Date: December 2, 1971

Time: Unknown between 11:31 am and 11:35 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)

[The recording begins at an unknown time while the conversation is already in progress]

The quality of an item [?]

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

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

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

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

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

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 04/20/2022. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[628-001-w001] [Duration: 37s]

The President's schedule
-Trip to Florida [?]

-Dogs

-King Timahoe

-Pasha

-Behavior

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

Conversation No. 628-2

Date: December 2, 1971 Time: 11:35 am - 12:13 pm Location: Oval Office The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler. John B. Connally's reports of the Group of Ten meeting -Questions Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.) -Gold issue -Prices -Ziegler's comments -The President's instructions Ziegler left and Henry A. Kissinger entered at 11:37 am. David M. Kennedy -Appointment -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] Golda Meir meeting -Talking points -Sent to the President -William P. Rogers -Kissinger's talk with Meir -Rogers -President's hard line with Meir -Phantoms -Joseph J. Sisco and Yitzhak Rabin -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] Summit meeting -Middle East topic -Preparatory talks ******************************* BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-032. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1)(6) on 05/22/2019. Archivist: MAS] [National Security] [628-002-w001] [Duration: 44s] MIDDLE EAST END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 *************************

Golda Meir meeting

```
-Summit
             -Rogers' plan
             -USSR
             -Settlement
                  -Rogers' plan
                                                           Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
                       -Frontier
                           -Meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
                           -Anwar el-Sadat
                           -Military action
                                -Leonid I. Brezhnev-Sadat meeting
                                -No interim agreement
                       -USSR
                       -Israelis
                       -Berlin comparison
**************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-
2014-032. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1)(6) on 05/22/2019. Archivist:
MAS]
[National Security]
[628-002-w003]
[Duration: 20s]
    MIDDLE EAST
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
****************************
    Golda Meir meeting
         -Kissinger's talk with Dobrynin
             -Israelis
                  -United Nations [UN] forces
         -Type of discussion
             -Rogers' plan
                  -Phantoms
                  -State Department
                       -Sisco
                           -Possible Israeli attitudes
         -Military action in the Middle East
             -Potential outcome
         -Summit
             -Agreement
             -Egyptian-USSR meetings
```

-Agreements

-Negotiations style

-Brezhnev

-Talking points

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

The President's schedule

-Dr. Arthur A. Fletcher

"Meet and greet" session

-Business Council meeting

-Sears

-J.C. Penney's

-Federated stores

-Representatives

-Retail sales

-Percentage

-Phase II

-Thanksgiving

-Christmas

-Anticipated revenue

-Foreign policy

-Peter M. Flanigan

-Kissinger

-Praise from the President

-Potential schedule conflicts

-Flanigan

-Meeting with Kissinger

-Los Angeles, Chicago, and Cincinnati

-Kissinger's schedule

-Gordon M. Metcalf and Fred Lazarus, Jr.

-Timing

-Fletcher meeting

-Time

-"Meet and greet"

-Meir meeting

-Timing

-Earl L. Butz's swearing-in ceremony

-Corn issue

-Senate vote

-Possible outcome

-Corn price supports

-John C. Whitaker

-Timing

-Business Council meeting

-Time

Haldeman left at 11:56 am.

Meir meeting

-USSR

-Summit

Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)

```
-Possible preparatory talks
                -Withdrawal of forces
           -Egyptians
          -USSR position
                -Sisco
     -Kissinger's talk with Meir
                                                                Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
          -Rogers
          -Settlement
                -Dobrynin
                     -Potential discussions with Kissinger
                     -Passage issue
                           -Rogers
                     -Troops
                     -Roger and Sisco
                           -A question of trust
     -Egyptians and USSR
     -Rogers' plan
     -USSR
          -Possible scenarios
     -Phantoms
     -Sisco-Rabin meeting
          -Written instructions from the President
     -USSR summit
     -Kissinger's talk with Meir
          -The President
          -Negotiation style towards Meir
     -USSR
     -The President-Meir photograph
          -Kissinger and Rabin
                -"Goodwill" gesture
Cambodia
     -North Vietnamese
     -South Vietnamese
          -Cautious approach
     -Bombing
          -Other objectives
     -North Vietnamese planes
          -Airfields
                -Numbers of planes
     -Bombing
          -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
                -Upcoming conversation between Kissinger and Moorer
                -Gen. John D. Ryan
                     -Call for youth
                -Melvin R. Laird
                     -Potential conversation between Kissinger and Laird
                -Briefing on air strikes
                     -Moorer
                -David Packard
                -Laird
```

```
-Briefing
                                     -Timing
     India
          -State Department
                                                                     Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
                -New license cut off
                     -Announcement
                          -President's instructions
                                -Old license cancellation
                -Briefing
[Sounds of note taking]
     Kennedy appointment
          -NATO
          -Conditions
                -Statement by the President
                -National Security Council [NSC] meetings
                -Attendance at Georges J.R. Pompidou, Willy Brandt, Edward R.G. Heath and
                     Eisaku Sato meetings
                -John R. Schaetzel and Joseph A. Greenwald
                     -Information on economic issues
                -Brussels staff
                     -Upgrade
               -Rogers
                     -Talk with Kissinger
     Television
          -Rogers in Europe
                -Call from the President
                     -Report
                     -National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC]
                     -Length of conversation
                     -Kennedy
                          -NATO
     People's Republic of China [PRC]
          -Kissinger announcement
                -Media coverage
                     -James B. Reston column
                          -Favorable
                          -J. William Fulbright committee
                     -Chinese reaction
                          -Two-China issue
                -Thelma C. (Pat") Nixon
                -Media
                     -Reactions
                -Vietnam War
                     -Support of foreign policy
                -Charles H. Percy
```

-Location

- -Talk with Kissinger
- -Senate
- -Establishment

Kissinger left at 12:13 pm.

Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)

Conversation No. 628-3

Date: December 2, 1971

Time: 12:13 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 15-197]

Conversation No. 628-4

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

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

[See Conversation No. 15-198]

Conversation No. 628-5

Date: December 2, 1971

Time: Unknown between 12:17 pm and 12:21 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

President's schedule

-Upcoming trip to Florida

-Call from Pierre Rinfret

-Unknown location

-Upcoming dinner for Pierre E. Trudeau, December 6, 1971

-Canada

Woods' conversation with an unknown woman

-Award

-Unknown musician

The President's schedule

```
-Bermuda
             -Woods' schedule
         -Woods' schedule
                                                           Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
             -Robert L. King
**************************
[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 04/20/2022.
Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[628-005-w001]
[Duration: 1m 6s]
    The President's schedule
         -Rose Mary Woods' schedule
             -Robert L. King
                  -Lunch
                      -December 3, 1971
                  -Water project in Mexico
                      -Bankrupt
                      -Jack Drown
                  -Rose Mary Woods' opinion
                      -Unknown woman
*************************
    The President's schedule
         -King
             -Possible position on staff
                  -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:17 pm.
    Clark MacGregor
         -Meeting with the President
             -Taxes
Bull left at an unknown time before 12:21 pm.
    Suggestion
Woods left at 12:21 pm.
```

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

The President met with Clark MacGregor.

Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)

```
Golda Meir
     -Jews
Tax bill
     -Conferees
     -Check off
     -Wilbur D. Mills proposal
          -John W. Byrnes
                -President's position
           -Three elements of Mills' proposal
                -Check off concept retained
                     -Timing
                -Appropriations
                -Court test of constitutionality of the check off
          -1972 election
                -Mills' gambit
                -Campaign promises
                     -The President's remarks to the White House Conference on Aging,
                           December 2, 1971
                         -Possible approaches
                         -History of proposal
     -Veto
          -History
     -Congress
           -MacGregor's view
     -Mills
           -Thoughts
     -Byrnes' reaction
          -Broadcast expenditures
                -Limitations
     -Election
           -Democrats
          -Money in the fund
          -Provision of the law
     -Check off
          -Taxpayers
                -Possible number
                -Percentage
     -Veto
     -Implementation
     -Congress
           -The President's signature
```

-Historian context

```
-President's attitude
           -Appropriations
                -Possible veto
           -Mills
           -Democrats' and Republicans' votes
                -Speculation
                                                                 Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
           -Veto
           -Democrats
                -Unpredictability
                -Lawrence F. O'Brien, Jr.
                -Local, county and district chairmen
                -Joe D. Waggonner, Jr.
                      -Possible Democrat support
     -Check off defeat
           -MacGregor's recommendations
                -Elimination of check-off
                -Authorization of various expenditures
                      -Less chance of abuse of funds
           -Byrnes
     -The President's signature
     -MacGregor's forthcoming meeting with Byrnes
     -Mills
           -Stake
     -House vote
           -Modified check off
     -President's instructions
     -Check off defeat
           -Repeal
                -The President's message
     -Business committee
           -Mills
                -Possible action
     -MacGregor's statement
           -Distribution
           -Ronald L. Ziegler
                -Follow-up
                -President's decision
                      -MacGregor's statement
     -Mills
           -Possible change in vote
                -President's remarks to the White House Conference on Aging
Earl L. Butz's swearing-in
     -President's schedule
           -Upcoming trip to Florida
     -Corn price support
           -Mills [?]
                -Hint of certain actions
                      -Possible withdrawal
           -Cost
                -Amount
```

```
-Taft-Hartley Act
-State Chairman
-County chairman
-Minneapolis
-Previous call to MacGregor
-President's decision on Taft-Hartley Act
-Impact on rural areas

Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
```

```
George Meany
-Health
-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman
-Meany's attitude
-Illness
```

Meir

-Meeting with the President

Tax bill
-The President's signature

MacGregor left at 12:43 pm.

Conversation No. 628-7

Date: December 2, 1971

Time: Unknown between 12:43 pm and 12:45 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Call from Tricia Nixon Cox -Clark MacGregor

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:45 pm.

Conversation No. 628-8

Date: December 2, 1971 Time: 12:45 pm - 2:03 pm Location: Oval Office

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

Earl L. Butz nomination
-Possible withdrawal

```
-Patrick J. Buchanan
                -New York Times
                -Washington Post
                -Farm media
                     -Support for Butz
                          -Percentage
                                                                Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
                     -Agri-business support
                     -Farm General
                     -Successful Farming
                          -Support for Butz
                -Walter J. Hickel
                     -Compared to Butz's nomination
                -Democrats
                     -Possible outcome
                -Farm radio in Chicago
                     -Orion C. Samuelson
                          -Letter to the editor
                                -Liberals
                -New York Times
                -Washington Post
                -[Forename unknown] Hershey
     -Corn price support
          -"Option 2"
President's schedule
     -Heads of State meetings
          -Details
     -Format
     -Pierre E. Trudeau
     -Joint statements at airports
          -Azores
                -Dr. Marcello Caetano's statement
                     -Black tie dinner
                          -British
                                -Options
     -French
          -Joint luncheon
          -Henry A. Kissinger
     -Caetano
          -Meeting with the President
                -Timing
     -Georges J.R. Pompidou
          -Meeting with the President
                -Timing
                -Schedule
          -Joint advisors
     -Lunches
     -Bermuda meetings
          -Timing
          -Advisors
     -Key Biscayne
```

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-Willy Brandt
          -Timing
     -Eisaku Sato
          -Timing
     -Foreign ministers
     -Kissinger
                                                           Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
-People's Republic of China [PRC]
     -Press corps
          -Reduction in numbers
-Advance men
     -Taking too much of the President's time
          -Reduction
-Rose Mary Woods
     -Travel
-PRC
     -Kissinger
          -Written statements
                -Unknown writer
                     -Press
                           -Traveling with the President
                -Buchanan
                     -Experience
                     -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] trip
                           -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
          -Press
                -William L. Safire
                -Noel C. Koch
                -John K. ("Cap") Andrews
                -Safire
                     -Previous trips
                           -European and Asian trip
                           -Camp David
                           -USSR trip
-Azores
-Bermuda
     -Possible press assignment
-PRC advance
     -John A. Scali
          -Potential travel
          -Kissinger
          -Advisor role
                -Scali
                     -Justification for travel to PRC
                           -Potential problems
     -Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
     -Ronald L. Ziegler
     -Dwight L. Cheapen
     -Scali
          -Ziegler
                -Comparisons
     -Kissinger-Haig meeting
```

```
-Television coverage
                -Importance
                     -Compared to press coverage
           -Scali and Ziegler
          -Haig
                                                                Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
Haldeman's schedule
     -Florida
          -John D. Ehrlichman [?]
          -Alexander P. Butterfield
     -Price speech
          -President's trip to Chicago, December 1, 1971
           -Senior citizen support
                -Amount of aid
                -Check off
                     -President' support of the elderly
                          -Rising costs
                -Foster grandparents
                -Arthur S. Flemming
                -Earl Warren
Speech team
     -California speech
     -Speech quality
          -Apparent difficulties in writing speeches
          -Various reactions to speeches
     -Andrews
          -Haldeman's upcoming talk with Andrews
     -Price
     -Old compared to young
          -Style
White House Conference on Aging
     -Flemming
     -Warren
     -Press
           -Compared to the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health,
                December 2, 1969
                -Reactions
                     -Unknown elderly black man
                           -Emotional talk with the President
     -Ehrlichman
     -Price
Unknown man at Justice Department
     -Work style
          -Richard A. Moore
                -Previous conversations with Haldeman
          -John N. Mitchell
```

```
-Moore
          -Writers
               -Work
                     -Attitudes
          -Price
                -Talk with Haldeman
                                                                     Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
               -PRC trip
                     -Buchanan
                -USSR trip
                     -Price
                          -Attendance
     PRC trip
          -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's attendance
                -Media coverage
                     -Television
                     -Street crowds
                          -Lack thereof
Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:45 pm.
     Clark MacGregor
          -Tax bill
          -Butz confirmation
          -Meeting with the President
Bull left at an unknown time before 1:20 pm.
     PRC trip
          -Crowds
MacGregor entered at 1:20 pm.
     Butz confirmation
          -Senate vote
               -Result
     Tax bill
          -Conferees
          -Agreement
               -Wilbur D. Mills
                     -Modified check of proposal
                          -John W. Byrnes's call to MacGregor
                                -Appropriations
                                     -Effective date
                          -Lawrence F. O'Brien, Jr.
                          -Fund
                                -Amount
                                     -Concerns
                          -The President's signature
                                -History of tax bill
```

```
-Tax returns
                       -George S. McGovern
                            -Mills
                       -Charls E. Walker and Byrnes
                            -Previous conversation with MacGregor
Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
                       -The President's statement
                            -Price
                                 -Written statement
                       -Ziegler
                            -Questions
                                 -Check-off
                       -1972
                       -The President's statement
                            -Options
                       -Senate
                            -Mills
                                 -Proposal
                       -Democrats
                            -Speculation
                                 -President's statement
                       -O'Brien
                            -Mills
                       -House of Representatives
                       -MacGregor's call to George P. Shultz
                            -Support
    Butz confirmation
         -Swearing-in
              -Timing
*************************
[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under deed of gift 04/20/2022. Segment cleared for
release.]
[Privacy]
[628-008-w002]
[Duration: 11s]
      Earl L. Butz confirmation
            -Swearing-in
                  -Timing
                         -Golda Meir
                               -The President's opinion
                               -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's opinion
                               -Departure
**************************
```

-Effective date

MacGregor left at 1:28 pm. Questions -Importance -MacGregor Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.) Speech -Environment [?] President's schedule -National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC] -"A Day in the Life of the President", December 6, 1971 Press -President of Dahomey -Vote -State visit -President's schedule -Pompidou meeting -Timing Haldeman left at an unknown time before 1:33 pm. Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:28 pm. Schedule -Chief Justice -Butz nomination -Harry A. Blackmun -Timing -Availability -Butz swearing-in ceremony Bull left and Rose Mary Woods entered at 1:33 pm. Call from unknown man -Return call from the President [?] [Pause] ************************** [Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 04/26/2022. 6m 24s segment cleared for release with two segments of 11s and 2s remaining closed as 628-008-w004 and 628-008-w007 respectively.] [Personal Returnable] [628-008-w004] [Duration: 6m 24s]

The President's schedule

```
-Church of Norman Vincent Peale [?]
                -New York [?]
                     -December 26, 1971
                     -December 17, 1971
                           -Show
                                                     Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
                     -December 18, 1971
          -Julie Nixon Eisenhower's schedule
          -Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
                -Timing
                     -December 18-19, 1971
                           -Staff Christmas parties
          -Rose Mary Woods' forthcoming talk with Julie Nixon Eisenhower
          -Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
                -Florida
          -Julie Nixon Eisenhower and [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II
                -Forthcoming trip to Tennessee
                     -December 3, 1971
                -December 4-5, 1971
*************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal Returnable]
[628-008-w004]
[Duration: 11s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
***************************
     The President's schedule
          -Mamie G. D. Eisenhower's health
                -Rose Mary Woods' opinion
*************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[Personal Returnable]
[628-008-w007]
[Duration: 2s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
*******************************
```

-Note from Julie Nixon Eisenhower

```
The President's schedule
             -Mamie G. D. Eisenhower's health
                   -Viruses
                          -The President's opinion
                                -Julie Nixon Eisenhower's opinion
Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
             -Joseph Woods
                   -The President's visit
      Charles H. Percy
             -Rita E. Hauser
             -Unknown man
      California
             -Ronald W. Reagan
                   -Politics
                   -The President's opinion
      Spiro T. Agnew
             -Comments to Rose Mary Woods [?]
      Ronald W. Reagan
             -Rose Mary Woods' opinion
      Spiro T. Agnew
*************************
    The President's schedule
         -NBC
    Painting by Mr. [Forename unknown] Johnson
         -Sent by unknown doctor and wife
         -The President's letter
              -Dictation
                   -Painting
                        -Style discussed
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 1:33 pm and
2:03 pm.
[Conversation No. 628-8A]
[See Conversation No. 15-199]
[End of telephone conversation]
    Call to an unknown person
          -Unknown White House event
              -Performance [?]
```

```
PRC trip
        -[Dwight] David Eisenhower, II
           -Pictures
           -Ziegler
                                                   Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
*************************
[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/15/2022. 1m 17s
segment cleared for release. 15s remain closed as 628-008-w006.]
[Privacy]
[628-008-w006]
[Duration: 1m 17s]
     The President's visit with Nathaniel George
     Bill Brock
          -Football
          -Congress
          -Rose Mary Woods' opinion
          -John W. Dean, III
          -Rose Mary Woods' opinion
************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[Privacy]
[628-008-w006]
[Duration: 15s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
********************************
     Bill Brock
          -President's request
*******************************
   John J. McCloy
       -Letter to Woods
           -Appointments
       -Arms Control Committee
       -William W. Scranton
```

-Pay Board

-New members

-Christmas

The White House operator talked with the President at 1:50 pm.

```
[Conversation No. 628-8B]
                                                                     Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
[See Conversation No. 15-200]
[End of telephone conversation]
     Letter from an unknown woman
          -Tone of letter
          -The President's possible response
          -PRC
          -United Nations [UN]
          -Letter from Woods
          -Jews
          -Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo telephone call
                -The President's instructions
          -PRC
                -Wars
                     -Korea and Vietnam
                          -Number casualties
          -USSR summit
     Schedule
          -Visit to Washington Redskins football practice, November 23, 1971
          -Phone calls
                -[Forename unknown] Brown, building secretary [?]
                     -President's availability
                -Kissinger
                     -Timing of phone calls
                -Butz
                -Meeting with John B. Connally
                -Brown [?]
                -The President's location
                -Handling of
                     -Possible solutions
                -Melvin R. Laird
                -John N. Mitchell
                -Connally
                -William P. Rogers
                -Meetings
                     -Possible solutions
                -Woods
                     -Contact
     Painting
          -MacGregor [?]
```

Schedule

-White House Conference on Aging

-Members

-Jack Moore

-George H.W. Bush [?]

-Unknown man's office

-Bobby McMahon

-Robert L. King [?]

-President's previous conversation with Roger E. Johnson

-Possible phone call between King and Johnson [?]

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 04/21/2022.

Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable] [628-008-w005]

[Duration: 3s]

The President's health

-Cold

Woods left at 2:03 pm.

Conversation No. 628-9

Date: December 2, 1971

Time: Unknown between 2:03 pm and 2:07 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator

[See Conversation No. 15-201]

Conversation No. 628-10

Date: December 2, 1971

Time: Unknown between 2:03 pm and 2:07 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Business Council meeting

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

Dr. Arthur A. Fletcher

- -Press picture
 - -Speaking for the press

Photographs

-Amount

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

Conversation No. 628-11

Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)

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

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 15-202]

Conversation No. 628-12

Date: December 2, 1971

Time: 2:19 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

-Meeting with Gordon M. Metcalf

Bull left at 2:19 pm.

Conversation No. 628-13

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

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

```
Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
    Greetings
    Photograph
    Economy
         -Sears Roebuck sales
         -Retail sales figures
*************************
[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and
released 04/20/2022.]
[Unintelligible]
[628-013-w001]
[Duration: 1m 46s]
      Economy
            -Periods [?]
            -Unknown man's opinion
            -Figures [?]
*************************
    Economy
         -Figures[?]
             -December
             -Fall season
                  -Success
             -Geographic breakdowns
                  -November, 1970
                       -Percentages
                           -Chicago
                           -Pittsburgh
                           -Dallas
                           -Cleveland
                           -California
                                -Statistics
         -Advertising
             -Television
                  -Changes over the years
             -Sears
                  -Tag line
         -Inflation
             -Potential set backs
```

```
-J.C. Penney sales
          -Percentages
                -Seattle
                     -Los Angeles
                -Managers
                -Southeast
                                                                Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
                     -Miami
                -Midwest
                -November
                -Breakdown
                -Competition
                     -Slight setbacks
     -Controls
     -Stores in San Francisco
          -Number
     -Organized labor compared to unorganized labor
          -Bargaining position
          -Differences
     -November
     -Tax bill
          -Perception of
                -Effect on retail sales
          -Campaign expenses
          -Candidates for political office
                -Methods of raising money
          -Congress
          -Taxpayers
          -Special interest groups
          -The American economic system
                -Predictions for Christmas season
                     -Boost for economy
     -Wage-price freeze
          -September
                -Retail forecast
                     -Percentages
Golf
     -Recreation
     -Merrill Lynch
Economy
     -Stock market
          -Reactions
     -Sears
          -Shares
                -Number
                -Dow exchange
                     -History
                          -Dr. Arthur A. Fletcher [?]
```

-Possible trip by the President -Timing

[General conversation]

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

Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)

Tax bill

-Campaign check off
-Conference committee

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

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

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

[Ziegler taking notes in the background]

Tax bill

-Campaign check off

-The President's statement

-Legislative process

-Possible veto

-Ziegler

-Clark MacGregor's statement

-Repeal

-The President's statement

-The American political system

-Congress

-First session

-Ziegler's comments

-Possible effects on 1972 Presidential elections

-Compromise

-Veto

-The President's statement

-Veto

-Legislative matter

-Veto

-House

-Henry A. Kissinger

-Future events

Ziegler left at 2:50 pm.

```
Date: December 2, 1971
Time: 2:50 pm - 3:04 pm
Location: Oval Office
```

The President met with Arthur A. Fletcher and Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)

```
Greetings
    Campaign check off [?]
         -News magazine article
              -Unknown magazine
     Schools
         -Harvard
         -Youngsters
              -Numbers
                   -Private schools
                        -Numbers
                        -Economic package
    Domestic Council
         -Press
[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and
released 04/21/2022.]
[Unintelligible]
[628-014-w003]
[Duration: 1m 40s]
      General conversation
      [Photo session]
*************************
    Public relations
         -Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday
         -Abraham Lincoln's birthday
              -Timing
              -National campaign
                   -Finances
                        -Amount
                        -1972 Presidential elections
```

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 04/26/2022. Segment will remain closed.]

[Personal Returnable]

[628-014-w001]

[Duration: 34s] Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Public relations

-Reverse racism

-Black colleges

-Discrimination

-Farm people [?]

-Schools

-Integration

-Project

-Economic development

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

State Department

-Presidential order

-Disregarded by the State Department

-Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr. and Kissinger

-Writing possible scenarios

-John N. ("Jack") Irwin, II

-Charles W. Bray, III

-Pakistan and India

-Possible interpretation

-Briefing

-Bray

-William P. Rogers

-Feelings on subject

-Confrontation

-Attempt to avoid conflict

-Kissinger's talk with the President

-Kissinger's talk with Rogers

-Indira Gandhi [?]

-Conversation with the President

-Clark MacGregor

-Kissinger's talk with Peter [Surname unknown]

-Hugh Scott statements

-Statement by Willy Brandt

-Kissinger's call to Rogers

-Different tactics

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

Kissinger le	ft at 3:04	pm.
--------------	------------	-----

Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)

Conversation No. 628-15

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

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Meeting with Golda Meir

Bull left at 3:05 pm.

Conversation No. 628-16

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

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

Greetings

Photograph

[General conversation]

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 04/21/2022.]

[Unintelligible] [628-016-w001] [Duration: 4m 8s]

[Photo session]

The President's inquiry

```
General conversation
      Countdown
      Christmas
                                                                Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
***********************
    Golda Meir's schedule
          -Henry A. Kissinger and Yitzhak Rabin
               -Frank discussions with Meir
    Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
          -Relations with Israel
         -US and Israel
               -Strategy
         -Meir's talk with Kissinger
Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:05 pm.
    Refreshment
    Rabin
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:13 pm.
    US and Israel relations
          -Rabin and Kissinger
          -Kissinger
               -Relations with Israel
                    -William F. ("Billy") Graham's call to the President
                         -Timing
                              -Concern by Graham
               -American Jews
         -William P. Rogers
Kissinger and Rabin entered at 3:13 pm.
    Kissinger and Anatoliy F. Dobrynin communications
    Map room
          -Dwight D. Eisenhower
               -World War II
                    -Maps
                         -Robert Taylor [?]
                    -Franklin D. Roosevelt
    US and Israel relations
```

-Possible leaks

```
-Less then confident feelings between US and Israel
     -Issues
           -Payments [?]
-The President's trip to the USSR
-Issues
     -Aircraft
                                                           Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
           -Presidential responsibility
           -Joseph J. Sisco
                -Working out technical aspects
-Congress
-Kissinger's meeting with Meir
     -Unknown person
-Sisco and Rabin meeting
     -Instructions to Sisco
           -Time limit
           -Rogers
-Negotiations
     -Leonid I. Brezhnev
           -Future negotiations
     -State Department
     -Political program
     -Sisco
     -Kissinger's meeting with the President
     -Sisco
           -Instructions
           -Kissinger and Dobrynin communications
                -Airplanes
                     -Dinner
                           -Kissinger's recommendation
                                -Rogers
           -President's schedule
                -Signing of memorandum
           -Talk with Kissinger
           -USSR
           -Phantoms
                -Separate understanding
                      -Working out the details with Rabin
                -USSR
                      -US attempts to maintain balance
                -Politics
                -Backgrounders
                     -Ronald L. Ziegler
                           -Under the President's instructions
                      -Kissinger
                -Balance
     -President's advice to Meir
           -Sisco/Rabin meetings
           -Pressure
           -Politics
                -Rogers
                      -Kissinger's forthcoming conversations with Rogers
```

```
-Agreement
-President's schedule
     -Sisco/Rabin meetings
     -Rogers
     -Protocols
           -Brezhnev and Anwar el-Sadat
                                                      Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
-President's view
     -Delivery of planes
     -Political side
           -Planning
                -Continuance of frank talks
     -Monthly rate
     -Rabin/Sisco/Kissinger agreement
     -Dates of deliveries
     -Presidential decisions
           -Political side
                -Need for US discussion
                -Israeli/Egyptian agreement
                      -State Department
                -Linkage with the Phantoms
                -US commitment to balance
                -USSR
          -Delivery schedule
                -Proposed date of arrival
-President's view
     -Speculation on Israel's future
-Sadat
     -Possibility of negotiations
           -US interests
-Political settlement
     -Balance
           -Mediterranean
          -Middle East
           -USSR
                -Prospects for peace
     -Progress
-Attempts
     -President's view
          -Meir's response
-Pressure
     -Communication with the President
           -Rabin
-Meir's outlook
     -Ceasefire
           -Rabin
     -Attrition
     -Compromise
           -Possible Israeli concessions [?]
     -Egyptians
           -Sadat
           -Procedures
```

```
-Egyptians
     -"The Rogers Plan"
          -International borders
                -United Nations [UN]
                     -People's Republic of China [PRC]
                          -Unknown person
                                -Negotiations with Israel No. 628-19 (cont.)
                          -Trade matters
                          -Andrei A. Gromyko's talk with Chou En-lai
                          -USSR
                                -Alliance with the Arabs
                                     -Moscow
                                          -Money to Vietnam and Egypt
                                                -Amount
                                     -Brezhnev
                                          -Mao Tse-tung [?]
-Israeli perspective
     -World view
          -Suez agreement
          -Pressure
          -War
                -Past conflicts
          -1957
          -Golan heights
          -Israeli position
          -1957
                -UN
                     -Gaza Strip
          -Promises
               -Egyptians
          -Freedom in negotiations
          -Military
               -Level of strength
-US agreement on 1969 border policy
-Potential US diplomatic problem
     -Kissinger's conversation wit unknown Prime Minister
     -USSR
     -Gromyko
          -Talk with the President
          -Rogers
     -Military action
     -Brezhnev
     -State Department
          -Unknown Prime Minister
               -Kissinger's instructions to Meir and Rabin
```

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed 08/15/2022. 2m 8s segment cleared for release. 3s remain closed as 628-016-w002.]

```
[Unintelligible]
[628-016-w002]
[Duration: 2m 8s]
    US and Israel relations
        -The President's view
                                                       Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
             -May 1971 [?]
             -Promise from the President
*************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Unintelligible]
[628-016-w002]
[Duration: 3s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
**************************
    Henry A. Kissinger [?]
    Ports [?]
    US responsibility
*************************
    US and Israel relations
        -The President's view
             -Ceasefire
                 -Possible scenarios
                     -Egypt and USSR
                 -Kissinger
                 -USSR
                     -Potential escalation of tensions between the US and USSR
                     -Concerns
                          -Subsidies in the Middle East
                     -Unknown situation
                         -USSR
                              -Jordan crisis
                              -1967 war
            -Meeting in may
            -Meir's Skill
                 -"Two track operation"
                     -Negotiations
            -1967 war
             -Diplomatic reasonableness
```

-Request from the President

```
-US
     -Security
-Two tracks of negotiations
-USSR summit
     -Discussions
          -US attempt to work out negotiations
                                                      Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
     -Suez Canal
     -Arabs
          -Attempt to quell tensions
-Israeli cabinet
-USSR
     -Egypt's inability to negotiate with the USSR [?]
-Interim period
-US-Israel negotiations
     -Pressure-free
-Kissinger's proposal
     -General statement
          -Timing
     -Kissinger's conversation with unknown Prime Minister
     -Talk with Dobrynin
          -Status of US actions
          -Egyptians
          -Timing
          -Gromyko
          -Rogers
                -Talk with the President
          -USSR
                -Trust
          -Previous US-USSR discussions
                -Dobrynin
          -Brezhnev
                -Previous discussions
          -The President/Meir meeting
          -The President's talk with Gromyko
          -Potential settlement
          -Meir and Rabin
                -Elections [?]
-The President's talk with Meir
     -Kissinger
-Kissinger's talk with Dobrynin
     -Possible stand by the President
     -Dobrynin talk with Meir [?]
-Dobynin
     -Possible meeting
          -Timing
```

```
[Unintelligible]
[628-016-w003]
[Duration: <u>53</u>s]
      US and Israel relations
             -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin [?]
                                                                  Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
                    -Henry A. Kissinger's [?] understanding
                    -Negotiations
                           -Serious
**********************************
    US and Israel relations
          -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin [?]
               -Kissinger's view
                    -Dobrynin
                         -Moscow
                         -Egyptians
                              -Prepared to talk
                         -Negotiations
                         -Kissinger's view
                         -The President's talk with Gromyko
                              -Reductions [?]
               -Egypt
                    -Possible opening of dialogue
               -Syria
               -USSR
               -US-USSR relations
                    -Possible uncomfortableness from Israel
               -Kissinger-Rabin talks
                    -Status of world situation
               -USSR
                    -Clark MacGregor [?]
               -State Department
                    -Proposed action
               -Dobrynin
                    -US options
                    -UN
                    -USSR
                         -Negotiations
                         -Gromyko
               -Sisco [?]
               -USSR
```

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 05/02/2022.]

```
[628-016-w004]
[Duration: 21s]
      US and Israel relations
            -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
                  -Exchange [?]
                                                           Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
            -The President's view
                  -Future [?]
*************************
    US and Israel relations
         -The President's view
             -Problem
                  -Exploratory talks [?]
             -Rabin-Kissinger meeting
******************************
[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and
released 04/26/2022.]
[Unintelligible]
[628-016-w005]
[Duration: 53s]
      US and Israel relations
            -The President's view
                  -Yitzhak Rabin-Henry A. Kissinger meeting
            -Golda Meir's view
                  -Paper [?]
                  -Assistance
                  -US-Israel relationship
                        -US
                              -Suez [?]
                  -Israeli army [?]
                  -Military
************************
    US and Israel relations
         -Golda Meir's opinion
             -Israeli army
                  -Figures
             -State Department
             -The survival of Israel
             -Rabin
             -USSR
```

-Possibility of war

```
-Finances
```

-USSR

-Potential breakthrough in negotiations

-Kissinger's forthcoming conversation with Rabin

```
[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and
released 04/25/2022.]
[Unintelligible]
[628-016-w006]
[Duration: 28s]
     US and Israel relations
           -Golda Meir's view
                 -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
**************************
    US and Israel relations
         -Golda Meir's view
             -Rogers
             -Rabin
***********************
[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and
released 04/26/2022.]
[Unintelligible]
[628-016-w007]
[Duration: 6m 45s]
     US and Israel relations
           -Golda Meir's view
                 -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] [?]
                       -Anatoliy F. Dobyrnin [?]
                 -Intifada [?]
                 -Palestinian state
                 -Needs of Israel
                 -What Israel does not want
                       -Unknown territory
                             -Population [?]
                 -Israeli capital [?]
                 -Israeli preparations [?]
                       -United Nations [UN] plan [?]
           -The President's view
                 -Territory [?]
                 -Unknown man
```

```
-Golda Meir's view
                  -US
                        -Friendly
*************************
                                                          Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
    US and Israel relations
         -Golda Meir's view
             -Report from unknown person
             -Mecca [?]
             -Israeli situation
                  -Meir's view on the situation
             -US position
                  -Security
                  -Possibility for tough discussions with Israel
             -Kissinger
                  -USSR
                      -Negotiations
             -Dobrynin
                  -Talk with Kissinger
                      -Timing
                      -US position
                           -Related to the USSR
             -Deadlock
                  -Negotiations
                      -Egypt
             -State Department
             -Moscow
********************************
[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and
released 04/26/2022.]
[Unintelligible]
[628-016-w008]
[Duration: 28s]
    US and Israel relations
         -Henry A. Kissinger's view
             -Insubordinate [?] unknown name [?]
             -Public place [?]
        -The President's view
             -Congress [?]
**************************
```

-Blunt

```
-The President's view
     -Golan Heights [?]
          -Military equipment
                -Request for Meir [?]
                     -Vietnam
                           -Rabin [?]
                                                           Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
     -Credibility
          -Lack of credit
     -Arabs
          -Vietnam
                -Laos comparison
                     -Risky proposition
     -USSR
     -President's view
     -Balance of power in the Mediterranean and Europe
          -Result
     -USSR
          -US position concerning the USSR
                -Possible catalyst for negotiations
     -Meir
          -PRC and USSR
                -Possible negotiations [?]
     -Arabs
          -Control
                -Egypt
                     -Concern by Meir
     -Kissinger's previous meeting with an unknown woman
     -President's view
     -Dobrynin
     -Kissinger
     -Closing remarks
```

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

Conversation No. 628-17

Date: December 2, 1971

Time: Unknown between 4:53 pm and 4:55 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 04/26/2022.]
[Unintelligible]

```
[628-017-w001]
[Duration: 1m 44s]
    The President's request [?]
[This portion of the tape is mostly room noise with some muffled background conversation.] Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
*********************
    The President's schedule
The unknown man left at an unknown time before 4:55 pm.
                                                              Conversation No. 628-18
Date: December 2, 1971
Time: 4:55 pm - 5:15 pm
Location: Oval Office
The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.
    Meeting with Golda Meir
         -Presidential authority
         -Election
         -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
              -Israelis
                   -Negotiation tactics
         -William P. Rogers
              -History of negotiations with Israel
         -Politics
Rose Mary Woods entered at 4:57 pm.
    The President buzzed Woods
**************************
[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/31/2022.
Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[628-018-w002]
[Duration: 21s]
      Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
            -Travel
```

-Rose Mary Woods' previous talk with Julie Nixon Eisenhower

```
-Location [?]
            -Rose Mary Woods
            -Forthcoming telephone call
*************************
                                                             Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
Woods left at 5:00 pm.
    Meeting with Meir
         -Middle East negotiations
Woods entered at an unknown time after 5:00 pm.
[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 04/25/2022.
Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[628-018-w004]
[Duration: 34s]
    Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
         -Telephone call from Rose Mary Woods
         -Dinner
              -The President's preference
              -Time
              -Departure [?]
****************************
Woods left at an unknown time before 5:15 pm.
    Middle East negotiations
         -Possible scenario
         -Joseph J. Sisco
         -Rogers
              -The President's proposed talk with Rogers
         -Egyptians
              -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
                   -Proposed conversation with Kissinger
         -Meeting with Meir
              -President's style
              -Politics
                   -Give and take
         -USSR
              -1973
              -Rogers's proposal
```

-Julie Nixon Eisenhower's forthcoming telephone call

```
-Israelis
          -Meir
                -Proposed toughness
          -American political situation
                -Security
                     -USSR
                                                                     Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)
                          -Balance of power in the Middle East
                                -Democrats
          -Kissinger's meeting with Dobrynin
                -Rogers
          -Dobrynin
          -USSR summit
                -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
                -Trade in the Middle East
          -Proposed Middle East settlement
          -Egyptians
                -Trade
          -PRC
                -Feeling towards a deal in the Middle East
                -USSR-PRC relations
                     -Marshall Green
                          -USSR-US relations
                                -Proposed deal in the Middle East
          -Status of negotiations
          -War
                -Timing
                     -1973
     India-Pakistan situation
          -Rogers
                -Talk with Kissinger
     David M. Kennedy appointment
          -State Department
          -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
          -The President's call to Rogers
                -Timing
                -India-Pakistan situation
                     -Kissinger's call to Rogers
                          -Timing
                                -President's inability to meet with Rogers
                                     -President's health
                     -Indira Gandhi
Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:00 pm.
```

The President's schedule -Barber -Timing

Kissinger and Bull left at 5:15 pm.

Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)

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

The President met with Earl L. Butz, Harry A. Blackmun, William P. Rogers, George D. Aiken, Lawton M. Chiles, Jr., Robert J. Dole, James O. Eastland, Robert P. Griffin, Jack R. Miller, Wiley Mayne, Graham Purcell, Martin Sorkin, Mrs. Earl L. Butz, J. Phil Campbell, Clarence D. Palmby, Richard E. Lyng, Thomas K. Cowden, Ned Bayley, Frank Elliott, Claude W. Gifford, Fritz Behrens, James E. Smith, David A. Hamil, Ervin Peterson, Don Brock, Sally Bloom, Martha Lord, Frederic V. Malek, H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, Clark MacGregor, John E. Nidecker, William E. Timmons, John C. Whitaker, and Alexander P. Butterfield; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

```
[General conversation]
```

```
Butz
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-Swearing-in

-Secretary of Agriculture

-Nomination

-Qualifications in field of agriculture

-Senate vote

-Farmers

Butz's comments

Aiken's comments

Rogers's comments

-Dwight D. Eisenhower

Butz's comments

-Farmers' welfare

-Agriculture Department

-American agriculture

-Farmers

-Food

-Percentage of income

-Prices

-George P. Shultz and other unknown men

The President's comments

-Meeting with farm editors in Chicago

-Timing

-Corn prices

-Anecdotes

[General conversation]

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

Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)