

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 634-1

Date: December 9, 1971

Time: Unknown between 11:55 am and 2:38 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule

-Tax bill

-Passage

-Wilbur D. Mills

-Possible call

-Schedule

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 2:38 pm.

Conversation No. 634-2

Date: December 9, 1971

Time: Unknown between 11:55 am and 2:38 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 16-71]

Conversation No. 634-3

Date: December 9, 1971 Time: 2:38 pm - 2:39 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Wilbur D. Mills.

[See Conversation No. 16-72]

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 634-4

Date: December 9, 1971

Time: Unknown between 2:39 pm and 2:43 pm

Location: Oval Office

#### The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 16-73]

Conversation No. 634-5

Date: December 9, 1971 Time: 2:43 pm - 2:59 pm Location: Oval Office

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

```
The President's schedule
```

- -John B. Connally
  - -Upcoming meeting
- -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - -Visit with Vladimir V. Matskevich
- -Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG]
- -Connally's office
  - -Notification
- -Forthcoming meeting [with Jaime Arguelles]
  - -Talking points
    - -People's Republic of China [PRC] and USSR trips
  - -Henry A. Kissinger
    - -Delivery of unknown letter
      - -United Nations [UN] Security Council [?]
- -Tax bill
- -President's upcoming trip to New York, December 18, 1971
  - -Haldeman's talk with Rose Mary Woods
    - -Dinner
    - -Theater
      - -Time of performance

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-5 (cont.)

```
-Florida
               -Possible press conference
                     -Possible schedule conflicts
                -India-Pakistan situation
          -Azores
                -Communications with the White House
                -Transportation
                     -Airplanes
The President talked with John W. Byrnes between 2:46 pm and 2:48 pm.
[Conversation No. 634-5A]
[See Conversation No. 16-74]
[End of telephone conversation]
     Economy
          -Tax bill
                -Christmas
                     -Sales
                          -Projections
                -Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
          -Hobart Rowen
               -Democrats
               -Phase II
               -Inflation
               -Growth
               -International economy
          -Inflation
               -Status
          -Unemployment
          -Auto sales
               -Rowen
     Kissinger
          -Schedule
                -Kissinger preparedness in question
```

-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-5 (cont.)

```
**************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Privacy]
[Duration: 37s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
**********************************
        -State Department
             -Personnel
        -Schedule
             -Florida
                 -William P. Rogers
                 -Advantages
                     -Differences
             -California
             -The President's schedule
                 -Crisis management
                     -Franklin D. Roosevelt and [Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
             -Rogers
                 -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] conference
                     -Timing
             -Airplanes
                 -Types of transport
                 -Florida
                     -Rogers, Connally and David M. Kennedy
                          -Possible attendance on flight
                              -Preferences
                     -Mrs. Nixon
                     -Cabinet officers
```

An unknown person entered and left at an unknown time before 2:59 pm.

```
The President's schedule
-Letter delivery
-Gen. Francisco Franco
-"Law of the Sea"
```

# Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-5 (cont.)

```
-Jaime Arguelles
-Haig
-Kissinger
-Haig
-USSR meeting
-Arguelles
-Letter
-Level of importance
-Haig
-Stephen B. Bull
-Talking points
```

Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:48 pm.

President Hubert Maga's arrival
-Photographs
-Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins

Haldeman and Bull left at 2:59 pm.

Conversation No. 634-6

Date: December 9, 1971 Time: 2:59 pm - 3:00 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Hubert Maga meeting
-Photographs
-Ronald L. Ziegler

Bull left at 3:00 pm.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-6 (cont.)

Date: December 9, 1971 Time: 3:00 pm - 3:29 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Hubert Maga and Sophia K. Porson; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introductions

Photographs

Maga's appreciation for meeting

[Photograph session]

# Alexander M. Haig, Jr. entered at 3:05 pm.

```
United Nations [UN]

-Previous meeting between the President and Maga
-Taiwan, vote

-Dahomey's position
-International relations

-Country size

-Dahomey

-India-Pakistan situation

-Cease-fire

-UN vote

-US position

-Population comparison

Dahomey-US relations
```

Dahomey-US relations
-UN

-Taiwan vote

Dahomey-US comparison

-Freedom

-Proposal for a working relationship in the future

Size of Dahomey

-Importance in US relations

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-7 (cont.)

```
Foreign aid
     -Multilateral
           -Potential Congressional opposition
                -Full support for US programs in Africa
Urban development
     -Importance to Dahomey
     -Development of roads
           -Possible problems
Dahomey agriculture
     -Drought
           -Corn
                -Rise in cost
                -US aid
                     -Assistance from West Germany and international organizations
                     -Level of importance to US interests
                           -Potential tragedy
Africa
     -New countries priorities
           -Education
           -Capital investment
           -Dahomey
                -Agriculture
                     -Increase in production of food crops and cash crops
                -Roads
                     -Niger
                     -Upper Votta
                     -Nigeria
                -City development and urban planning
                     -Water supply
                           -Problems concerning year-round access
                -Main source of assistance
                     -International organizations
                     -US loan to Southern Dahomey
                           -Water supply
                -Maga's visit to Geneva
                     -International Labor Organization [ILO]
                           -Maga's concern
```

#### Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-7 (cont.)

-American Federation of Labor-Congress of International

Organizations [AFL-CIO]

- -Opposition to ILO
- -George Meany
- -Congress
  - -Appropriations
    - -Domestic programs compared to international programs
- -Dahomey relations
  - -Work with the US
  - -[Forename unknown] Tevoedjre
    - -Candidacy
      - -Senegal, Cameroon, Chad
      - -Possible support from the President

#### Organization of African Unity [OAU]

- -UN recommendations
- -African chiefs of state memorandum
  - -Proposals on Middle East
    - -Possible US support
    - -Maga's conversation with Abba Eban
      - -Israeli agreement
    - -US consideration

#### Visit to African countries

-Yakubu Gowon

#### Closing remarks

- -The President's travels
- -The President's knowledge and support of Africa

The President, Maga, Haig, and Porson left at 3:29 pm.

Conversation No. 634-8

Date: December 9, 1971

Time: Unknown between 3:29 pm and 3:32 pm

Location: Oval Office

# Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-7 (cont.)

# The President met with Manolo Sanchez and Stephen B. Bull.

Jaime Arguelles meeting
-Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Sanchez and Bull left at an unknown time before 3:32 pm.

Conversation No. 634-9

Date: December 9, 1971 Time: 3:32 pm - 3:36 pm Location: Oval Office

# The President met with Jaime Arguelles and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

# Greetings

Letter from Gen. Francisco Franco -Spain's "Law-of-the-Sea" position -State Department

The President's regards to Franco

-President's previous visit to Spain

-Reception

-Franco's Family

-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

-Daughter and grandchildren

-Location

-Henry A. Kissinger

Closing remarks

-Invitation from the President

Arguelles and Haig left at 3:36 pm.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-9 (cont.)

Conversation No. 634-10

Date: December 9, 1971

Time: Unknown between 3:36 and 3:57 pm

Location: Oval Office

# The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield and Manolo Sanchez.

Judgeship announcement

Letter or bill signing

Butterfield and Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:57 pm.

Conversation No. 634-11

Date: December 9, 1971 Time: 3:57 pm - 3:59 pm Location: Oval Office

# The President met with Henry A. Kissinger

```
India-Pakistan situation
-Backgrounder
-Ceasefire
-Resumption of East-West negotiations
-Possible Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] action
-India
-Possible military action
```

-Trade

-Yuli M. Vorontsov

-Letter from Leonid I. Brezhnev

Kissinger left at 3:59 pm.

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 634-12

Date: December 9, 1971 Time: 4:00 pm - 4:41 pm Location: Oval Office

# The President met with Vladimir V. Matskevich, Yuli M. Vorontsov, and Henry A. Kissinger.

[General conversation]

-Kissinger's schedule

Introductory remarks

- -Photographs of exhibition in Moscow
  - -The President's attendance
  - -Milton S. Eisenhower
  - -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] agriculture

Message from Leonid I. Brezhnev

- -Greetings
- -The President's forthcoming trip to the USSR
  - -Significance

#### Brezhnev

- -Relationship with Matskevich
- -Forthcoming meeting with the President
- -Matskevich's view
- -Aleksei N. Kosygin

#### An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 4:00 pm.

Refreshments

# The unknown person left at an unknown time before 4:33 pm.

#### USSR trip

- -The President's upcoming meeting with Brezhnev
- -Significance
- -Brezhnev
- -US-USSR relations
  - -Possible impact

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-12 (cont.)

```
India-Pakistan situation
     -Brezhnev
     -Importance to the US
          -Sense of urgency
                -Possible settlement
US-USSR relations
     -Progress over the past three years
     -The President's anti-Communism
     -Negotiations
     -Andrei A. Gromyko
          -The President's previous conversation with Gromyko
                -The President's respect for USSR leaders
     -Progress
          -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
          -Berlin
          -European security conference
           -Kissinger
           -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
                -Middle East
                     -Formal discussions
                     -Potential opportunities
          -Berlin
          -Limitations of armaments
          -Middle East
          -European security conference
          -Trade
                -Maurice H. Stans
                     -Previous trip to USSR, November 1971
                -Peace and cooperation
                     -Different objectives
                     -USSR trip
                           -Timing
     -India-Pakistan situation
           -United Nations [UN]
                -Disagreements
                     -Possible outcome
          -Pakistan
                -People's Republic of China [PRC]
```

-Alliance

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-12 (cont.)

```
-USSR-Indian relations
     -PRC
     -Pakistan
          -US-USSR relations
                -Possible working relationship for peace
     -Conditions for peace
          -Ceasefire
          -Attacks on West Pakistan to cease
                -Possible action from the US
          -Negotiations
                -Prompted by Brezhnev [?]
                -Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
                     -Awami League
                -Withdrawal
          -Settlement
                -Fairness
     -USSR-Indian relations
          -Key to settlement
          -Negotiations
               -US influence
                     -Yahya Khan
                          -Awami League
     -Timing
     -Possible confrontation
     -Treaties
     -USSR-US cooperation
          -Spirit of cooperation
     -UN
          -Brezhnev
                -Sense of urgency
                -Differences between US and USSR
-Arms control
-Middle East
-India-Pakistan situation
-Trade
-Future of Europe
     -Accomplishments
     -Thanks from the President for the meeting
-Matskevich's conversations with Brezhnev
     -Pakistan
     -Europe
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-12 (cont.)

- -SALT
- -Trade
- -Agriculture
- -India-Pakistan situation
  - -Time to settle affairs
- -Matckevich's forthcoming conversation with Brezhnev
- -India-Pakistan situation
  - -Brezhnev's efforts and views
    - -[Yahya Khan]
  - -Formal reply
  - -Brezhnev

#### Closing remarks

- -The President's upcoming meeting in Moscow, May 1972
- -[Gifts]
- -Dobrynin
  - -Best wishes from the President

# Matskevich and Vorontsov left at 4:33 pm.

Meeting with USSR

- -Significance of meeting
  - -Outcome

State Department

**USSR-US** relations

-Status

India-Pakistan situation

- -PRC
- -Pakistan ambassador [Agha Hilaly]
- -Ceasefire
- -Possible withdrawal

#### Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 4:33 pm.

Photographs of Vorontsov

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 4:41 pm.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-12 (cont.)

```
India-Pakistan situation
        -US involvement
             -Potential diplomatic losses
        -Pakistan ambassador
             -Brezhnev letter
                  -Potential agreement between the US and USSR
             -Possible negotiations with the Awami League
             -Yahya Khan
             -PRC
        -USSR and US treaties
             -Complex in nature
        -West Pakistan
             -Attempt to end the conflict
        -Vorontsov
             -Kissinger's view on India-Pakistan
        -Carrier movements
         -Strait of Malacca
             -Meeting with the Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG]
                  -Evacuation
********************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security]
[Duration: 56s]
    INDIA
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
************************************
        -WSAG meeting
         -Meeting with Matskevich and Vorontsov
             -Significance
                  -President's policy
```

-Action by the President

# **Tape Subject Log** (rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-12 (cont.)

-European security conference -Middle East -SALT -Trade -USSR -Risk involved
-US bureaucracy
************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2 [National Security] [Duration: 37s]
INDIA
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
**************************
-WSAG meeting -The President's attitude
*************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3 [National Security] [Duration: 14s]
INDIA
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
************************

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-12 (cont.)

## Kissinger left at 4:41 pm.

Conversation No. 634-13

Date: December 9, 1971

Time: Unknown between 4:54 pm and 4:56 pm

Location: Oval Office

# The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

- -Meeting with John B. Connally
  - -Location
- -Henry A. Kissinger
- -Forthcoming telephone conversation with John D. Ehrlichman
  - -Veto message

-[Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971]

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:56 pm.

Conversation No. 634-14

Date: December 9, 1971

Time: Unknown between 4:54 pm and 4:56 pm

Location: Oval Office

## The President talked with John D. Ehrlichman.

Veto message

-[Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971]

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 634-15

Date: December 9, 1971 Time: 4:56 pm - 4:59 pm Location: Oval Office

#### The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

India-Pakistan situation

- -Kissinger's view
- -State Department
  - -News summary
- -Meeting with Vladimir V. Matskevich and Yuli M. Vorontsov
  - -President's view
  - -Upcoming Moscow Summit
  - -The President's tone
- -Pakistan
- -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - -India
    - -US appeal to USSR
    - -Possible meeting with Richard M. Helms

[Unintelligible]

Kissinger left at 4:59 pm.

Conversation No. 634-16

Date: December 9, 1971 Time: 4:59 pm - 5:54 pm Location: Oval Office

# The President met with John B. Connally.

Connally's schedule

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-16 (cont.)

```
Tax bill
     -Call to Wilbur D. Mills
           -The President's foreign policy"
          -"Check-off" deal
                -Anticipated reaction from Congress
     -Treasury Department
     -John [W. Byrnes?]
           -Comments
     -Strength
     -Mills and Byrnes
           -Praise
     -Call to Mills
           -Senate
           -President's request
                -Connally
                -Mills's skill
     -Revenue sharing
International monetary situation
     -George P. Shultz
          -Previous conversation with Connally
           -Surcharge in terms of trade
     -Arthur F. Burns
           -Conversations with New York bankers
     -The President's talk with Henry A. Kissinger
     -Burns
           -Convertibility
                -Condition for deal
     -Shultz
           -Possible deals
                -Connally
           -US position
     -Gold issue
     -Georges J.R. Pompidou
     -British
     -Pompidou
           -Usefulness to US
     -French
```

-Progress

-Paul A. Volcker and Connally -Position paper

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-16 (cont.)

```
-Burns's position
     -Fixed rates
     -International Monetary Fund [IMF]
     -Convertibility
          -Limited compared to full
                -Timing
-Shultz
     -Gold
          -Edward R.G. Heath
          -Connally
                -Previous conversation with Shultz
          -Press
          -Connally's meeting with the Ministers
-Convertibility
-Shultz
     -Henry S. Reuss-Jacob K. Javits Bill
-Congress
     -Shultz's concern
          -Connally's previous conversation with Shultz
     -Gold
          -Connally's view
          -Edward M. Kennedy
          -Edmund S. Muskie
          -Hubert H. Humphrey
          -Mills
-Convertibility
     -Connally's conversations
          -Former Secretaries of the Treasury
          -Democrats
     -Europeans
          -Pompidou
                -Realignment
          -Meeting in Rome
          -Price of gold
-Special Drawing Rights [SDRs]
     -British pound
     -French franc
     -Different standards
     -IMF
          -Future plans
-Surcharge
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-16 (cont.)

```
-Gold
-Limited convertibility
     -Opinions of financial experts
     -Shultz
     -IMF
          -Protecting the dollar against convertibility
     -Deficit
          -US money in other government's hands
                -Amount
          -US assets
                -Amount
     -Exchange rates
          -Germany
          -France
                -High rates
                     -US blamed
-Surcharge for realignment
-Gold for trade concessions
-Germany
     -Potential problems
-Pompidou
     -Connally's previous conversation with Kissinger
-Japan
     -Deals with US on bilateral basis
     -Trade and money
     -Wants a multilateral sum
-Canada
     -To be dealt on a bilateral basis
          -Potential US difficulties
-France
     -Pompidou
     -Willy Brandt
     -Heath
          -Under pressure for agreement
                -Deutsche mark
                     -Value
                -Franc
     -Gold-trade agreement
          -Trade concessions for the US
          -Remove surcharge
```

-10% devaluation of the dollar

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-16 (cont.)

```
-Pompidou
               -The President's upcoming meeting with Pompidou
                    -Knowledge of subject
                     -Connally and Valery Giscard D'estaing
                          -William P. Rogers
          -Proposed US deal with France
               -Maximum realignment
               -Proposed price of gold
                    -Italy
                    -Amount
                    -US-France negotiations
               -Connally's view
                    -Realignment
                          -US needs
                               -Political risks involved
                     -Trade concessions
                          -US needs
                               -US standing firms
                                    -Ultimatum
                          -Agriculture
                               -Grain storage commitment
                                    -Timing
-Germany
     -Pompidou
          -US concessions
          -Possible agreement
               -Timing of meeting
                     -Group of Ten
          -Negotiations
               -Value of money
-Japanese
-People's Republic of China [PRC] and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
-State Department
-Kissinger
     -Pompidou
          -D'Estaing
          -Andre Meyer
               -Individuals to be conferred without the President's meetings with
                    Pompidou
-Connally's meeting
     -Timing
```

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-16 (cont.)

```
-D'Estaing
          -Call for instructions
                -Pompidou
     -Japanese
          -Preparations for meeting
     -Germany
     -France
          -Key to the European Community importance in making a deal with
                France
          -Meyer
                -President's instructions
     -Bob Murphy
          -Meyer
     -Heath
     -Arthur H. Dean
          -Negotiator skills
                -Acquaintances
     -Kissinger
          -Possible attendance at meeting
     -Pompidou
          -Trust in Kissinger
-Heath
     -Brandt
          -Heath's possible agenda at meeting
-Canada
     -Edgar J. Benson
     -Floating the dollar
          -Convertibility
                -Negotiations
          -Benson
          -Pierre E. Trudeau
                -Presence at meeting
                -US investments in Canada
                     -Oil reserves
                     -Automobiles
     -US requirements from Canada
          -Trade concessions
          -Floating the dollar
                -Percentage and value
```

-Benson

-Automotive agreement

# Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-16 (cont.)

```
-Border crossings
```

-Exemptions

-Agreed to by Canada

-Possible agreement

- -French
- -Bilateral meetings
  - -The President's upcoming meetings with Brandt and Eisaku Sato
- -Meeting in January
  - -Group of Ten
  - -Ultimatum from US
- -Surcharge
- -French
- -Connally's meeting
  - -Group of Ten
  - -Sato, Brandt and Heath
    - -Potential problem for the President
- -France
  - -Gold
    - -Possible problems for US
      - -History
- -Germany
- -Connally's schedule
- -Policy paper
  - -Kissinger

#### Brazil

-The President's meeting with Emilio Garrastazu Medici

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-16 (cont.)

\* BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [National Security] [Duration: 16s] **BRAZIL** END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 \* -Fidel Castro -Juan Velasco Alvarado -Organization of American States [OAS] -No change in US policy -Bolivia -Medici -Elections -Venezuela -Colombia -Argentine ambassador [Pedro E. Real] -Conversation with Connally -Democracy compared with stability -Unknown person -Population growth in Brazil -In comparison with -Bolivia -Chile -Argentina -Time span

International monetary situation

- -Latin America
- -Canada
- -Southeast Asia
- -Indonesia
- -US economic growth

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 634-16 (cont.)

-Gross National Product [GNP]

-Compared to Great Britain

-Indonesia ambassador's [Suedjatmoko] previous conversation with Connally

-Trudeau dinner

-International organization [International Group for Aid to Indonesia [IGAI]]

-Meeting in Brussels

-Aid amount to Indonesia

-US amount

-Multilateral amount

-Direct aid

-Amount

-Japan

-Netherlands

-Germany

-Proposal to increase aid

-Congress

-World bank

-Cut in aid

-India

-Assistance

-Lt. Gen. T.N.J. Suharto

# Connally left at 5:54 pm.

Conversation No. 634-17

Date: December 9, 1971

Time: Unknown between 5:54 pm and 5:57 pm

Location: Oval Office

#### The President talked with an unknown person.

The President's schedule

-Request for a meeting with an unknown person

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Date: December 9, 1971

Time: Unknown between 5:54 pm and 5:57 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule -Veto message

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 5:57 pm.

Conversation No. 634-19

Date: December 9, 1971 Time: 5:57 pm - 6:34 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security]

[National Security] [Duration: 42s]

**PAKISTAN** 

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*

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

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No.634- 19 (cont.)

- -People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - -Possible results of proposed settlement
    - -Optimism
- -East Pakistan
- -Leonid I. Brezhnev letter
  - -Contents of letter
- -USSR-US declaration
  - -Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
- -United Nations [UN] Security Council
  - -Preparations in case India rejects proposal
- -West Pakistan
- -Ceasefire
- -Bangladesh
  - -Potential negotiations between East and West Pakistan leaders
    - -Possible independence
- -Yahya Khan
- -East Pakistan
  - -President's view
- -USSR meeting
  - -Possible watershed in US-USSR relations
  - -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  - -Kissinger's talk with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
    - -Kissinger's view
    - -Forthcoming Moscow Summit
  - -Yuli M. Vorontsov
  - -Letter to Brezhnev
    - -Timing
  - -[Vladimir V. Matskevich]
    - -Compared to Andrei A. Gromyko
      - -Brezhnev
  - -Brezhnev
    - -Pressure during upcoming Moscow Summit

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No.634- 19 (cont.)

\* BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4 [National Security] [Duration: 4s ] **CANADA** END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4 \* -Aleksei N. Kosygin -UN vote -Liberal establishment -Edward M. Kennedy [?] -West Pakistan -Preservation -John B. Connally -President's instructions to Kissinger -Indonesia aid -Amount -India -Possible repercussions \* BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5 [National Security] [Duration: 44s ] MIDDLE EAST END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5 \*

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No.634- 19 (cont.)

```
-Indian Ambassador
            -John N. ("Jack") Irwin, II
        -Timing
        -[State Department]
        -USSR
        -Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG] meeting
            -Timing
            -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
            -David Packard
            -Helms
        -Carrier movement
            -Moorer
        -Planes
***********************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[National Security]
[Duration: 2s]
    INDIA
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
******************************
            -Kissinger's forthcoming conversation with Vorontsov
        -Haig
            -Comments on the President's statement
Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 6:05 pm.
```

Veto message

President's schedule

-Defense Department budget meeting

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No.634- 19 (cont.)

```
-Barry M. Goldwater
     -Possible schedule conflicts
     -Clark MacGregor
     -Cabinet Room
     -Previous commitments
     -Melvin R. Laird
          -Location
     -John G. Tower
     -Peter H. Dominick
     -Edward J. Gurney
     -William Clay
     -Proposed talk to Congress
          -Authorization appropriation
               -Amount
               -MacGregor
     -Goldwater
          -Defense budget
               -Conservatives
-USSR
-Amount of time
-Forces
-Laird
-Congress
     -Laird
-Proposed time
     -President's instructions
```

The President's schedule

-Packard and Moorer

# Butterfield left at 6:18 pm.

```
Defense budget meeting
-Moorer
-Call from Kissinger
-Packard
-Force level
```

International monetary situation

-Kissinger's possible meeting with Georges J.R. Pompidou

-The President's talk with Connally

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No.634- 19 (cont.)

```
-Valery Giscard D'estaing
     -Pompidou
          -Relationship
          -Possible implications in deal with Pompidou
               -Edward R.G. Heath
               -Germany
               -Japan
               -December 18, 1971 meeting
               -Germany
               -Canada
               -Great Britain
                     -Possible agenda
     -Group of Ten meeting
          -Timing
     -President's instructions
          -Price of Gold
          -Trade concessions
          -PRC Ambassador
-Kissinger's schedule
-Azores
-Kissinger's qualifications
     -The President's confidence in Kissinger
-Andre Meyer
     -Political implications
-Pompidou
     -Possible deal
          -Kissinger's view
          -Michel Jobert
          -Arthur K. Watson
-Kissinger's talk with Connally
-Germany
-Azores
     -The President' upcoming meeting with Marcello Jose Neves Alves
           Caetano
          -Timing
          -Presence at meeting
-Pompidou
     -President's instructions to Kissinger
```

-Connally

-Pompidou's time of arrival

#### Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No.634- 19 (cont.)

```
State Department
     -Bureaucracy
          -Treatment of the President
               -News summaries
     -Foreign policy
          -Cambodia and Laos
               -North Korea
                     -[Response to 1969 EC-121 shootdown]
                          -William P. Rogers
                          -Laird
                               -Possible mis-step by the Administration
India-Pakistan situation
     -Wire to Moscow
          -Answer
     -Meeting with USSR
          -Ceasefire
          -Awami League
          -Mujibar Rahman
     -West Pakistan
          -Losses
               -Bombing of Karachi
          -State Department
               -Delhi and Islambad
               -US policy
                     -Determination
                     -Comparison with past government [World War I]
                          -Czar Nicholas II
                          -German Emperor
     -Brezhnev
     -Meeting with [Matskevich]
          -Toughness from the President
          -European Security Conference
          -Middle East
          -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
          -Treaties
               -USSR and US
          -Israelis against the Egyptians
```

\*

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No.634- 19 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3 National Security] Duration: 7s ]
MIDDLE EAST
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
***************************************
-USSR-Indian relations -Possible reaction -West Pakistan attack -India -Aid -USSR -1972 election -Potential for animosity
************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7 National Security] Duration: 3s ]
INDIA
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7  ***********************************
-US intellectuals

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No.634- 19 (cont.)

Unknown Ambassador

Kissinger left at 6:34 pm.

Conversation No. 634-20

Date: December 9, 1971

Time: Unknown between 6:36 pm and 6:47 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown men [Secret Service agents] met.

[Unintelligible]

The President's location -Residence

[Unintelligible]

The unknown men [Secret Service agents] left at an unknown time before 6:47 pm.