



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973
Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

[Conversation No. 637-001](#)
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[Conversation No. 637-002](#)
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[Conversation No. 637-014](#)
[Conversation No. 637-017](#)

[Conversation No. 637-001](#)

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 8:32 am and 8:38 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/16/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]
[637-001-w001]
[Duration: 13s]

Request
-Coffee

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 8:38 am.

[Conversation No. 637-002](#)

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: 8:38 am



Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 16-98]

[Conversation No. 637-003](#)

Date: December 12, 1971

Time: 8:45 am - 9:42 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

India-Pakistan

-Messages

-Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan

-Leonid I. Brezhnev proposal

-Acceptance

-People's Republic of China [PRC]

-Cease-fire

-US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

-Possible setback

-The president's meeting with Vladimir V. Matskevich

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 05/23/2019. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[637-003-w001]

[Duration: 27s]

INDIA-PAKISTAN



END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

India–Pakistan

- Public relations
 - Press conferences and backgrounders
 - John A. Scali
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Departments
 - Usefulness
 - George H.W. Bush
 - John A. Scali and Ziegler

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment declassified on 05/23/2019. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]
[637-003-w002]
[Duration: 2m 42s]

India–Pakistan

- Public relations
 - Indians
 - Wires
 - Effort to make US look bad
 - Indira Gandhi's cabinet meeting
 - East and West Pakistan
 - Movement of forces
 - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - Naval forces
 - Pakistani submarines
 - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Rowland Evans column



- John A. Scali
 - White House source
- Indira Gandhi
 - United Nation [UN] General Assembly
 - World opinion
 - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] presence
- Richard M. Helms's report
- World opinion
 - Effect on Indians

India–Pakistan

- USSR
 - Military aid to India
 - Numbers and amounts
 - Scali
 - Ziegler
- Yahya Khan
 - Alignment with the US
- Kissinger call to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
- PRC

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment declassified on 05/27/2015. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[637-003-w003]

[Duration: 16s]

India–Pakistan

- Henry A. Kissinger's telephone call to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
 - People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - Troop movement needed for talks
 - The President's view



India-Pakistan

- Henry A. Kissinger's telephone call to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
 - People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - Kissinger's refusal to talk with the PRC
- PRC-USSR
 - Comparisons
 - Thomas W. Braden article
 - Kissinger and the President
 - PRC trip
- Kissinger's previous visit with Roy H. Jenkins
 - Jenkins accomplishments
 - Common Market
- Braden
 - PRC trip
 - Braden's opinion
- Indian ambassador
 - Press campaign
- East Pakistan
 - The President's possible statement
 - Labeling India as the aggressors
- Indians
 - Press
 - Susceptibility to public opinion
 - Rowland Evans
 - USSR support
 - Press
 - United Nations [UN] vote
 - Backgrounder
 - Washington Post*

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment declassified on 05/27/2015. Archivist: DR]
[National Security]



[637-003-w004]

[Duration: 3s]

India–Pakistan

- Indians
 - Indira Gandhi
 - Henry A. Kissinger's opinion

India–Pakistan

- The President's statement
 - Kissinger's disagreement with the President
- Kissinger's previous conversation with Bhutto
 - PRC
- Pakistan refugee situation
 - Proposed action
- Indian foreign minister
 - Refusal to grant reassurances
 - Kashmir
- USSR response
 - Yuli M. Vorontsov
 - Talk with Kissinger
 - UN Security Council
- Press statement from White House
 - UN General Assembly resolution
 - Results
 - India's refusal to accept
 - Kissinger's meeting at the State Department
 - Timing
 - East Pakistan
 - Dacca
 - Contents
 - Wording of statement
 - Draft
- Backgrounder
- Leaders' meeting
 - Aid to India



- Purpose of statement
 - PRC
 - USSR
 - Indians
 - American public opinion
 - American apathy towards India-Pakistan conflict
- Statement
 - Ziegler
 - William P. Rogers
- Yahya Khan
- Gandhi
 - Public apathy
- Brezhnev
 - Hotline
 - Great Britain
 - Contents
 - Security Council
 - Joint action with the USSR
 - Ceasefire
 - Advantage
 - Urgency
 - Public record
- State Department
- British
 - Earl of Cromer [George R.S. Baring]
 - Edward R.G. Heath
 - Sir Alexander F. ("Alec") Douglas-Home
 - USSR Naval presence in the Indian ocean
 - British concern
 - Kissinger's talk with Cromer
 - Discussing the President's options

[Pause]

India-Pakistan situation

- British and French
 - US relations
 - Singapore
 - Indian Ocean



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- Cromer
 - US message to the British
- UN Security Council
 - State Department
 - Ceasefire and withdrawal
 - UN General Assembly resolution
- Timing
- Ceasefire resolution
- Public statement
 - Purpose and importance
 - USSR
 - PRC
 - Bhutto
 - American public opinion
 - Rogers
 - Ziegler
 - Cambodia comparison
- Cromer
 - Call from Kissinger
 - Importance of discussions with the British
 - French
 - Involvement
- USSR
 - Hotline
 - The President's meeting with Matskevich
 - Vorontsov
 - Possible reply from the USSR
- PRC
- US fleet
- USSR tanks and ships
 - India
 - Lack of response from "liberal" media
 - US policy
 - Comparisons to current situation
 - Czechoslovakia
 - South Africa
 - "Exposure" of liberals
 - Morality



Vietnam negotiations

- Meeting
 - William J. Porter
 - Cancellation
 - Duration
- USSR
- North Vietnamese
 - Bombing halt
 - Kissinger's trip to Paris
 - Peace talks
 - Porter
 - Public statement
 - Paris
 - January 1972 announcement
 - Sign of strength
 - Advantages
 - PRC trip
 - Porter
 - Bombing halt
 - Henry Cabot Lodge
 - Unknown person
 - David K.E. Bruce
- American public opinion
 - Percentage of support
- January 1972
 - Two months announcement
 - Reasoning for delay
 - Infiltration
- PRC trip
- Prisoners of war [POW] issue
- US troops
 - Numbers
- Porter's return from Paris
 - Immediacy
 - January announcement
- North Vietnam
 - Strikes
 - PRC
 - Kissinger



-UN

- India-Pakistan
 - PRC, USSR, Indians
 - Effect of Vietnam bombing
 - Toughness

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment declassified on 05/27/2015. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[637-003-w005]

[Duration: 2s]

- India-Pakistan
 - People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - Troop movement

- India-Pakistan
 - UN
 - President's instructions
 - Deadline

Haig entered at an unknown time after 8:45 am.

- India-Pakistan
 - PRC meeting
 - New York
 - Timing
 - Kissinger's availability
 - Haig's schedule
 - Huang Hua



[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment declassified on 05/27/2015. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[637-003-w006]

[Duration: 13s]

India–Pakistan

- People’s Republic of China [PRC] meeting
- Troop movement
- Henry A. Kissinger’s impression

India–Pakistan

- People’s Republic of China [PRC] meeting
- Haig’s schedule
- Kissinger’s schedule
- Haig’s schedule
- Upcoming meeting with Huang Hua
- Timing
- Kissinger’s schedule
- Azores
- Press release

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment declassified on 05/27/2015. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[637-003-w007]

[Duration: 4m 18s]

India–Pakistan

- People’s Republic of China [PRC] meeting
- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.’s opinion



- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - Dishonesty
 - Action against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
 - Possible US actions
 - Nuclear weapons
 - Henry A. Kissinger’s assessment
 - Alexander M. Haig’s assessment
 - Consequences of US inaction
 - People’s Republic of China [PRC] initiative
 - Faceoff with People’s Republic of China [PRC]
 - Consequences of Indian victory
 - Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
 - Message from People’s Republic of China [PRC]
 - People’s Republic of China [PRC] troop movement
 - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] military
 - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]–Indian relations
- People’s Republic of China [PRC]
 - Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
 - Requested troop movement
 - The President’s assessment
 - Compared with Korea

India–Pakistan

- Pakistan
 - India
 - USSR
 - Balance of power
 - Possible changes
 - Middle East
 - Indonesia
 - Japanese
 - Europeans
 - US
 - Latin America
- Television
- Cambodia



- Laos
- Kissinger's schedule
- Azores trip
- Haig
- Attendance at PRC meeting

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment declassified on 05/27/2015. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[637-003-w008]

[Duration: 5m 55s]

India–Pakistan

- John F. Kennedy memoranda
 - November 5, 1962
- People’s Republic of China [PRC]–Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - Nuclear weapons
 - Henry A. Kissinger’s assessment
 - US forces
- Vietnam
 - Hanoi
 - Blockade Haiphong
 - North Vietnam
 - People’s Republic of China [PRC]
- War
- Middle East
 - Potential for war
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - Irrationality towards People’s Republic of China [PRC]
 - US–People’s Republic of China [PRC] relations
 - Henry A. Kissinger’s assessment
 - Alexander M. Haig, Jr’s assessment
- Cuba
 - Message to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
 - Cienfuegos
- Middle East



- People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - US movement against Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - Invasion of India
 - Talk with Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - Demands
 - Strategy
 - Message to Leonid I. Brezhnev
 - Compared to public statement

Kissinger and Haig left at 9:42 am.

[Conversation No. 637-004](#)

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: 10:26 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

The President's location

[Conversation No. 637-005](#)

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: 10:26 am
Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.



[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/16/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[637-005-w001]
[Duration: 1m 1s]

- Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Christmas special
- Timing
- Dogs
- Accidents

[Conversation No. 637-006](#)

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: 10:27 am - 10:37 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

- India-Pakistan situation
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- Message
- Indira Gandhi
- Ceasefire
- People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Kissinger's call to Yuli M. Vorontsov
- United Nations [UN] Security Council
- Soviet message
- Kissinger's talk with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- The President's actions described
- State Department
- William P. Rogers
- Reaction to the President's action



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- Attitude
 - World Wars I and II comparison to current situation
 - Adolf Hitler
 - Jews
 - Allies
 - EC-121 shootdown
 - Korea comparison to current situation
 - Yalu River
 - Gen. Douglas MacArthur
 - Haig
 - Vorontsov
 - John F. Kennedy treaty
 - Vorontsov's reaction
 - UN
 - India
 - White House statement
 - Importance
 - Kissinger's preparation
 - Timing
 - Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG]
 - The President
 - Release
 - Timing
 - Hotline
 - Contents of hotline
 - USSR message
 - Gandhi
 - Vasily V. Kuznetsov
 - West Pakistan
 - Ceasefire
 - Repatriation of prisoners
 - Andrei A. Gromyko
- PRC
- Maurice H. Stans
 - Trade
- The President's foreign policy
 - Politics
 - Bureaucracy
 - Congress



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- Public opinion
- Camp David
 - Reflections
- The President's talk with Kissinger
- Different men handling India-Pakistan situation
 - Nelson A. Rockefeller
 - John B. Connally
 - Kissinger's talk with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - Style as Secretary of the Treasury
 - Pakistan and India
 - Aid cut off
- Negotiations
 - PRC and USSR
 - Vietnam
 - Rogers
 - Kennedy memorandum
- Message
 - PRC
 - Letter to Leonid I. Brezhnev
 - Contents
 - Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
 - Hotline
 - UN Security Council
 - George H.W. Bush
- Kissinger's schedule
 - Final report
 - Timing
 - The President's schedule

Kissinger left at 10:37 am.

[Conversation No. 637-007](#)

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:37 am and 11:04 am
Location: Oval Office



The President dictated a memorandum for the file [?]

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/16/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[637-007-w001]

[Duration: 2m 30s]

The President's schedule

- Florida trip
- Dan Rather interview
 - January 3, 1972 [?]
 - Executive Office Building [EOB] office
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Telethon
 - President's forthcoming conversation with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

[Conversation No. 637-008](#)

Date: December 12, 1971

Time: Unknown between 10:37 am and 11:04 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Silver Star

- Walter H. Annenberg
- Delivery to Oval Office
- Placement in Oval Office

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:04 am.



[Conversation No. 637-009](#)

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:37 am and 11:04 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

The President's schedule

- Press conference [?]
 - State Department
 - Timing
- Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
 - Ziegler's talk with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - Timing
 - The President's forthcoming interview with Dan Rather

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 10:37 am.

- Gift from Walter H. Annenberg
- Placement in Oval Office
 - Picture of George Washington

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:04 am..

CBS

- Ziegler's talk with Haldeman
 - National Broadcasting Company [NBC]
 - "A Day in the Life of the President"
 - Timing
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
 - Christmas special
 - Timing
- Ziegler's talk with William Small [President, CBS News Division]
- CBS
- NBC
 - "A Day in the Life of the President"



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- News worthiness
- Gen. Charles A.J.M. de Gaulle
- Lyndon B. Johnson
- News release
 - NBC's statement
- Leadership meetings
- National Security Council [NSC] meeting
- Henry A. Kissinger meeting
- Cabinet Room
- State dinner
- Pierre E. Trudeau meeting
- Optimism for NBC program
- Ziegler's talk with Charles Colson
 - Meeting
 - Program for incoming wires and phone calls to NBC
 - Number
 - Rerun
 - Program defined as historical document
- Middle East
 - Anwar el-Sadat
- India/Pakistan situation
- Camera movement
- Ziegler's briefing
- Kissinger

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 11:04 am.

[Conversation No. 637-010](#)

Date: December 12, 1971

Time: Unknown between 10:37 am and 11:04 am

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 16-99]



[Conversation No. 637-011](#)

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: 11:04 am - 11:14 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez and Henry A. Kissinger.

Envelope

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:14 am.

India-Pakistan situation

- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] message
- Contacts with Indian Government
- Indira Gandhi

The President talked with Alvin Snyder between 11:05 am and 11:07 am.

[Conversation No. 637-11A]

[See Conversation No. 16-100]

[End of telephone conversation]

India-Pakistan situation

- USSR message
- Gandhi
- Military Action
- Pakistan Government

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:07 am.

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:14 am.



India-Pakistan situation

- Indian government
 - Military action
- Statement
- Hotline message to Leonid I. Brezhnev
 - Contents
 - Vladimir V. Matskevich
 - Yuli M. Vorontsov
 - United Nations [UN Security Council
 - Wording
 - Emphasis on urgency
 - Possible settlement
 - PRC
 - UN Security Council
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Talk with Kissinger
 - Wording
- Public statement
 - Indians
 - Bureaucracy
 - PRC
 - USSR
 - Indians
 - World opinion
 - Kissinger's possible comments
 - Hotline
 - U. Alexis Johnson
 - Vorontsov
 - William P. Rogers

The President's and Kissinger's schedule

Kissinger left at 11:14 am.

[Conversation No. 637-018](#)



Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:14 am and 12:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] entered.

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 07/16/2019.]

[Unintelligible]
[637-018-w002]
[Duration: 7s]

The President's location
-West Wing

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person.

[Conversation No. 637-18A]

[Previous PRMPA Federal Statute (A) withdrawal. This segment was rereviewed 07/16/2019 with new guidance. Segment cleared for release.]

[Federal Statute]
[637-018-w001]
[Duration: 6s]

Agent answering phone



[End of telephone conversation]

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 07/16/2019.]

[Unintelligible]
[637-018-w003]
[Duration: 39s]

[This portion of the tape is mostly room noise with some muffled background conversation.]

The President's location
-Residence

The unknown people [Secret Service agents] left at an unknown time before 12:04 pm.

[Conversation No. 637-012](#)

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:14 am and 12:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/16/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]



[637-012-w001]
[Duration: 8s]

Request

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:04 pm.

[Conversation No. 637-013](#)

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:14 am and 12:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/16/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]*
[Personal Returnable]
[637-013-w001]
[Duration: 34s]

[This portion of the tape is mostly room noise with some muffled background conversation.]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:04 pm.

[Conversation No. 637-014](#)



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Date: December 12, 1971
Time: 12:04 pm - 12:06 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
-Meeting
-Henry A. Kissinger

Butterfield left at 12:06 pm.

[Conversation No. 637-015](#)

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:06 pm and 12:22 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:22 pm.

[Conversation No. 637-016](#)

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:06 pm and 12:22 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
-Unknown person



Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:22 pm.

[Conversation No. 637-017](#)

Date: December 12, 1971
Time: 12:22 pm - 12:26 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Location of items

The President's schedule

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 12:22 pm.

[Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's] schedule

The President's schedule
-Airplane

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:26 pm.

The President's schedule
-Airplane
-Talk

Butterfield left at 12:26 pm.