

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

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

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-2 (cont.)

-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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8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END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8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

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-2 (cont.)

- -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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2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END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-2 (cont.)

```
-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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 632-2 (cont.)

```
-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
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 632-2 (cont.)

```
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
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 632-2 (cont.)

```
-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
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-2 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6 [National Security] [Duration: 6s]

INDIA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

- -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

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-2 (cont.)

```
-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
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-2 (cont.)

-Connally

- -Schedule
- -International monetary situation

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

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-4 (cont.)

```
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
************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 40s ]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
************************************
```

The President's television appearances

- -Christmas 1971
- -Freeman Gosden's views
 - -Possible outcome of the President's speeches in front of students

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 632-4 (cont.)

-"Salute to the President" remarks
-Students

************************* BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: 3m 36s] END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2 ************************* 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

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-4 (cont.)

-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

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-4 (cont.)

```
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
*************************
    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
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-4 (cont.)

[Personal Returnable] [Duration: 1m 14s]

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]

Conversation No. 632-7

Date: December 8, 1971

Time: Unknown between 10:55 am and 11:03 am

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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

Tape Subject Log

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The President talked with George H.W. Bush.

[See Conversation No. 16-48]

Conversation No. 632-11

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

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-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

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-11 (cont.)

| -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 |

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-11 (cont.)

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 Strausz-Hupe nomination
 - -US Ambassador to Belgium
 - -Unknown person

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-11 (cont.)

```
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

-Assessment of blame
-Congress
-Ziegler
-Rogers
-Cambodia

-Blow to Kissinger

-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-11 (cont.)

```
-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
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-11 (cont.)

```
**************************
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.

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-11 (cont.)

```
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

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 632-11 (cont.)

```
-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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 632-11 (cont.)

-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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 632-11 (cont.)

- -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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 632-11 (cont.)

-Vietnam 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

Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/06)

| Location: Oval Office |
|--|
| An unknown person [Secret Service agent] entered. |
| 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 |
| ****************************** |
| [End of telephone conversation] |