



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

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[Conversation No. 639-001](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:37 pm and 12:42 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule

- Press picture
- Butterfield's call to Ronald L. Ziegler

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:42 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-002](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:37 pm and 12:42 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.



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[See Conversation No. 16-106]

[Conversation No. 639-003](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:37 pm and 12:42 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Rose Mary Woods.

The President's schedule

[Conversation No. 639-004](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: 12:42 pm - 12:43 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 16-107]

[Conversation No. 639-005](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: 12:43 pm - 12:50 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

President's schedule



The President talked with the White House operator at 12:43 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-5A]

[See Conversation No. 16-108]

[End of telephone conversation]

John D. Ehrlichman

Meetings

Bernard J. (“Bunny”) Lasker
-Woods’s location

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/14/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[639-005-w001]

[Duration: 46s]

The President talked with Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon between 12:44 pm and 12:45 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-5B]

[See Conversation No. 016-109]

[End of telephone conversation]

Christmas cards
-Messages



The President's schedule

- Football
 - Robert K. Gray
 - Binoculars
- Church
- Weather
- Bermuda
 - Florida
 - Christmas

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 12:45 pm.

President's schedule

Signing papers

Questions and answers sheet

[Pause]

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:50 pm.

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/14/2019.
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[639-005-w002]

[Duration: 3m 10s]

Relaxation

- Reading the paper

Cash gifts

- House
 - For unknown person's mother
- Five hundred per person
- Gift so no need to report it



-Marjorie Caulfield
-Send gift for work done

Christmas card

Woods left at 12:50 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-006](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: 12:50 pm - 1:09 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

John B. Connally
-Schedule
-The President's schedule

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 12:50 pm and 1:09 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-6A]

Connally's return

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule
-Cabinet dinner
-Rose Mary Woods
-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
-Former members
-Clifford M. Hardin



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- Maurice H. Stans
- Daniel P. Moynihan
- Invited guests
 - List
- Staff members
 - Leonard Garment
 - Herbert G. Klein
- Arthur F. Burns
- Dr. John A. Hannah
- Robert J. Dole
- Woods
- Date
- Alexander P. Butterfield
- Charles W. Colson
- Woods
- Mrs. Nixon
- Telephone calls
- Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
 - President's Christmas message [?]
- Press gathering
 - New Year's Eve
 - Christmas Eve
 - Planning
- Connally
 - Talk with Haldeman

Haldeman left at 1:09 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-007](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:09 pm and 1:11 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.



[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]

[Unintelligible]

[639-007-w001]

[Duration: 7s]

The President's schedule
-Time

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 1:11 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-008](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:09 pm and 1:11 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Meeting with Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:11 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-009](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: 1:11 pm - 1:34 pm



Location: Oval Office

The President met with Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Haig's schedule

Pakistan

- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
- Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
- Press photograph
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
 - Andrei A. Gromyko
- Bhutto
- President's schedule
 - Length of Bhutto meeting
 - Group of Ten meeting
 - Timing
 - John B. Connally
- West Pakistan
 - Haig
 - Kashmir
 - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] ships
 - Missile ships
 - Karachi
 - Student feelings towards Yahya Khan
 - Ceasefire
 - Attitude toward US and People's Republic of China [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]

[639-009-w001]

[Duration: 21s]

Pakistan



- West Pakistan
 - People's Republic of China [PRC] actions
 - No movement towards border

Pakistan

- West Pakistan
 - USSR-PRC relations
 - Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
 - Visit with PRC Ambassador in Paris
- US actions

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-033. Segment declassified on 05/24/2019. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[639-009-w002]

[Duration: 25s]

Pakistan

- West Pakistan
 - US actions
 - Southeast of Port Phong [?]
 - Nuclear powered vessel
 - Anti-American

Pakistan

- Relations with US
 - PRC
 - USSR
 - Henry A. Kissinger statement
 - United Nations [UN] veto



-USSR reaction

India

- Reply to Indira Gandhi
 - Haig
 - Indian Ambassador
 - William P. Rogers
 - Ziegler
 - Timing of release
 - Kissinger
 - US commitment

India-Pakistan relations

- Current conditions
- Ceasefire

US-USSR relations

- Possible strategy
 - Ceasefire
 - US policy
 - Peacemaking
 - Gandhi

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment declassified on 06/23/2016. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[639-009-w003]

[Duration: 14s]

US–Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] relations

- Possible strategy
 - Indians
 - The President’s opinion of



Vietnam

- Enemy activity
 - Laos
 - Cambodia
- US losses
 - Planes
 - T-28's
 - F4's
 - Mikoyan-Gurevich [MIGs]
 - Surface to Air Missiles [SAMs]
- US strategy
 - Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
 - Kissinger
 - Implementation of plan
 - Timing
 - Department of Defense [DOD]
 - Ziegler
 - Post-Christmas attack
 - Willy Brandt
 - Kissinger
 - USSR

Cuba

- Panama
- US strategy

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-033. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 05/09/2019. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[639-009-w004]

[Duration: 2m 3s]

INTELLIGENCE



END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

USSR

- Dialogue with US
- Ziegler

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 1:28 pm.

Monetary meeting

- Status of agreement
 - John B. Connally
 - Canadians
 - Japanese
 - Trade
- Schedule
- Status
 - Germans
 - Karl Schiller
 - Brandt
 - Italians
 - Devaluation
 - Number
 - Italian election
 - French
 - Great Britain
 - Maurice Schumann
 - Location
 - French

Haig left at 1:31 pm.

- Connally
 - Possible need for new meeting
 - Italian election



- Stock Market
- Japanese
- Canadians
- Germans
 - Kissinger
 - Upcoming call to Egon Bahr
 - Brandt
- Progress
- President's view
 - Possible statement
 - Strategy
 - Canadians

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 1:31 pm and 1:34 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-9A]

[See Conversation No.16-110]

[End of telephone conversation]

Haldeman left at 1:34 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-010](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:34 pm and 1:36 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.



[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]

[Unintelligible]
[639-010-w001]
[Duration: 4s]

Request

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 1:36 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-011](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: 1:36 pm - 2:06 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Nawabzada Am Raza, and Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.; members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

[General conversation]

Photograph

President's schedule
-John B. Connally call

Pakistan
-US position
-United Nations [UN]
-Bhutto's speech
-Bhutto expresses appreciation for US support
-Bhutto previous meeting with the President
-President's visit to Pakistan in 1964



-Refreshments

Telephone call for President

The President left at 1:40 pm.

President's schedule
-Group of Ten meeting

Oval Office
-Change

\ Manolo Sanchez entered at 1:40 pm.

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:46 pm.

[General conversation]

President's schedule
-President's forthcoming trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]
-Timing
-Press corps

Bhutto's schedule
-Rome
-Paris

South Asia
-US embassy
-Reports
-Fighting in west
-Students



[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]

[Unintelligible]
[639-011-w007]
[Duration: 30s]

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

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-009. Segment declassified on 11/03/2017. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]
[639-011-w001]
[Duration: 23s]

- South Asia
 - Indian forces possible plans
 - Pakistan
 - Bangladesh

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]

[Unintelligible]
[639-011-w002]
[Duration: 49s]

- South Asia
 - Alexander M. Haig's assurance
 - No reports
 - Unknown incident



South Asia

- Japanese surrender
- US forces
- French surrender to Germans

The president entered at 1:46 pm.

President's schedule

- Connally
- International monetary situation

Bhutto's schedule

- Rawalpindi
- Rome

- Post-war difficulties
- Occupation by force
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- Middle East
- German occupation
- Joseph Stalin's comment
- US position
 - Reasons
 - Time* and the *New York Times*
 - Press reaction
 - US rationale and justification
 - Anti-aggression
 - Internal affairs
- Balance of power
- Vietnam
- Future of Pakistan
 - In possible contrast
 - India
 - Burma
 - Ceylon



- USSR
- President's opinion
- PRC position in Indian Sub-continent
- PRC
 - Ability
 - Resources
- Support
- Concern over violence
- Territorial integrity
- Ceasefire
- Military aid
 - Congress
- Economic aid to Pakistan
 - Attitudes
 - Changes needed in Pakistan
 - "Live and let live" society
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - William P. Rogers
- Physical damage
 - Karachi
 - Haig
- Negotiations
 - Possibilities discussed
 - US position

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]

[Unintelligible]
[639-011-w003]
[Duration: 15s]

- India–Pakistan relations
 - Negotiations
 - William P. Rogers
 - At present no US plan to interfere



- India–Pakistan relations
 - Negotiations
 - Role of the UN
 - Humanitarian concerns
 - Possible difficulties
 - US aid to Pakistan
 - Amount comparison
 - Kashmir

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]

[Unintelligible]
[639-011-w004]
[Duration: 8s]

- India–Pakistan relations
 - Negotiations
 - Kashmir
 - Indian statement

- India–Pakistan relations
 - Negotiations
 - Ceasefire

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]



[Unintelligible]
[639-011-w005]
[Duration: 16s]

- India–Pakistan relations
 - Negotiations
 - Pakistani desire
 - Indira Gandhi

- India–Pakistan relations
 - Help to achieve peace
 - President’s advice to Bhutto

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]

[Unintelligible]
[639-011-w006]
[Duration: 28s]

- India–Pakistan relations
 - Efforts with Indira Gandhi
 - Activist political candidates
 - Political speakers

- India–Pakistan relations
 - Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
 - Nixon Doctrine
 - Need for self-help
 - USSR
 - PRC



-Need for dialogue

President's upcoming campaign

Gifts

-Agha Muhomammad Yahya Khan

Christmas celebrities

-Plans on Christmas Eve [?]

1960 election

Bhutto, Raza, and Haig left at 2:06 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-012](#)

Date: December 18, 1971

Time: Unknown between 2:06 pm and 2:10 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/14/2019.
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[639-012-w001]

[Duration: 20s]

Request

-Coat

The President's schedule

-Executive Office Building [EOB]



Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:10 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-013](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: Unknown between 2:06 pm and 2:10 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule
-Meeting with Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:10 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-014](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: 2:10 pm - 2:31 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

The President's schedule
-Recent meeting with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

Pakistan
-United Nations [UN]
-Bhutto's speech



[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-004. Segment declassified on 06/23/2016. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[639-014-w001]

[Duration: 1m 1s]

Pakistan

-Indians

-Perceived desire to take Pakistan

-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s opinion

-Indira Gandhi

-Racism

-Whites compared to non-whites

-The President's opinion

-US aid

Pakistan

-Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

-Toughness

-Future with US

-Possible outcome

-George H.W. Bush

-Feelings toward US

-People's Republic of China [PRC]

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]

[Unintelligible]

[639-014-w004]

[Duration: 13s]



Pakistan

- The President's strategy
- Foreigners [?]

Pakistan

- Effect on US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] relations
 - President's opinion
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Need for discretion
 - US role
- Outcome of conflict

Middle East

- Haig's opinion
- Possible trouble spots
- Egypt
 - USSR involvement
 - Kissinger
- Egyptian arms
- USSR air coverage

South Asia

- Gains in the Middle East

Middle East

- Negotiations
 - State Department
- Egypt
 - Possible frustrations

Pakistan

- USSR action
 - Restraint
- Kissinger's role
 - USSR view
 - Yuli M. Vorontsov



- Meeting with USSR Agriculture Minister
- USSR-India relations
- Dhaka

[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]
[639-014-w003]
[Duration: 24s]

Pakistan

- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]–India relations
- Intelligence report
- Required for Indian guarantee
- Dhaka
- Indira Gandhi
- Bangladesh

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]

[Unintelligible]
[639-014-w002]
[Duration: 4s]

Pakistan

- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]–India relations
- Indira Gandhi



Pakistan

- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]–India relations
 - US position towards the USSR
- PRC role
- US plans
 - USSR and PRC
 - John A. Scali

Vietnam

- North Vietnam
 - Objections
 - Laos
 - Cambodia
 - Possibility for internal collapse
- Cambodia
 - Gen. Lon Nol
 - Health
- South Vietnam
 - Unknown leader
 - Forces
 - Chup
 - Regiment 271
 - Rout 6
 - Strategy
 - Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN] [South Vietnam]
- Air power
 - ARVN
 - Cambodians
- US strategy
 - Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
 - Post-Christmas offensive
 - Air fields
 - Mikoyan-Gurevich [MIGs]
 - Military targets
 - Vinh
 - Off-shore forces
 - South Vietnam
- Paris talks
 - Postponement



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- Enemy initiative
 - Propaganda
- William J. Porter
 - Performance
- Strategy
 - Propaganda
 - Analogy to Korean War

PRC

- PRC and USSR involvement
- Effect of India-Pakistan conflict
- US-PRC relations
 - Strengthening of relations
 - Laos
 - Cambodia
 - Possible beneficial effects

Haig left at 2:31 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-031](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: Unknown between 2:31 pm and 5:05 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

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

The unknown people [Secret Service agents] left at an unknown time before 5:05 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-015](#)



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Date: December 18, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:05 pm and 5:12 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:12 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-016](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:05 pm and 5:12 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule

- Phone call to John B. Connally
- Bill signing
- Departure for New York City
 - Timing
 - Tricia Nixon Cox
 - Connally
 - Smithsonian Institute
 - Press release
 - Helipad

President's schedule

- Possible statement in New York City

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:12 pm.



[Conversation No. 639-017](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:05 pm and 5:12 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

President's schedule

[Conversation No. 639-018](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: 5:12 pm - 5:20 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Vietnam

- Melvin R. Laird conference with Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
 - Enemy activity
 - Plane losses
 - Announcement from Saigon
 - Strategy
 - Schedule
- Laos
 - Enemy activity
 - Timing
- US offensive
- Laos
 - Enemy activity in Northern Laos
- US offensive in Laos



- Possible setbacks
 - Firebases
 - Meo irregulars
- Timing
 - Congress
- India-Pakistan
- Message to People's Republic of China [PRC], Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] and Europe
- Impact
 - Laird
 - Enthusiasm
- Weather
 - Possible impact on offensive
- Number of sorties
- Strategy
 - B-52's
 - “Cave busters”

India

- Indira Gandhi's letter
 - Publicity
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
- Tone

USSR

- John A. Scali
- Ziegler

Haig left at 5:20 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-019](#)

Date: December 18, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:20 pm and 5:26 pm
Location: Oval Office



The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 16-117]

[Conversation No. 639-020](#)

Date: December 18, 1971

Time: 5:26 pm - 5:28 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with John B. Connally.

[See Conversation No. 16-118]

[Conversation No. 639-021](#)

Date: December 18, 1971

Time: 5:28 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule

-Smithsonian Institute

Departure

-Timing

-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

-Press

-Car

Bull left at 5:28 pm.



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[Conversation No. 639-022](#)

Date: December 19, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:43 pm and 5:03 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Time magazine interview
-Cameras

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:03 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-023](#)

Date: December 19, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:43 pm and 5:03 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

Request for fire in fireplace [?]

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 5:03 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-024](#)

Date: December 19, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:43 pm and 5:03 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.



President's schedule
-Forthcoming interview

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:03 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-025](#)

Date: December 19, 1971
Time: 5:03 pm - 6:35 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Jerrold L. Schecter, Hugh S. Sidey, Hedley W. Donovan, and Henry A. Grunwald; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

General conversation

The President's term
-Appraisal
-Franklin D. Roosevelt
-War
-January 1969
-US economy

Vietnam
-US role

Middle East

New York City

Vietnam

1969
-Historical context



People's Republic of China [PRC]

- Communication with US

Vietnam

US world role

- Protector

Domestic issues

- Economic policy
 - Inflation
 - Housing
 - Future price rises
 - Comparison to 1971
 - Jobs
 - Inflation
- Monetary policy
 - Meeting with Europeans
 - Convertibility of the dollar [?]
- Environment
- Drugs
- Revenue sharing
- Welfare
 - Work requirements
- Health
- Government reorganization

Decisions made by the President

- PRC overture
 - Importance
- Economic policy
 - Inflation
 - Jobs
 - International monetary crisis
 - US role
 - Free market economy
 - American economy
 - Probable outlook
 - Phase II



- Predictions for 1972 economy
- Controls
- Confidence
- Inflation
- Wage-price controls
 - Support of US citizens
 - Importance
 - Success of controls
- Inflation
- Decontrol
- American people
 - Commitment to control inflation

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]-US relations

- Upcoming summit
 - Berlin
 - Seabeds
 - Biological and accidental war
 - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
 - South Asia
 - Middle East
- President's upcoming trip to PRC
- South Asia
- India-Pakistan conflict
 - Ceasefire
- Areas of agreement between US and USSR
 - Berlin
 - Leonid I. Brezhnev
 - Arms control

India-Pakistan conflict

- India operations in East Pakistan and West Pakistan
 - Strategy
 - Reports



[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]

[Unintelligible]
[639-025-w002]
[Duration: 3s]

India-Pakistan conflict
-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

India-Pakistan conflict
-US role

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-001. Segment declassified on 03/19/2015. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]
[639-025-w001]
[Duration: 3m 38s]

India-Pakistan conflict
-The President's conversation with Indira Gandhi
-Unknown airport
-Death of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri
-Tashkent negotiations
-Positivity
-West Pakistan
-President's opinion of Indira Gandhi's attitude towards West Pakistan
-Importance
-US interests
-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
-US position

Middle East
-Israel



- US emotional ties
- Actions

South Asia

PRC

- Henry A. Kissinger
- Brezhnev

US foreign policy

- Thought and care exercised
- PRC trip
 - Purpose
- USSR trip
 - Purpose
- Long-term

Upcoming election

- Foreign and domestic policy
 - Fulfillment of objectives
- Congress
 - Democratic majority
- President's plans
 - Opposition candidates
 - Involvement in issues
 - PRC
 - USSR
 - Vietnam
 - Successful conclusion
 - Domestic programs
 - Revenue sharing
 - Welfare reform
 - Tax reform
- Spiro T. Agnew
 - Expression of support
 - Praise for Agnew



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- Democrats' nominee
 - President's opinion
- Past elections
 - Franklin D. Roosevelt
 - Dwight D. Eisenhower
 - Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Majority president
 - John F. Kennedy
- Democrats' nominee
 - Potential candidates
 - Issues
 - Vietnam
 - Economy
 - Cities
 - Youth
 - Race relations
 - Vietnam

Vietnam

- End of war
 - Understanding
 - Historical view
 - Possible outcome
 - USSR
 - PRC

US-USSR relations

- Middle East
 - Israel
 - Oil
 - Africa
- South Asia
- Cambodia
- Laos
- PRC
- Summit meeting
 - Need for peace
 - Differences



US-PRC relations

- Possible future of relations
- Vietnam
- Korea
- Japan
 - Power
- PRC

Need for charismatic leader

- Types of leaders
 - Characteristics
- Need for experience

President's administration

- Type of leadership
- President's style
- Need for confidence in leadership
- PRC and USSR announcements
- The President's August 15, 1971 speech
- PRC announcement
- Theodore ("Teddy") Roosevelt
- Vitality and style
- Mood of US citizens
- Expectations of US citizens
 - Vietnam
 - World leadership position
- President's opinion
 - Recent past
 - Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Vietnam
 - Drugs
 - Violence in cities
- US economy
 - Effect of end of Vietnam war

PRC

USSR



Economic policy

Revenue sharing

Government reorganization

Expectations for coming year

- Pride in US foreign policy
 - Middle East
- Importance of US leadership role
 - US position in the world
- Domestic issues
 - Housing
 - Busing
 - Boston
 - Segregation
- “Quiet revolution”

US world role

- Historic precedence
- Expression of confidence
- Peace possibilities
- World War II
- Dwight D. Eisenhower
- John F. Kennedy
 - “Seize the moment” philosophy

US relations with USSR and PRC

- Strategy
- Importance of PRC
- Nuclear war
 - Global effects
 - Horrors
 - Prospects for confrontation
 - Japan
- Need for leadership
- Competition
- Cooperation
 - [Thomas] Woodrow Wilson



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- UN
 - Times of peace
- US and European power
 - Britain
 - France
 - Germany
- USSR
- PRC
 - Potential power
- Japan
- Latin America
 - Brazil
- Africa
 - Potential power
- South Asia
- Need for balance of power
 - Europe, Japan

Presidency

- Power
- Motives
 - [Arnold] Eric Sevareid
 - Maturity of political figures
- Bureaucracy
- Press
- Enjoyment of the job
 - Relations with Congress
 - Opportunity for leadership
 - World peace
 - Progress

Christmas decorations

- Number
- Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon [?]

[General conversation]

- Walter H. Annenberg's gift
 - "Star of the President"



President's schedule
-Bermuda

Gifts
-Money clips

[General conversation]

Schechter, et al. left at 6:35 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-026](#)

Date: December 19, 1971
Time: Unknown between 6:35 pm and 6:38 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/14/2019.
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[639-026-w001]

[Duration: 47s]

Football
-San Francisco 49ers
-Score: 39-27

Request
-Door open



Bull left at an unknown time before 6:38 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-027](#)

Date: December 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:58 pm and 6:07 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]

[Unintelligible]
[639-027-w001]
[Duration: 8s]

Request

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:07 pm.

[Conversation No. 639-028](#)

Date: December 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:58 pm and 6:07 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.



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[See Conversation No. 16-128]

[Conversation No. 639-029](#)

Date: December 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:58 pm and 6:07 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator; John N. Mitchell was present at the beginning of the conversation.

[See Conversation No. 16-129]

[Conversation No. 639-030](#)

Date: December 21, 1971
Time: 6:07 pm - 6:59 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John N. Mitchell.

- President's schedule
 - Meeting in Bermuda
 - Weather
 - Cooperation
 - France, West Germany
 - Public reaction
 - Edward R.G. Heath
 - Work involved
 - Willy Brandt
- President's past Christmas plans
 - Eisaku Sato



H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman entered at 6:09 pm.

[General conversation]

President's schedule

- Swearing-in of Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist
- Timing
- Wallace H. Johnson

Unknown person

- American Broadcasting Company [ABC]

The President’s schedule

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/14/2019. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[639-030-w002]

[Duration: 6s]

John D. Ehrlichman’s comment on the President

The President’s schedule

- Willy Brandt

Jack N. Anderson columns

- Use of classified documents
 - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] reports
 - India-Pakistan
 - Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG]
 - Egil G. (“Bud”) Krogh, Jr.
 - David R. Young, Jr.



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- Henry A. Kissinger
- Maturity
- Leak
- Source
 - Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
 - National Security Council [NSC]
 - Yeoman Charles E. Radford
 - Relationship with Anderson
 - Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
 - Experiences in Vietnam
 - Polygraph
- Adm. Robert O. Welander
 - JCS
- Unknown person
- Radford
 - Experience
 - Polygraph
 - Question on stolen documents
 - Administrator
 - R[embrandt] C. ("Hugh") Robinson
 - Welander
 - Kissinger
 - Haig
 - NSC
 - JCS
 - Length of activity
 - Kissinger
 - Haig
- Young
 - Report
 - Interrogator
 - Excision
 - Department of Defense [DOD]
- Haig
 - Knowledge
- Source
 - Activities
 - JCS liaison officer
- Types



- Studies
- Young
 - DOD interrogation
 - Conversation with Mitchell
- Anderson
- Radford
 - Knowledge
 - Kissinger and North Vietnamese negotiations
 - Possible court martial
 - Administration strategy

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[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]

[639-030-w004]

[Duration: 50s]

INDIA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

Jack N. Anderson columns

- Use of classified documents
 - Richard M. Helms
 - Haig
 - Call to Ehrlichman
 - Kissinger
 - Informed by Ehrlichman
 - Radford
 - Access



- WSAG meetings
- The Pentagon and NSC
 - Methods used
- Phone tap
- Possible arrest
- JCS liaison office
 - Location
 - Executive Office Building [EOB]
- NSC
- Robinson
- Young
 - DOD
- JCS
- Prosecution
- Strategy proposed
 - JCS liaison officer
 - Proposed relocation
 - Need for security officer
 - Kissinger
 - JCS
 - Transfer of Welander
 - Transfer of Radford
 - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
 - Possible discussions with Mitchell
 - Melvin R. Laird
 - Discipline of Welander, Robinson
 - Necessity for discipline
 - Robinson
 - Cambodia briefing

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/14/2019.]

[Unintelligible]
[639-030-w001]
[Duration: 30s]



Jack N. Anderson columns

- Use of classified documents
 - Military officer
 - Attempts to acquire intelligence
 - Charles E. Radford
 - Robert O. Welander

Jack N. Anderson columns

- Use of classified documents
 - JCS
 - Story
 - US Naval action in Straits of Malacca, Bay of Bengal
 - Radford's relationship with Anderson
 - Welander
 - Robinson
 - Previous knowledge
 - Radford's experience
 - India
 - Anderson
 - Anderson
 - Possible prosecution
 - Possession of documents
 - Welander
 - JCS
 - Haig
 - Knowledge
 - Tour of Vietnam with Radford
 - Polygraph of Radford
 - Anderson
 - Normandy
 - Parents
 - Radford
 - Age
 - Religious faith
 - Moorer
 - Possible transfer



- JCS
- Kissinger
- Anderson columns
 - Examination
 - Young
- Robinson
 - Relationship with Radford

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 06/14/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]
[639-030-w008]
[Duration: 41s]

- Jack N. Anderson columns
 - Use of classified documents
 - Charles E. Radford
 - Marital situation
 - Finances
 - Second job
 - Bank account balance
 - John D. Ehrlichman's opinion
 - Jack N. Anderson
 - Interrogation

- Jack N. Anderson columns
 - Use of classified documents
 - Radford
 - Call to Moorer
 - Haig
 - Involvement
 - People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - JCS



- Kissinger's briefcase
- NSC staff
 - Helmut ("Hal") Sonnenfeldt
 - Kissinger
 - Secretaries
 - Haig
 - John Negroponte
 - Richard Smyser
 - Col. Richard T. Kennedy
 - Jack D'Arcy [sp?]
 - [Forename unknown] Murphy
 - Kennedy
- Strategy
 - Laird
 - Ehrlichman's telephone conversation
 - John Glenn [?]
 - Gen. [Forename unknown] Percy [?]
 - Radford
 - JCS
 - Possible view of India
 - Maj. Gen. James D. ("Don") Hughes's knowledge
 - Haig

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-033. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 05/09/2019. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[639-030-w005]

[Duration: 26s]

INTELLIGENCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5



Jack N. Anderson columns

- Use of classified documents
 - Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.
 - Involvement
 - Radford
 - Moorer
 - Zumwalt
 - Mitchell's forthcoming meeting with Moorer
 - Mitchell's view
 - President's presence
 - Documents from Kissinger's briefcase
 - JCS
 - Robinson
 - EOB
 - Welander
 - Moorer
 - Radford
 - Possession of documents
 - Interrogation
 - Results
 - Welander
 - Kissinger
 - Haig
 - Kissinger
 - Leak
- Candidate for NSC Security Officer
 - Charles Sither
 - Ability

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 06/14/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]

[639-030-w006]



[Duration: 5s]

- Jack N. Anderson columns
 - Candidate for NSC Security Officer
 - Charles Sither
 - John D. Ehrlichman's opinion of sexual orientation

- Jack N. Anderson columns
 - Candidate for NSC Security Officer
 - Charles Sither
 - John D Ehrlichman's opinion
 - The President's question on conduct

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 06/14/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]
[639-030-w007]
[Duration: 4s]

- Jack N. Anderson columns
 - Candidate for NSC Security Officer
 - Charles Sither
 - John D. Ehrlichman's opinion of sexual orientation

- Jack N. Anderson columns
 - Candidate for NSC Security Officer
 - [First name unknown] Specter[?]
 - Location
 - Certification
 - Hughes



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- Haig
- Kissinger
- Radford
 - Tap
 - Surveillance
- NSC
 - Welander
 - Robinson
 - Possible action taken
 - Moorer
 - Strategy
- Kissinger
 - Security
 - Office
- Interrogation
 - Anderson
 - Welander
 - Laird
 - Election
- JCS
 - Security
 - Interrogation
 - Welander knowledge
 - Haig and Kissinger
 - Robinson
 - Involvement
- Laird
- Meeting with Moorer
- Welander
 - Transfer from EOB
 - Kissinger's briefcase
 - Radford
 - Relationship with JCS
- JCS
 - Other possible activities
 - Moorer
 - Lyndon B. Johnson Administration
- Recommendations to Mitchell
 - Strategy



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- Kissinger
 - Welander
 - Possible interrogation
 - Anderson
 - Haig
- Security officer
 - Unknown activities
- John B. Martin [?]
- Welander
 - Interrogation
- Alger Hiss case
 - Compared to Radford interrogation
 - Knowledge
- Welander interrogation
 - JCS
 - Relationship to Kissinger
 - Strategy
- Moorer
- Haig
- Kissinger

The President, Mitchell, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman left at 6:59 pm.