
- American political situation
  - Security
    - USSR
      - Balance of power in the Middle East
      - Democrats
  - Kissinger's meeting with Dobrynin
    - Rogers
  - Dobrynin
  - USSR summit
    - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
    - Trade in the Middle East
  - Proposed Middle East settlement
  - Egyptians
    - Trade
  - PRC
    - Feeling towards a deal in the Middle East
  - USSR-PRC relations
    - Marshall Green
    - USSR-US relations
      - Proposed deal in the Middle East
  - Status of negotiations
  - War
    - Timing
      - 1973

India-Pakistan situation
- Rogers
  - Talk with Kissinger

David M. Kennedy appointment
- State Department
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  - The President's call to Rogers
    - Timing
  - India-Pakistan situation
    - Kissinger's call to Rogers
      - Timing
        - President's inability to meet with Rogers
          - President's health
    - Indira Gandhi
Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:00 pm.

The President's schedule
   -Barber
   -Timing

Kissinger and Bull left at 5:15 pm.

Date: December 2, 1971
Time: 5:15 pm - 5:35 pm
Location: Oval Office


[General conversation]

Butz
   -Swearing-in
   -Secretary of Agriculture
   -Nomination
   -Qualifications in field of agriculture
   -Senate vote
   -Farmers

Butz's comments

Aiken's comments

Rogers's comments
-Dwight D. Eisenhower

Butz's comments
- Farmers' welfare
- Agriculture Department
- American agriculture
  - Farmers
  - Food
    - Percentage of income
    - Prices
  - George P. Shultz and other unknown men

The President's comments
- Meeting with farm editors in Chicago
  - Timing
  - Corn prices
  - Anecdotes

[General conversation]

The recording was cut off at an unknown time before 5:35 pm.