



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

[Conversation No. 631-001](#)  
[Conversation No. 631-004](#)  
[Conversation No. 631-007](#)  
[Conversation No. 631-010](#)

[Conversation No. 631-002](#)  
[Conversation No. 631-005](#)  
[Conversation No. 631-008](#)  
[Conversation No. 631-011](#)

[Conversation No. 631-003](#)  
[Conversation No. 631-006](#)  
[Conversation No. 631-009](#)  
[Conversation No. 631-012](#)

[Conversation No. 631-001](#)

Date: December 7, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 12:57 pm and 1:58 pm  
Location: Oval Office

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

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

People's Republic of China [PRC] trip

- William P. Rogers
  - Conversation with Haldeman
  - Henry A. Kissinger
  - Comments
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] trip
  - India

India-Pakistan war

- Haldeman's talk with Rogers
  - Press stories
  - Rogers-Kissinger
- President's instructions
  - Haldeman's possible call to Rogers
    - Press articles
    - Staff meeting
      - Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Administration policy
- Press stories
  - Time* and *Newsweek*
    - Lead story for the week
  - Mary McGrory



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- Types of stories
- Kissinger
  - United Nations [UN]-Taiwan
  - India-Pakistan war
- Administration responsibility
  - Frank F. Church
  - Edward M. Kennedy
  - Refugees
  - India
- The President's conversation with Rogers
  - Rogers working style
    - Compared to
      - John B. Connally
      - Kissinger
        - George P. Shultz
          - Previous conversation with Kissinger
            - Connally
  - Kissinger resignation
    - Previous attempt by Kissinger
      - Timing
        - Laos
        - PRC trip
        - 1972 election
          - Probable timing of resignation
    - Possible reasons
    - Paris Peace Talks
    - State Department
      - Magazines
        - James B. Reston

Foreign policy

- Rogers
  - Expertise [?]

PRC

- Rogers
  - Talks with Haldeman
  - State Department



Kissinger

-India

-The President's stance

-Military aid

-Economic aid

-Indira Gandhi

-Difficulties

-Kennedy

-Kenneth B. Keating

-Rogers

-National Security Council [NSC]

-Kissinger

-Appearance on National Broadcasting Company's [NBC]  
program, "A Day in the Life of the President", December  
6, 1971

Pierre E. Trudeau meeting

-Kissinger's location

The President's schedule

-Appearance on NBC program, "A Day in the Life of the President"

-Haldeman

-Charles W. Colson

-Peter M. Flanigan

-Robert H. Finch

-Donald H. Rumsfeld

-Finch

-Location

-Domestic Council meeting

-Spiro T. Agnew

-Possible agenda for meeting [?]

-Rogers

-Kissinger

-Haldeman's previous calls

Kissinger

-Relations with staff

-Trudeau dinner

-Toast



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- Television
  - Kissinger's style
- Backgrounders
  - Rogers
  - PRC
  - Kissinger and Rogers

Connally's news conference

Agnew

- Style and manner at Trudeau dinner

Kissinger resignation

- State Department
  - Frustration over policy
- Haldeman's talk with Ziegler
  - Backgrounder
- Kissinger
  - Handling
    - Actions
      - Concern from Haldeman

Haldeman left at 1:58 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-002](#)

Date: December 7, 1971

Time: 2:59 pm - 3:02 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Henry A. Kissinger

- Ziegler's talk with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- Talk with Ziegler
  - State Department



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- Edward M. Kennedy
- United Nations [UN]
  - India-Pakistan
    - Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
      - Coalition government
      - Kissinger
    - Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
    - State Department
      - Joseph J. Sisco
        - Backgrounder
        - Timing
  - Kennedy
    - India-Pakistan
    - Refugees into India
      - Humanitarian aid
      - Kissinger
    - The President's forthcoming talk with Ziegler

Ziegler left at 3:02 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-003](#)

Date: December 7, 1971  
Time: 3:04 pm - 3:11 pm  
Location: Oval Office

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

- India-Pakistan
  - Backgrounder
    - Ronald L. Ziegler's talk with Henry A. Kissinger

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:04 pm.

- The President's schedule
  - Meeting with Maurice H. Stans



Bull left at an unknown time before 3:11 pm.

India-Pakistan

- Kissinger's backgrounder
  - Talk with Ziegler
  - Talk with Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - The President's view
  - State Department
    - The President's talk with Ziegler
      - William P. Rogers
  - Ziegler's previous conversation with Haldeman
    - Rogers's speech at Pierre E. Trudeau dinner
      - Timing
      - Kissinger's comments
        - Conversation with Haldeman
        - Possible fallout from Rogers' speech
          - Cienfuegos crisis
          - India-Pakistan
            - State Department
            - Middle East negotiations
  - Kissinger's negotiations
    - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
    - People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - [Pakistan and India]
    - Iran
      - Cable
      - Haldeman's questions to Kissinger
- Rogers's speech
  - National Security Council [NSC]
  - Backgrounder
  - The President's statement
    - Tone
    - Haldeman's view
  - Canadians' comments

Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:04 pm.



The President's schedule

- Meeting with Stans
  - Peter G. Peterson and Kissinger
  - Timing

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:11 pm.

Kissinger's backgrounder

Haldeman left at 3:11 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-004](#)

Date: December 7, 1971

Time: 3:12 pm - 4:29 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Maurice H. Stans, Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., and Peter G. Peterson; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting

Greetings

Stans's trip to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR], November 20-30, 1971

- Length
- Sweden
- USSR
- Poland
  - Duration
- Sweden
  - Courtesy call by Stans
- Poland
  - Bank credits
  - Debt
    - Stans' report
    - Export-Import [Ex-Im] Bank credits



- Romania
- Timing
- USSR
  - Moscow
  - Leningrad
  - Azerbaijan Republic
    - Baku
  - Georgian Republic
    - Tbilisi
    - Duration of time
  - Stans' visits with Aleksei N. Kosygin
    - Length of meetings
  - Proposed agenda
    - US-USSR relations
    - Trade
    - Kosygin's view
    - Working groups
    - The President's forthcoming trip
      - Timing of working groups announcement
    - Political situation
      - Importance and possible improvement
      - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
    - Commercial situation
    - Letter to the President
      - Contents
        - Agreements reached during Stans' visit
        - Description of letter
  - Stans's meetings with Minister of Foreign Trade
  - Stans's meeting with the Ministers of Petroleum, Gas, Automobiles, Shipping, and Standards
  - Stans's meeting with the Chairman of the State Committee on Science and Technology, The Chamber of Commerce, Foreign Trade Bank and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers
    - Azerbaijan and Georgian Republic
  - US-USSR relations
  - Kosygin's five-year plan
    - Significance
    - Supreme Soviet
      - Helmut("Hal") Sonnenfeldt





- Stans' attendance at the Supreme Soviet
  - Treatment
- Georgian Republic
  - Entertainment for Stans' group
- Plane
- Escorts
- Entertainment
- Pravda
  - Stories about Stans' visit
- Commercial relationship
  - Trade
  - Improvement of relations
- Most-favored nation [MFN] status
  - Possible discrimination
- Export-Import [Ex-Im] bank credits
- Trade restrictions
  - Possible negotiations
- Lend-lease debt
  - Potential settlement
- Working groups
  - Minister of Foreign Trade
  - US Department of Commerce
    - Continuance of discussions
  - Four members from each
    - Location of meetings
  - Joint trade ventures
  - American businessmen in the USSR
    - Special arrangements
    - Discussed on fact finding groups
  - Kosygin's view
- Trade possibilities
  - Peterson's figures
    - Possible conversation between Stans and Peterson
    - President's previous meeting
- Western Europe
  - Amount
- Stans' goal
  - Projections
  - 1975



- Poland
- Eastern Europe figures
  - Comparison with USSR
  - Vietnam
- Kosygin
  - Grain sales
    - Ex-Im bank credit
      - Compared to industrial equipment
      - Duration
        - Poland
        - Yugoslavia and Romania
      - Duration
      - Commodity Credit Corporation [CCC] credits
    - Political value
      - Amount
    - Grain supplies in Eastern Europe
    - Credit terms
    - Maritime unions
- Factories and plants
  - Off-shore oil operations in Baku
    - Steel mills, generator factories
    - G.U.M store
- Travel restrictions
  - Freedom for Stans
- Stans's talk with workers and shopkeepers
  - The President's forthcoming visit
    - Possible tone of reception
      - Desire for understanding from all Russians
- Press
- Stans's letter to the Minister of Foreign Trade
  - January 6, 1972 meeting
    - Location
  - Grain agreement
  - Ex-Im bank credit
    - Lend-lease agreement
      - Pace of negotiations
  - Offer of visit to the US
    - Stans' counterpart
    - Timing



- The President's forthcoming trip to the USSR
- USSR bank in the US
  - Location
  - Reciprocal basis
- Stans' impressions
  - Store merchandise
    - Quality of merchandise
  - Housing shortage
  - Automobiles
  - Five year plan
    - Consumer goods
  - Standard of living
  - Factories
    - Performance
    - Profit motive
  - Progress
  - Poland and USSR
    - Similarities
  - Stans in Poland
  - Apparent US-USSR differences
  - Kosygin
- US business in USSR
- Natural resources
  - Gas
  - Copper
  - Diamonds
    - World production
    - Percentage
- Potential US rival
  - Timing
- Issues
  - Level of importance
  - MFN status
    - 1951 trade agreement
    - Kosygin's view
    - Congressional action
      - Poland
      - Romania
      - Vietnam



- Trade
  - US tariffs
  - USSR difficulties
- Ex-Im bank credit
  - Consumer goods
  - Capital
  - Joint ventures and credit facilities
- Export controls
  - Ongoing reductions
  - List
    - Kosygin's view
- Increase in scientific and technological cooperation
  - Working group
    - Space flight
    - Pollution control
    - Range of cooperation
- Trade agreement
  - 1936-1951
    - Duration of US-USSR agreement
  - Other countries
    - Number of agreements
  - Lend-lease negotiations
- State committee for science and technology
  - Cooperation
    - Canada and France
    - Potential working group
- US issues
  - Access for us business
    - Offices
      - Lack thereof
    - Pan American [PanAm]
    - American express
      - Telex
      - Intourist
  - MFN restrictions
  - Market requirements
    - Freedom
      - Access to factories
  - Bilateral procedures for settling commercial disputes



- Agricultural exports
- Lend-lease debt
- Joint ventures
  - US equipment
    - USSR natural resources development
      - Mining of copper, nickel, chrome, gas and oil
  - Pay back in product
    - Including interest
    - Long-term supply contract
  - Gas pipeline
    - Location
      - Baltic Sea
        - Analogy to Algeria
    - Possible national security concerns
- Trade
  - Proposed increase with the US
  - Contracts to US companies
    - Kama River truck plant
      - Timing
  - Minister of petroleum
    - “Shopping list”
      - Technology and equipment
      - Cost
    - Advantages of US
      - Labor intensive products
      - US buying of resources
- Europe
  - Joint ventures
    - Other European countries
      - USSR agreements with western countries
      - Types of ventures and development
- MFN status
  - Amount of trade
- Ex-Im bank credit
  - Credit from other countries
- Economy
  - Increase in productivity and trade
  - Growth rate
    - Projected amount



- Gross National Product [GNP]
  - Japan comparison
  - Kosygin's speech
    - Five year plan
    - Potential equivalent of US in production
  - Potential truck plant
  - Kama River
    - Ford Motor Company
    - USSR representatives
- Raw materials
  - Titanium, platinum, copper, zinc
  - Timber development
    - US-USSR collaboration
- Significance
  - Step up economic relations with US
  - Develop greater understanding of US
- Technological growth
  - Need to catch up
- Government
  - Structure
- MFN status
  - Limitations
    - Possible psychological barrier
- American goods
  - Equivalent amount
- USSR self-interest
- US economy
  - USSR propaganda
- Capitalism
  - Possible USSR attitudes
- Stans' conversation with Minister of foreign trade
  - Press criticism
    - The President's forthcoming visit
    - SALT
      - USSR press towards the US
  - Separation of commerce and political activities
- Stans's recommendations
  - Fact finding group
  - Continuation



- Ex-Im bank credit
  - Step towards normalizing relations
    - Romania
  - Lend-lease debt negotiation
- Grains
  - Five year agreement
    - Value to US
- Export control lists
  - Coordinating Committee [COCOM]
  - Military hardware
- US-USSR high level working group
  - Scientific and technological cooperation
- Travel restriction reduction
  - Tourism
    - Potential for buying more goods
- MFN status
  - Lend-lease debt
- Johnson Act repeal
  - Congress
  - Private financing limits
- Negotiation of a trade agreement
  - Establishment of US control
    - USSR protection of copyrights
- Stans' report to the president
  - Memorandum of conversations
  - USSR trade agreements with other countries
  - USSR joint ventures
    - United Kingdom
    - West Germany
    - Italy
    - France
- Stans' letter to the Minister of Foreign Trade
- Kosygin
  - Previous conversation with Stans
    - The President
      - Decision-making
      - Possible tenure
      - Democrats
    - Future of US-USSR relations



The President talked with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman at an unknown time between 3:12 pm and 4:00 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-4A]

The President's schedule

- Meeting with Ronald L. Ziegler and Henry A. Kissinger
- Timing

[End of telephone conversation]

Stans' trip to the USSR

- Kosygin
  - Conversation style
    - Alertness
    - Age
    - Tea
    - Bridges
    - US
- USSR bureaucrats
  - Minister of Shipping
  - Age
  - People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Spain
    - Age comparisons to USSR leaders
- Stans' forthcoming press meetings
  - "Face the Nation"
  - "Meet the press"
  - Press conference
    - Nature of Stans' trip to the USSR
- India/Pakistan situation
- Stans' report
  - Guidance paper
- President's instructions
  - Recommendations
    - State Department
    - US bargaining position





Kissinger and Ziegler entered at 4:00 pm.

- Stans' recommendations
  - Press
    - Relations
  - American businessmen
    - Stans' deal

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*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 07/11/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[631-004-w001]  
[Duration: 28s]

- Maurice H. Stans's trip to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Maurice H. Stans's recommendations
    - American businessmen
      - Maurice H. Stans's deal
        - The President's order
  - American Express

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- Maurice H. Stans's trip to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Length of trip
  - Press interviews
    - US News and World Report*
      - Interview
        - Timing
        - Stans' relationship with the press
  - Importance
  - Grain credits
  - Bank credits
  - Joint ventures
  - Long term financing efforts



- John [Surname unknown] telephone call
  - Timing
- SALT
- Stans' report
  - Copies
  - Possible watershed in US-USSR relations
- Kosygin
  - Optimism
- Entertainment
- Haig
- Press interviews
  - Stans and Peterson meeting with Haig
    - Stans' possible comments
    - Recommendations
      - Briefing paper
      - Stans' tone with the press
  - USSR
    - Possible MFN status
    - India/Pakistan
  - Stans' possible comments
    - Businessmen
    - USSR learning US markets
    - Kosygin's interests
    - Politics
  - The President's recommendations
    - The President's upcoming meeting with USSR leaders
      - Thoughts for Stans
    - European alliance
    - COCOM
    - American businessmen in USSR
    - Department of Commerce
    - Trade documentation center
      - Poland
    - State Department
- Value of trip
- Briefing the cabinet

Stans, Haig and Peterson left at 4:15 pm.



The President left and returned at an unknown time before 4:19 pm.

An unknown person entered and left at an unknown time before 4:19 pm.

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[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/11/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[631-004-w002]

[Duration: 26s]

Maurice H. Stans's trip to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

-Henry A. Kissinger's brother

-Career

-Conglomerates

-German

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India-Pakistan situation

-Press conference

-Number of participants

-Backgrounder

-India as a country

-President's instructions

-The President's trips to India in 1953, 1957, and 1969

-Backgrounder preparation for Kissinger

-Foreign aid

-Indira Gandhi

-Marvin L. Kalb

-Summarize the administration's efforts

-Indians

-East Pakistan

-William P. Rogers

-Economic and military aid cut-off

-Kissinger's trip to India



- Pakistanis
- Kissinger's conversations with the Indians
- Alternatives
- Military aid

The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 4:15 pm and 4:19 pm.

[Conversation No. 431-4B]

Kissinger's request for Haig

[End of telephone conversation]

Haig entered at 4:19 pm.

Kissinger's schedule

India-Pakistan

- Press
  - Edward M. Kennedy
  - Intended action
- US actions
  - Documentation
- East Pakistan

Haig left at 4:20 pm.

India-Pakistan

- Press
- Ziegler's conversation with Kalb
  - Concerns from Kalb
- President's schedule
  - Transcript
- The President's previous conversations with Gandhi and Indian officials
- USSR
  - Kalb



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[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number  
LPRN-T-MDR-2014-032. Segment declassified on 05/22/2019. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[631-004-w003]

[Duration: 7s]

India–Pakistan

- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Intelligence report
    - Informed India of US arms delivery to Pakistan

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India–Pakistan

- President’s instructions
  - US influence
  - United Nations [UN] observers
  - Military and civilian governments
- Kissinger's meetings with Indian ambassador and the Pakistan foreign secretary in  
November 1971
  - Timing
- Refugees
- Political settlement
  - Negotiations

Haig entered at 4:23 pm.

- Aid program
  - Amount
    - Timing
- Bureaucracy
- Soviets and India
- Chinese and Pakistan
  - US interests
- Joseph J. Sisco
- Kissinger’s plan



-Refugees

Kissinger talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 4:23 pm and 4:29 pm.

Request for a call to Harold H. Saunders

[Conversation No. 431-4C]

[End of telephone conversation]

- Backgrounder
  - White paper
- Bangladesh
  - US contact
  - Indians
- Gandhi
  - Possible withdrawal of forces
  - Difference of opinion
- UN
  - Support of Administration's position
  - General assembly
    - Kissinger's talk with George H. W. Bush
    - Vote
- Kennedy
  - Possible actions taken by the Administration
- USSR
  - Indians
  - Message
- Kissinger's forthcoming briefing

Ziegler, Kissinger and Haig left at 4:29 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-005](#)

Date: December 7, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 4:29 pm and 4:33 pm  
Location: Oval Office



The President talked with Harold H. Saunders.

Henry A. Kissinger's location

[Conversation No. 631-006](#)

Date: December 7, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 4:29 pm and 4:33 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Henry A. Kissinger's call to Harold H. Saunders  
-Return call from Saunders

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:33 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-007](#)

Date: December 7, 1971  
Time: 4:33 pm - 5:05 pm  
Location: Oval Office

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

Henry A. Kissinger  
-Backgrounder  
-India-Pakistan situation  
-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]  
-US position vis-à-vis  
-Timing  
-State Department  
-Negotiations  
-Middle East



- William P. Rogers
  - Remarks
  - People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
- USSR
  - Haldeman's talk with Kissinger
    - Opportunities
  - State Department
- Edward M. Kennedy

John B. Connally

- Meeting with Haldeman
  - Timing
- Meeting with the President
  - Connally's schedule

Kissinger

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/11/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[631-007-w002]

[Duration: 1m 18s]

Southern politics

- Harry S. Dent
  - Black support
    - Possible support for the President
- John N. Mitchell
  - Opposed to black support
  - Talk with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

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George Meany

- Health





- George P. Shultz report
- Dr. Walter R. Tkach
- John F. O'Connell [?]
- Extent of illness
- Projected recovery time
- [Joseph] Lane Kirkland
- Eugenia Meany
- Shultz
- Miami American Federation of Labor and Congress of International Organization [AFL-CIO] conference
- Connally
- “Touch-up”
- Shultz
- O'Connell
- Possible plans to replace Meany
- International concerns
- Probable successor to Meany
- Tkach
- Meany's health
- Kirkland
- Miami
- Blame
- Meany's health
- Time* and *Newsweek* articles
- Letters to the editor
- Unfavorable to Meany

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[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/11/2019. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[631-007-w003]

[Duration: 7m 15s]

Polls

- Gallup trial heats, November 19-22
- Registered voters



- Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy changes
  - Publish on December 9
- The President's figures
  - Compared to Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
- George C. Wallace changes
- Undecided changes

The President talked to an unknown person at an unknown time after 4:33 pm.

Congress of Industrial Organizations [CIO] [?]

[End of telephone conversation]

Polls

- Gallup trial heats, November 19-22
  - Registered voters
    - Edmund S. Muskie changes
    - Hubert H. Humphrey changes
    - George S. McGovern changes
- December 12, 1971
- George H. Gallup, Jr.
  - Dinner on December 7, 1971
- H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's meal with Robert Teeter
  - John N. Mitchell
  - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's opinion
  - Opinion Research Corporation [ORC]
  - Computers
    - International Business Machines [IBM]
  - Key states
  - National
  - Gallup
- Edmund S. Muskie
- George S. McGovern
- Gallup poll
  - Registered voters
- George C. Wallace
  - Steady percentages
  - Approval
- Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy and Edmund S. Muskie



- Democrats rarely get blamed
  - Unfair blame to the President
- Papers
  - Dwight L. Chapin
  - John S. Davies
  - Donald H. Rumsfeld
  - George H. Gallup, Jr.

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#### The President's schedule

- Connally meeting
  - Timing
- Congressional message
  - Pension plan
  - Possible statement
- Peter M. Flanigan
- Previous conversation with Haldeman

#### Kissinger

- Other motivations
- USSR
- Vietnam War negotiations
- India-Pakistan
  - USSR
  - Possible arms deal with India
- Resignation
  - PRC trip
  - Haldeman's talk with Kissinger
    - Haldeman's point to Kissinger
    - Possible solutions
  - Close out business
- PRC
  - Interest in Kissinger's possible resignation
- Story
  - Kissinger
  - Possible future scenario
- Election



- Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
- Teaching career
  - Recognition
    - Lyndon B. Johnson administration
    - Walt W. Rostow
    - McGeorge Bundy
    - Robert S. McNamara
    - Dean G. Acheson
    - Dean Rusk
    - Georgia
- Proposed book by Kissinger
  - Content
  - Notes
    - John D. Ehrlichman
    - Description of notes

Stock market  
-Figures

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 4:33 p.m.

Meeting with Moynihan  
-Location

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 5:05 pm.

Stock market

Kissinger

- Connally
  - Meeting
    - Possible times
    - Purpose of meeting
- Handling
  - Methods in dealing with potential problems
  - Haldeman
    - Possible second guessing
- USSR
  - State Department



-Haldeman's view  
-Aid cut off

Haldeman left at 5:05 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-008](#)

Date: December 7, 1971  
Time: 5:05 pm - 6:16 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan and John D. Ehrlichman.

United Nations [UN]  
-Ambassador  
-India/Pakistan  
-Israel

India-Pakistan  
-War

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*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-003. Segment declassified on 04/16/2015. Archivist: DR]*

[National Security]  
[631-008-w001]  
[Duration: 17s]

India-Pakistan  
-War  
-Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan's opinion  
-The President's opinion on Indian desire for war

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- India–Pakistan
  - War
    - Withdrawal
      - Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
    - Talks with East Pakistani leader
      - Location
        - Calcutta
    - Indira Gandhi
      - Trip

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-003. Segment declassified on 04/16/2015. Archivist: DR]*  
 [National Security]  
 [631-008-w004]  
 [Duration: 27s]

- India–Pakistan
  - War
    - Destruction of ships
    - East Pakistan
    - West Pakistan

\*\*\*\*\*

- India–Pakistan
  - War
    - East Pakistan
      - Refugees
    - Military operations
      - Possible duration
        - Cleanup in East
          - Duration



- UN
  - Indian elections [?]
  - East Pakistan
  - Partition

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-003. Segment declassified on 04/16/2015. Archivist: DR]*

[National Security]  
[631-008-w005]  
[Duration: 1m]

- India–Pakistan
  - War
    - Movement of forces into West Pakistan
    - East Pakistan
      - Bengal
    - Ability of Indians to conquer West Pakistan
    - Possible length of war
    - People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    - Pressure on West Pakistan

\*\*\*\*\*

- United Nations [UN]
  - George G.W. Bush
    - Praise from Moynihan
  - Unknown Stalinist
  - PRC representatives
    - [Forename unknown] Jackson [?]
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Moynihan’s schedule
  - Secretary General [U Thant]
    - Max Jacobson
    - Agha Sadruddin Khan
    - Maurice Strong



- Canada
  - Environment concerns
  - Chances to become Secretary General
- Jacobson
  - Background
    - Jewish descent
  - USSR
  - Arabs
- Arab-Israeli dispute
  - Unknown person
    - Background
      - Saudi Arabia
- Secretary General
  - President's view
    - U Thant
      - Possible asylum
        - Burma
          - Unable to return
  - Bush
    - Moynihan's upcoming conversation with Bush
  - Agha Sadruddin Khan
    - Youth
      - Friendly to the Administration
    - Yahya Khan's brother
    - Iranian passport
    - Zanzibar
    - Education
      - Harvard University
    - Qualifications
  - Jacobson
  - USSR
  - Arabs
  - Importance of selecting the Secretary General
    - Type
  - Strong
    - Support from the President
  - People's Republic of China [PRC]





- USSR
- Sadruddin Khan
  - Security council
  - Refugee reports

Busing issue

- Politics
- Constitutional amendment
  - Civil rights issue
- James S. Coleman
- Effects on children
- North compared to South
- Moynihan's view
  - Civil rights movement
  - Consequences
    - Possible damage to race relations
      - William H. Rehnquist
    - Constitutional amendment
      - Possible perception by Blacks
      - Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education*
- January 1969
- State of the nation
  - Decline in confidence
- Whites
  - Majority
    - Degree of wellness individually
    - Discouragement over the future
    - Large percentage believe country is "worse off"
    - Studies
- Brown* decision
  - President's accomplishments
  - Integration
    - Supreme Court
      - Dual school systems in the South after *Brown* decision
      - Percentage
      - Percentage during the Nixon Administration
- North
  - Dual school system
  - Non-existent



- Ethnic community schools
  - Neutral
    - Ethnic pockets in the North
- Court decisions
  - Learning about the education process
  - Courts are usually proven wrong
    - Brown* decision
      - Difficult to prove in court
- President's message to Congress on education, March 1970
  - Style of messages
  - Timing
    - Cambodia
- Congressional action
  - Moynihan's previous telephone conversation with John W. Gardner
- Dual school system
  - National requirements
- Schools' performance
  - Lower class students
  - More choice
  - Expenditures
  - South
- National Institute of Education [NIE]
  - Education bill
    - Progress
      - Possible results
- Dual school system
  - Possible elimination
    - Particular methods tried
- New York Times*
- H.L. Mencken quote
- Race relations
  - Hostility in schools
    - Elementary and secondary
      - Blacks
      - Jews
  - Local control
    - New York City
      - Tax brackets
- John V. Lindsay



- Re-election chances
- Public schools
- Parochial schools
  - Financing
- Domestic Council
- British
- Dutch
- French
- Canadians
- Australians
- Consequences
- Possible Constitutional amendment
  - End of the dual school system
- Alexander M. Bickel paper
- John N. Mitchell
- New York Times*
- Increase in elementary and secondary school population during the 1970s
- Teachers
  - Increase
- President's instructions
  - Education bill
    - Possible Congressional action
    - Moynihan-Ehrlichman meeting
    - Comparison to revenue-sharing
    - Senate
      - Tax bill
        - Wilbur D. Mills
        - Check off
- Bickel letter
  - New era of education
  - National Primary and Secondary School Educational Opportunities Act of 1972
    - Busing and desegregation
- California and Michigan decision
  - Compared to the President's People's Republic of China [PRC] initiative
  - 1967
- Neil H. McElroy Commission
  - [Forename unknown] Serrano [sp?]
- Congressional action
- President's instructions to Moynihan



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- Bickel letter
  - New era
    - Possible support from Blacks
- Race relations
  - Potential speech from the President
    - Leadership
    - Reassurance
- Desegregation
  - Progress since 1969
    - Dual school system
    - Congress
- McElroy Commission
  - Duration
- Moynihan's suggestions
  - National institute [?]
    - March 1970
- Emergency school aid
  - Finances
- School vouchers
  - Opportunity for children
  - Experiments
    - California
      - Legal decision
    - Florida
      - Possible changes
  - Property tax and value added tax
  - Private schools
- Blacks
  - Reassurance
    - Symbolic gesture by the President
      - John N. Mitchell quote
- Ideal school system
  - Choices
    - Legislation
- Bickel arguments
  - Busing is symbolic
  - New era of education
    - Busing and desegregation
    - Declare peace



- Federal money
- Equality of education
- Inequality in educational opportunities
  - California decision
  - Serrano [sp?]
- Intelligence Quotient [IQ] scale
  - Comparison
    - Asians, Europeans, Blacks, and the Irish
    - Unknown person
- Education bill
  - Preamble
    - Equality of educational opportunity
- Moynihan's suggestions
  - Measure of outputs
- Property tax bill
- Education bill
  - Special interests
    - National Education Association [NEA]
    - Private compared to public schools
- Moynihan's suggestions
  - Moynihan's talk with Ehrlichman
- Bickel
- Brown* decision
- How to present
  - Brown* brief
  - Tax system comparison
    - Change
      - Idealistic overtones
      - Honesty
- Parochial schools
- Segregation and busing
- New era
- Bringing people together
  - Choices
  - No inferior education
    - Right of every American to a superior education
- Presidential leadership
  - Generosity
- Dual school system



- George C. Wallace
  - Polls
- Articles
- Letters
- Moynihan
- Note to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- Jews
- Chinese
  - Work ethic
- Richard Herrnstein
- The President reads from a letter
  - Vice President [Spiro T. Agnew]
- Mitchell
- Herrnstein's article
- Nathan Glazer
- Further discussion
- Allegation
- Coleman

Economy

- Taxes
  - Unknown person
  - Money supply

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/11/2019.

Segment will remain closed.]

[Personal Returnable]

[631-008-w002]

[Duration: 49s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

\*\*\*\*\*



Moynihan left at 6:08 pm.

Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO] legislation

- Veto
  - Votes
    - Number
- Child care
- Gerald R. Ford
- Ronald L. Ziegler
- Timing
  - Veto
- Continuing resolution
- Conservatives
  - Seeking credit

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/11/2019.*

*Segment will remain closed.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[631-008-w003]

[Duration: 34s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

\*\*\*\*\*

Busing

- Alexander P. Butterfield
- Moynihan
  - Position
    - Compared to Bickel
  - Idealism
- Comparison to Vietnam



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- Revenue sharing
- Tax bill

Ehrlichman left at 6:10 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-009](#)

Date: December 7, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 6:10 pm and 6:28 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule

- Photographs
  - White House social aides
- Upcoming White House dinner
  - Guest list
    - W. Averell Harriman
    - Nelson A. Rockefeller
    - Joseph M. Margiotta
    - Meredith Willson
    - William W. Keeler
    - W. Clement Stone
    - A. Pollard Simons

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 6:28 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-010](#)

Date: December 7, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 6:10 pm and 6:28 pm  
Location: Oval Office





The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield [?]

The President's schedule  
-Ronald L. Ziegler

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 6:28 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-011](#)

Date: December 7, 1971  
Time: 6:28 pm - 7:04 pm  
Location: Oval Office

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

The President's schedule  
-Haldeman's talk with William P. Rogers  
-Call from the President  
-Rogers' location  
-North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]  
-Secretary of State attendance  
-Photograph session  
-Departure  
-Timing  
-Senate leadership meeting  
-Joseph J. Sisco  
-Edward M. Kennedy  
-Frank F. Church

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 6:32 pm.

India-Pakistan situation  
-Henry A. Kissinger  
-Press  
-Reactions



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- The President's 1967 visit to India
  - Kissinger's previous conversation with the President
- War
- Negotiations
  - Bangladesh
- Kissinger's attempts for peace
- Backgrounder
  - Rogers and the State Department
    - Support
- Indira Gandhi
- Rogers speech on December 6, 1971
  - Possible fallout
  - Canada
  - Impact of Rogers' speech
  - Rogers' talk with Ziegler
    - Timing
    - Concern from Rogers
      - Kissinger's point
  - Canadians
  - Kennedy and Church
    - Against US policy
    - Kissinger's perspective
  - Margaret Chase Smith
  - J. William Fulbright
  - W[illiam] Stuart Symington
    - Support of US action
- Leadership Meeting
- Possible UN action
- Kissinger
  - Edmund S. Muskie
  - Kennedy
    - “Out of reality” rhetoric
  - East Pakistan
    - Supposed lack of compassion by Administration
- Foreign aid
  - Amount
- Diplomatic contacts
- Trip to India
  - Gandhi



- Previous meeting with the President
- Pakistani government
  - Withdrawal of forces
  - Bangladesh

White House social affairs

- Entertainers
  - Jews
    - Performing at the White House
      - Francis A. (“Frank”) Sinatra
      - Itzhak Perlman
  - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
  - Beverly Sills

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 07/11/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Privacy]  
[631-011-w002]  
[Duration: 3s]

White House social affairs

- Entertainers
  - Beverly Sills
    - The President’s comment

\*\*\*\*\*

White House social affairs

- Entertainers
  - Beverly Sills
    - John D. Ehrlichman
    - Singing style
    - Ballet background
    - Talent evaluated



India-Pakistan situation

- Kissinger
- White House statement
  - Press coverage
- War
  - Negotiations
- Kissinger's scheduled
  - Meeting with the President

The President's schedule

- White House [white-tie] dinner
- 1972 election

Ziegler talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 6:32 pm and 6:46 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-11A]

Ziegler conferred with the President at an unknown time during the telephone conversation.

[End of conferral]

Kissinger's location

- Situation Room

[End of telephone conversation]

Kissinger

- Managerial style
- Staff meeting
  - Particular actions at meetings
  - Foreign policy discussions

India-Pakistan situation

- Kissinger's feeling
- War
  - Impossible to avoid
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- Gandhi



The President's schedule

- Rogers
  - White House dinner
    - Attendance
      - Rogers' previous telephone conversation with Haldeman
  - Press conference
    - India-Pakistan
  - Kissinger
    - Backgrounder

Press

- Coverage
  - People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Middle East
- Rogers
  - Ziegler

Ziegler left at 6:46 pm.

Kissinger

- Rogers
- Ziegler
- Rogers' toast at White House dinner, December 6, 1971
- Comments
  - Kissinger
    - Possible fallout from Rogers' toast
- Ziegler
  - Concern
    - Kissinger's previous conversation with the President
- Peter G. Peterson
  - Maurice H. Stans meeting
  - Questions raised about Peterson's attendance
  - Secretary of Commerce
    - Stans
      - Perks attributed to being Secretary of Commerce

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 6:46 pm and 6:51 pm.



[Conversation No. 631-11B]

[See Conversation No. 16-35]

[End of telephone conversation]

India-Pakistan situation

-United Nations [UN] vote

-Unknown pollster

The President talked with William P. Rogers between 6:51 pm and 6:55 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-11C]

[See Conversation No. 16-36]

[End of telephone conversation]

Rogers

-Rose Mary Woods

Kissinger and staff

-Sensitivity towards others

-Methods

-Compared to John B. Connally

The President's approach to others

Kissinger

-Jews

Entertainers

-Jews

-Perlman

Leonard Garment

-Respect from the President

Polls



- India-Pakistan
- Anticipated results
  - Politics
    - Problem of war
    - Defense budget
      - USSR and clients
      - Amount
    - Domestic viewpoint
- Busing
  - Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
  - Elmo Roper
    - Question
- Economy
  - Perception
  - Meaning
- Vietnam War
  - Media
    - Doubt
    - Cambodia
    - Air war
- Trips abroad
  - New Hampshire comparison
  - PRC trip
    - Edmund S. Muskie
  - USSR trip
    - Timing
    - California and Oregon primaries
- Economy
  - Importance

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/11/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[631-011-w010]

[Duration: 2m 19s]



Polls

- Blacks
- The Left
- Democrats
  - Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
  - John N. Ashbrook
- John N. Mitchell
- Primary states
  - Results in January 1972
  - Wisconsin, New Hampshire and Florida
    - Robert Teeter's polling
      - Sealed ballot
      - John N. Ashbrook and Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
      - Trial heats
        - Versus the President
        - Republicans–Democrats
  - National committee

\*\*\*\*\*

Haldeman left at 7:04 pm.

[Conversation No. 631-012](#)

Date: December 7, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 7:04 pm and 7:07 pm  
Location: Oval Office

Stephen B. Bull met with an unknown woman.

Oval Office

\*\*\*\*\*





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*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 07/11/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[631-012-w001]  
[Duration: 14s]

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

\*\*\*\*\*

The recording was cut off at an unknown time before 7:07 pm.