



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 628-1

Date: December 2, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:31 am and 11:35 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.
[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.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 35s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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

Conversation No. 628-2

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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

-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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security]

[Duration: 44s]

MIDDLE EAST

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

- Agreements
 - Summit
 - Rogers' plan
 - USSR
 - Settlement
 - Rogers' plan
 - Frontier
 - Meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - Anwar el-Sadat
 - Military action
 - Leonid I. Brezhnev-Sadat meeting
 - No interim agreement
- USSR
- Israelis
- Berlin comparison

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Conv. No. 628-2 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[National Security]

[Duration: 20s]

MIDDLE EAST

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

- 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
 - 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

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Conv. No. 628-2 (cont.)

- 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
 - Possible preparatory talks
 - Withdrawal of forces

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Conv. No. 628-2 (cont.)

- Egyptians
- USSR position
 - Sisco
- Kissinger's talk with Meir
 - 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

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Conv. No. 628-2 (cont.)

- Gen. John D. Ryan
 - Call for youth
- Melvin R. Laird
 - Potential conversation between Kissinger and Laird
- Briefing on air strikes
 - Moorer
- David Packard
- Laird
 - Location
 - Briefing
 - Timing

India

- State Department
 - 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]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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Conv. No. 628-2 (cont.)

- 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
 - Talk with Kissinger
 - Senate
 - Establishment

Kissinger left at 12:13 pm.

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

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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
 - Robert L. King

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 1m 6s]

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Conv. No. 628-5 (cont.)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

- 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.

Conversation No. 628-6

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

The President met with Clark MacGregor.

- Golda Meir
- Jews

- Tax bill
- Conferees
- Check off
- Wilbur D. Mills proposal
- John W. Byrnes

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 628-6 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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Conv. No. 628-6 (cont.)

- Veto
 - Democrats
 - Unpredictability
 - Lawrence F. O'Brien, Jr.
 - Local, county and district chairmen
 - Joe D. Waggoner, 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 [?]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 628-6 (cont.)

- 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

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.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

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
 - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 628-8 (cont.)

- 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
 - Willy Brandt
 - Timing
 - Eisaku Sato
 - Timing
 - Foreign ministers
 - Kissinger
- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 628-8 (cont.)

- 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

Haldeman's schedule

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Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 628-8 (cont.)

-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

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Conv. No. 628-8 (cont.)

-John N. Mitchell

Speeches

- Moore
- Writers
 - Work
 - Attitudes
- Price
 - Talk with Haldeman
 - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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Conv. No. 628-8 (cont.)

- 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
 - Effective date
 - Tax returns
 - George S. McGovern
 - Mills
 - Charles E. Walker and Byrnes
 - Previous conversation with MacGregor
 - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
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Conv. No. 628-8 (cont.)

- Swearing-in
- Timing

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
 [National Security]
 [Duration: 11s]

ISRAEL

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

MacGregor left at 1:28 pm.

- Questions
 - Importance
 - MacGregor

- 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.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 628-8 (cont.)

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]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 6m 36s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

President's schedule

- NBC

Painting by Mr. [Forename unknown] Johnson

- Sent by unknown doctor and wife
- The President's letter
 - Dictation
 - Painting
 - Style discussed

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
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Conv. No. 628-8 (cont.)

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

[Privacy]

[Duration: 1m 40s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

- 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.

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Conv. No. 628-8 (cont.)

[Conversation No. 628-8B]

[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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
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Conv. No. 628-8 (cont.)

- 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 [?]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 3s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
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Conv. No. 628-8 (cont.)

[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

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]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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Conv. No. 628-10 (cont.)

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.

Greetings

Photograph

Economy

-Sears Roebuck sales

-Retail sales figures

[Unintelligible]

-December

-Fall season

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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Conv. No. 628-13 (cont.)

- 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
 - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 628-13 (cont.)

- 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 [?]

California

- Possible trip by the President
 - Timing

[General conversation]

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

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 628-13 (cont.)

-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.

Conversation No. 628-14

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 628-13 (cont.)

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.

Greetings

Campaign check off [?]

- News magazine article
- Unknown magazine

Schools

- Harvard
- Youngsters
 - Numbers
 - Private schools
 - Numbers
 - Economic package

Domestic Council

- Press

[Unintelligible]

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

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 34s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 628-14 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
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Conv. No. 628-14 (cont.)

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

Kissinger left at 3:04 pm.

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]

[Unintelligible]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 628-16 (cont.)

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 628-16 (cont.)

- Less than confident feelings between US and Israel
 - Issues
 - Payments [?]
- The President's trip to the USSR
- Issues
 - Aircraft
 - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 628-16 (cont.)

- 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
- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 628-16 (cont.)

- 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 [?]
 - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 628-16 (cont.)

- 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 with 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
 - [Unintelligible]
- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 628-16 (cont.)

- 1967 war
- Diplomatic reasonableness
 - Request from the President
- US
 - Security
- Two tracks of negotiations
- USSR summit
 - Discussions
 - US attempt to work out negotiations
 - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 628-16 (cont.)

- Kissinger
- Kissinger's talk with Dobrynin
 - Possible stand by the President
 - Dobrynin talk with Meir [?]
- Dobrynin
 - Possible meeting
 - Timing
- [Unintelligible]
- 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
 - [Unintelligible]
 - Exploratory talks [?]
- Rabin-Kissinger meeting
- [Unintelligible]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 628-16 (cont.)

- 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
- [Unintelligible]
- Rogers
- Rabin
- [Unintelligible]
- 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
- [Unintelligible]
- Golan Heights [?]
 - Military equipment
 - Request for Meir [?]
 - Vietnam
 - Rabin [?]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 628-16 (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.

[Unintelligible]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 21s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 628-18 (cont.)

Woods left at 5:00 pm.

- Meeting with Meir
- Middle East negotiations

Woods entered at an unknown time after 5:00 pm.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
 [Personal Returnable]
 [Duration: 34s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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
 - Israelis
 - Meir
 - Proposed toughness

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 628-18 (cont.)

- American political situation
 - Security
 - USSR
 - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 628-18 (cont.)

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.

Conversation No. 628-19

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

-Swearing-in

-Secretary of Agriculture

-Nomination

-Qualifications in field of agriculture

-Senate vote

-Farmers

Butz's comments

Aiken's comments

Rogers's comments

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 628-19 (cont.)

-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.