Conversation No. 632-1

Date: December 8, 1971
Time: 9:19 am - 9:20 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Camp David

Butterfield left at 9:20 am.

Conversation No. 632-2

Date: December 8, 1971
Time: 9:25 am - 10:18 am
Location: Oval Office

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

Foreign aid
- Continuing resolution
  - Clark MacGregor
  - Michael J. Mansfield
  - Allen J. Ellender
  - Hugh Scott
  - House leadership
  - 60 or 90 day resolution
    - Compromise

India-Pakistan relations
- Edward M. Kennedy
  - Probable course of action
- News summary
- Henry A. Kissinger
- Edmund S. Muskie
- Washington Post article
- White House relations with the State Department
  - Policy for India

Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO] legislation
  - Veto

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 2s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

- Child care
  - “The right thing to do”
  - Blacks and child care

India-Pakistan relations
- Kissinger
  - Health
  - Staff meeting
  - Comments
    - Conversation with the President
    - United Nations [UN] vote
  - Election
  - [Arthur] Neville Chamberlain
    - “Our Rhineland”
    - Possible changes in the future
  - Thailand
  - Iran
  - US policy
    - Timing
  - Indian intervention
  - UN
  - Emotion
- Pakistani air force
- Israel
- Bureaucracy
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] and India
  - Possible tough stance by US
- People’s Republic of China [PRC]
- Haldeman’s previous conversation with Kissinger
- Cambodia
- State Department
  - Bureaucracy
  - Public position
- News summary
  - Marvin L. Kalb
- Public relations
  - Democracy compared to dictatorship
- Ronald L. Ziegler’s meeting with Kissinger
  - Ziegler’s previous meeting with Kissinger
- USSR
- Aid cut-off
- Bangladesh

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[National Security]
[Duration: 4s]

INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
- Public relations
  - Kissinger’s view
- Public opinion
  - Morality
    - Democracy compared to dictatorship
- The President’s talks with Kissinger
  - Timing
- Ziegler

**************************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9
[Privacy]
[Duration: 11s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

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

- USSR
  - Finland
- Germany
  - India
    - Intentions
- Vietnam
- Kissinger
  - Current developments
    - Bureaucracy
- Aid cut-off
  - Timing
  - USSR
- Kissinger
  - Wars
  - Foreign policy
  - Pakistan
  - Concern from Haldeman
    - Kissinger’s attitude
  - John Kenneth Galbraith dinner
- Cancellation by Kissinger
- Talks with the President
  - Timing
    - Reasons for canceling dinner
- PRC-USSR initiatives
  - Possible scrutiny by the press
- East Pakistan refugees
- Bureaucracy
  - William P. Rogers
- Comments
  - Changes in Kissinger over the past month
  - Foreign policy matters
- Note to USSR
- Vietnam talks
- Kissinger
  - Highs and lows
- Vietnam settlement, PRC summit and USSR summit
  - Accomplishments for the Administration
  - Prisoners of war [POWs]
- Kissinger's backgrounder
  - Evaluation
  - Talking papers
  - MacGregor
  - Charles W. Colson
- [Forename unknown] Cooper
  - Expertise
- Kissinger
  - State Department
    - Neutrality
      - The President’s comments to the leaders
        - Aid cut-off
- Neutrality
  - A question of “non-involvement”
    - Possible US actions
- Kissinger
  - Health
    - Possible causes
- Backgrounder
  - Rogers
    - Press coverage
The President's schedule  
- John B. Connally  
- Meeting with Edward R.G. Heath [?]  
- Azores  
- Florida  
- Time magazine interview  
- Timing  

Congressional adjournment  
- William H. Rehnquist appointment  
  - Birch E. Bayh, Jr.  
  - Present state of Congress  

India-Pakistan relations  
- Kissinger  
  - Rogers  
  - Congress  
    - Imagined statements  
- USSR  
- US actions  
  - Futility  
  - Conservatives  
- Handling  
- Frustration  
- Harvard University  
  - Article  
    - Possible problems for Kissinger  
- Galbraith dinner  
  - Proposed “homecoming” for Kissinger  
- Daniel Patrick Moynihan  
- Thomas W. Braden  
  - Timing  
- Galbraith  

Foreign policy  
- USSR  
  - Rogers  
    - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin  
  - Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.  
    - Possible talks between the President and the USSR  
    - Rogers
-PRC
  -Talks with Kissinger
  -Haig
  -Rogers
    -Need for someone to broker a deal with PRC and USSR
    -Experience
-Kissinger
  -Political campaign
  -Communiqués
    -Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
  -Negotiating ability
  -Haig
    -National Security Council [NSC] staff
  -Rogers
  -Nelson A. Rockefeller
    -Kissinger’s problems
    -Concern about talking to Rockefeller
-Staff meeting
-Liberals
  -Possible US allegiance
    -Pakistan
    -India
    -Democracies
    -Critics of the Administration
  -Galbraith dinner
  -Harvard University
    -Opinion poll
-India
  -Democracy
  -Aggression
  -India
    -Peaceful
    -Liberals belief
-US public opinion
  -MacGregor
    -Thoughts about India
      -World War II
    -Indians
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

[National Security]
[Duration: 6s]

INDIA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

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-Galbraith
-Kenneth B. Keating
-Support for India
-Allen S. Drury books
  -Critical of India
-USSR
-UN vote of December 7, 1971
  -Canadians
  -Kissinger

The President’s schedule
  -Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with Haldeman
    -Politics
    -Timing
    -Haldeman's call to Kissinger
      -President’s forthcoming talk with Kissinger
  -Trips
  -Unknown person
    -Relationship with Haldeman
      -Previous conversation with Haldeman

International monetary situation
  -George P. Shultz
  -Arthur F. Burns
  -Peter G. Peterson
  -Shultz's talks with John B. Connally
    -Economy
- Convertibility
  - Connally’s view
  - Germany
    - Deutsche mark
  - France
    - Deal with Germany
      - Shultz in agreement with Connally
  - Convertibility
  - Bilateral lifting of the surcharge
    - Canada
    - Mexico
    - Brazil
  - Connally’s view
    - Previous conversation with Haldeman
      - Timing

Appointments
- Council of Economic Advisors [CEA]
  - Geoffrey H. Moore
    - Herbert Stein and Shultz
  - Burns
- Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS]
  - Possible confirmation battle
    - Harold Goldstein removal
  - Moore
    - As spokesman
    - Unemployment
    - Unemployment
    - Colson
- CEA
  - Shultz
  - Moore
  - Stein
    - Forthcoming meeting with Haldeman

The President's schedule
- Meeting with John D. Ehrlichman and Shultz
  - Continuing resolution
    - Wrap-up meeting
  - Budget
  - OEO legislation
Haldeman left at 10:18 am.

Conversation No. 632-3

Date: December 8, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:18 am and 10:27 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 16-41]

Conversation No. 632-4

Date: December 8, 1971
Time: 10:27 am - 10:50 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

The President's schedule
- Dinners
  - Ohio, Illinois, New York, California
  - Entertainment for December 7, 1971 dinner
  - Rita Reichman [?]

J[ames] Curtis Counts
- Talk with Woods

The President’s schedule
- Call from unknown person
The White House operator talked with the President at 10:28 am.

[Conversation No. 632-4A]

[See Conversation No. 16-42]

[End of telephone conversation]

Counts
- Offered presidency of Airco
- Location
- Checked with George P. Shultz and James D. Hodgson
- Other job offers
  - Trucking
  - Roger M. Blough Construction Company
- Mediator in labor strikes
  - Counts’ effectiveness
- Options
  - Presidential election of 1972
- Blough
  - Location
- Unknown person

The President's television appearances
- Christmas 1971
- Freeman Gosden's views
  - Possible outcome of the President’s speeches in front of students
-“Salute to the President” remarks
- Students

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 3m 36s ]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

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Leslie T. (“Bob”) Hope
- Call to Woods
- Timing
- Unknown woman
- Willard W. Keith
  - Herbert W. Kalmbach
- New York
  - Unknown woman

******************************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 15s ]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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

- Letter from the President
  - Hope
  - Kalmbach
  - Gosden
- Keith
- Gosden
  - Kalmbach’s opinion

Allen Hoover
- Camp
  - Possible letter from the President to Hope

[Letter dictated]

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman entered at 10:45 am.

John B. Connally’s schedule
  - Meeting with the President
    - Time and day
  - Cost of Living Council [COLC] meeting
    - Timing of meeting
  - President’s schedule
    - French
      - Henry A. Kissinger
      - Paul A. Volcker
        - Accompanying Kissinger
      - William P. Rogers
        - Meetings with the French

Haldeman left at an unknown time before 10:50 am.

Bernard J. (“Bunny”) Lasker
  - Call to the President
    - Stock market
      - International monetary situation
    - December meetings
      - Timing

Autographed photographs
  - Football

Nixon look-alike actor
  - Richard W. (“Dick”) Berlin
    - Appearance
      - Woods’ opinion
Envelopes

Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Schedule
  - Location
  - Timing
  - The President's forthcoming phone call
- White House Christmas decorations
- Upcoming Christmas television program

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 5s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

The President’s schedule
- Entertainment
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
  - John F. Kennedy
  - Eisenhower
    - Dinners
    - Guests
  - World situation under previous presidents
    - Amount of free time afforded to
      - Individual games
        - Golf and bridge

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

Woods left at 10:50 am.

Conversation No. 632-5

Date: December 8, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:50 am and 10:52 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 16-43]

Conversation No. 632-6

Date: December 8, 1971
Time: 10:52 am - 10:55 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with John B. Connally.

[See Conversation No. 16-44]
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 16-45]

Conversation No. 632-8

Date: December 8, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:55 am and 11:03 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 16-46]

Conversation No. 632-9

Date: December 8, 1971
Time: 11:03 am - 11:05 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Julie Nixon Eisenhower.

[See Conversation No. 16-47; one item has been withdrawn from this conversation]

Conversation No. 632-10

Date: December 8, 1971
Time: 11:06 am - 11:14 am
Location: Oval Office
The President talked with George H.W. Bush.
[See Conversation No. 16-48]

Date: December 8, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:14 am and 12:30 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

The President's talk with George H.W. Bush
-Bush
-Press conference
-New York Times
-[India]
-United Nations [UN]
-Aggression
 -Democracy
 -Dictatorship
-Other countries
 -Possible US assistance
-Use of force

The President's recent talk with John B. Connally
-Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]
-Forthcoming veto
-Controversial issues

Bush and Connally
-Praise from the President
-Henry A. Kissinger

Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] Christmas special
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s schedule
-Memphis, Tennessee
-[Dwight] David Eisenhower, II
- Television special
  - Time change

Republican youth voting registration drive
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
    - Request to be honorary chairman
    - Political figure compared to member of the First Family
    - Television appearances
      - Limits in the future
      - Difficulties
    - Separating political figure from family figure

National Broadcasting Company [NBC] program
  - “A Day in the Life of the President”
    - John A. Scali
    - Timing
    - Length
      - 60 minutes compared to 90
    - Use of film
    - Possible ratings for program
    - Possible public reaction to program
      - Compared to [Tricia Nixon Cox’s] wedding
    - John W. Chancellor interview
      - Value of program

Television
  - Talk shows
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
    - Tour of the White House
    - American Broadcasting Company [ABC] show
      - President’s opinion of show
      - Barbara Walters
  - Douglas L. Hallett
    - One-on-one
      - Feasibility
  - Audience
  - Public opinion
    - Lyndon B. Johnson
      - “A Day in the Life of the President”
      - Probable public reaction
- Accuracy of NBC program  
- The President’s schedule

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2  
[Personal Returnable]  
[Duration: 14s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

-Birthday calls  
- Number  
- [Gary Washington]  
- Athlete  
- Five women generals  
- Meetings  
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower  
- Kissinger  
- King Timahoe

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3  
[National Security]  
[Duration: 26s]

CANADA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
Polls

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 11:27 am.

Press briefing
- Timing

The President's talk with Bush
- UN vote on India-Pakistan
  - Result of vote
    - Anti-aggression
  - Bush’s report
  - Democracy comparison
  - Size of country
    - India compared to Pakistan
  - Aggression
  - Type and size of government of a country
    - Justification for aggression
    - UN General Assembly vote
  - Vietnam comparison
  - Bush’s previous conversation with the President
    - India’s size
      - The “Establishment”
    - India’s democracy compared to Pakistan’s dictatorship
  - Kissinger’s backgrounder
  - Bush’s analysis of UN vote
    - US position on aggression
    - US overwhelmingly on side of world opinion

OEO legislation

Pension legislation
- Vesting rights

Brussels announcement
- Robert Strauss-Hupe nomination
  - US Ambassador to Belgium
    - Unknown person
Forthcoming North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] meeting
   -David M. Kennedy
     -Location
   -William P. Rogers
     -Announcement
       -Timing

Forthcoming trip to the Azores, December 12, 1971
   -Accommodations
     -Number of rooms
   -French press accommodations
   -Transportation
     -Supersonic transport [SST]
       -Types of airplanes
   -French
     -Georges J.R. Pompidou
       -President offers congratulations to Pompidou and the French

Ziegler left at 11:35 am.

Ziegler
   -Difficulty of Ziegler’s job

Scali
   -Briefings
     -Possible performance

Kissinger
   -John Kenneth Galbraith dinner
     -Importance
   -Paris diplomatic group
     -Possible failure
   -Vietnam negotiations
     -Le Duc Tho
       -Blow to Kissinger
   -Assessment of blame
     -Congress
     -Ziegler
     -Rogers
     -Cambodia
       -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- California
- State of the world
  - Kissinger’s staff
  - Responsibility
- US
  - Biafra
  - State Department
  - Rogers
  - Neutral stance
  - Charles E. Goodell
- US position
- Haldeman’s talk with Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Nelson A. Rockefeller

Haig
  - Trust

White House staff

Kissinger
  - Negotiating skills
    - Communiqué
    - People’s Republic of China [PRC]

“A Day in the Life of the President”
  - Future programs
  - Networks
  - Democrats

Press conference
  - Timing
  - “A Day in the Life of the President”
    - Offering insights on the Presidency
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 26s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

Kissinger
   - Meeting with Haldeman
   - Plan on how to deal with Kissinger
   - Haig
   - PRC and USSR trips
     - Kissinger’s possible attendance
     - Possible resignation
   - Rogers
   - PRC trip
   - USSR trip
     - The President
       - Request for Kissinger’s attendance during trips
   - Rogers
   - Connally
     - Possible job performance
     - Confidence
   - Compared to Rogers
   - Rogers
   - Vietnam
     - Troop withdrawals

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 11:35 am.

The President's schedule
   - John W. McCormack
   - Location

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:30 pm.
Official dinners
- Time of year
- Supreme Court
- Congress and the Vice President [Spiro T. Agnew]
- Cabinet
  - Clifford M. Hardin
  - Maurice H. Stans
  - Timing
  - Walter J. Hickel
    - Honoring retired members
- Supreme Court
- Conservatives
  - Votes
  - Lawyer votes
    - Understanding
- Press coverage
  - Mrs. William O. Douglas
  - State dinner
  - Mrs. Emilio Garrastazu Médici and daughter

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 10s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

Dinners
- James Earl Jones [?]
- Mike Royco [?]
  - Attendance
- Rose Mary Woods
  - Invitations
    - Difficulties in arranging dinners
- Diplomatic
  - Ambassadors
- Benefits of dinners to the President
  - Contributors
    - Dinner attendees
    - Meaning

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 7m 5s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

India-Pakistan situation
- UN vote
  - Importance of vote
    - Communist countries
  - Bush
  - Kissinger’s plan
    - USSR
    - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  - Indira Gandhi
    - Possible US course of action
    - Potential aid cut-off

Public relations
- Sports-celebrity rally
- Poll data
  - Drug issue
    - Importance to America
    - Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe
- Salute to Hollywood
  - Opera
  - Leonard Garment
- Nancy Hanks
- Music
-Entertainment at White House
  -Violinist at White House, December 17, 1971
    -Itzhak Perlman
    -Compared to Isaac Stern
    -Health

Dinners
  -Salute to Hollywood and sports rally
  -Supreme Court
    -Swearing-in ceremonies
    -Chief Justice
    -New Associate Justices
    -Protocol

Peter G. Peterson
  -Secretary of Commerce
    -Chief Executive Officer
  -The President’s possible staff reorganization

Maurice H. Stans
  -Trip to USSR [?]?

John N. Mitchell

Kissinger
  -Appearance on “A Day in the Life of the President”
    -Feelings
  -Rogers
  -Diplomatic wires
  -Backgrounder
  -Meeting with Haldeman
    -Possible outcome
  -PRC and USSR trips
    -Kissinger’s skill as a negotiator
    -Middle East
    -Job stresses and performance

The President's schedule
  -Azores
    -Distance
- Florida
  - Washington, DC
- Latitude
- Press conferences
  - Timing
- President’s concern
  - Types of press conferences
  - Duration of visit
- Christmas decorations
  - Invitation to the press
- Press corps reception
  - Timing
  - Number of press at reception
- Briefing
- Press assignments
  - Florida
  - Azores
  - Press
  - Mrs. Nixon
  - New York
  - Decorations
  - Timing
- Time magazine interview
- Bermuda to Florida
  - Dates
- Christmas
  - Proposed work schedule
  - Time magazine interview
  - Length
- Christmas tree lighting
- Press conference
- Christmas decorations
- Time magazine interview
  - Suggested dates
- New York
  - Timing
- Scali
  - Press
    - Questions
    - Possible press embargo
  - Bermuda
Conv. No. 632-11 (cont.)

-Nixon War
-Rogers
-NATO meeting
-December 16 and 17, 1971
-Press corps reception
-Christmas tree lighting
-Bermuda
-Length of trip
-Football games
-Television
-Florida
-Willy Brandt meetings
-Proposed dates
-Press article
-Jerrold L. Schecter
-Separate from Time interview
-Tour of the White House

Haldeman left at 12:30 pm.

Conversation No. 632-12

Date: December 8, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:30 pm and 12:34 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:34 pm.

Conversation No. 632-13

Date: December 8, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:34 pm and 11:59 pm
Location: Oval Office


The agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time after 12:34 pm.

[Conversation No. 632-13A]

The President’s location

[End of telephone conversation]

The agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time after 12:34 pm.

[Conversation No. 632-13B]

**************************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Federal Statute]
[Duration: 3s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
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[End of telephone conversation]