

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM



Tape Subject Log
(rev. Jan.-08)

Conversation No. 811-1

Date: November 1, 1972
Time: 3:01 pm-3:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman.

[The conversation was in progress when the recording began.]

Second term reorganization

- Unknown conversation
 - Leak
- Justice Department [?]
 - Leaks
- Justice Department
 - L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
 - Retention
 - Possible resignation
 - Confirmation
 - Confirmation
 - Press and Congressional relations
 - Richard G. Kleindienst's view
- Kleindienst
 - Retention
 - Support from James O. Eastland
 - Roman L. Hruska
 - Duration
 - Departmental "overhaul"

Henry A. Kissinger

- Greetings by Ehrlichman

Ehrlichman and the President left at 3:04 p.m.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Jan.-08)

Conversation No. 811-2

Date: November 1, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:04 pm and 3:08 pm
Location: Oval Office

Henry A. Kissinger met with an unknown woman.

Kissinger's schedule

Meeting with the President

The unknown woman left.

Conversation No. 811-3

Date: November 1, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:04 pm and 3:08 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Greetings

Arnaud de Borchgrave

- Recent lunch with Kissinger
- Support for the President
- Possible meeting with President
 - De Borchgrave's physical appearance
- Vietnam War
 - Recent trip to Hanoi, Saigon
 - Hardline stance
 - Newsweek*
- Article
 - Abram Chayes
 - Harvard University
 - George S. McGovern

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Jan.-08)

Conversation No. 811-3 (cont'd)

- Vietnam War
 - Settlement agreement
 - US victory
 - North Vietnamese troop withdrawals
 - Reasons
 - Rebuilding, control
 - Problems
 - Saigon
 - Ellsworth F. Bunker

- Vietnam War
 - Saigon
 - Nguyen Van Thieu
 - Possible letter to Pham Van Dong
 - Recent statement
 - Attack on the President
 - Bunker
 - Contacts with Thieu
 - Cables
 - Memoranda
 - Settlement agreement
 - De Borchgrave's view
 - Newsweek* editorial staff
 - News summary
 - Philadelphia Bulletin* article
 - [Adrian Lee]
 - Possible role in administration
 - Hamilton Fish Armstrong
 - Article ["Isolated America," in *Foreign Affairs*, October 1972]
 - Patrick J. Buchanan
 - Kissinger's possible memorandum
 - Timing
 - 1972 election
 - Medal of Freedom
 - Kissinger's memorandum
 - Fish's retirement
 - Liberal establishment
 - Medal of Freedom

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Jan.-08)

Conversation No. 811-3 (cont'd)

John Cardinal Krol entered at 3:08 pm.

Greetings

Krol

-Meaning of name

Press, photographers, and Stephen B. Bull were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Photograph session

-Seating arrangement

[Photograph session]

-[General conversation]

-Warsaw

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:08 p.m.

Refreshments

-Coffee, tea, Coca-Cola, consume

Sanchez, Bull, the press and photographers left at an unknown time before 4:02 pm.

Krol's trip to Poland, October 12-17, 1972

-Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski

-Health, spirit

-Role

-Background as university professor

-Marxism

-Sociology, economics

-Poland-Soviet Union relations

-Kremlin

-Poland leadership

-Central committee

-Scapegoating

-Effect of Krol trip

-The President's 1969 trip to Poland

-William P. Rogers's role

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan.-08)

Conversation No. 811-3 (cont'd)

- Timing
- Itinerary
- Rationale
- Possible US letter
- Roman Catholic Church
- Nationalism
- Prevention of 1966 trip to Warsaw by US bishops
 - Egon Bahr's [?] alleged role
- Conditions
 - Travel agency
 - Number of visitors
- Public reception
 - Emotion
 - The President's trips
 - Romania
 - Wreath laying

Poland

- Spiritualism, nationalism
 - Compared to Romania
 - Previous partition
 - Political anecdotes
 - Examples
 - Wyszynski's conversation with unknown official
 - Promotion of socialism, control of religious activity
 - People's Republic of China [PRC] hypothetical declaration of war on France, Romania, Poland
 - Responses of respective countries
- Krol's trip to Siekierzyna
 - Krol's father
 - Receptions
 - Meeting with young girl
 - Road paving
 - Commissionar
 - Warsaw
- Lvov
 - Church
 - Attendance
- Roman Catholic Church

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 811-3 (cont'd)

-Relations with government

-Wyszynski

-Compared to Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty

-British commentator's 1956 article

-Martyrs and cardinals

-Conversation with Krol in Cleveland in 1948

-Martyrdom

-Hungary

US-Poland relations

-Trade

-Tone

-Anti-communism

-Polish-American, Ukrainian-American, Russian-American groups

-The President's view

-Youth

-Russian, Poles

-Communications

-Liberation policy

-Soviet Union

-Military presence in Poland

-Future

-Communications

-Polish trade

-East

-Polish communism

-Communist Party

-Independence

-Western orientation

-Soviet Union

-Agriculture

-Cooperatives

-Private ownership

-Advantages

-Compared to Ukraine

-Weather conditions

-Government Concessions

-Soviet communists

-Trade

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan.-08)

Conversation No. 811-3 (cont'd)

- Deficit
 - Balance
- Advantages
- Poland independence from Soviet Union
 - Polish people
- Polish government
 - Edward Gierek
- Polish government
 - Fear of Soviet Union
 - The President's relationship with Gierek and a [Piotr Jaroszewicz]
 - Compared to Polish government relationship to Soviet Union
- Ties with US
 - Polish Politburo
 - Soviet Union
 - Geography
 - Access to information
 - Polish people

Krol's trip to Poland

- Krol's speech at Auschwitz
 - Christianity
 - Love of God, neighbor
- Deaths
 - Catholics, priests, Jews, gypsies, Hungarians
- Unknown book
- Christianity
 - Love
 - Absence of conditions
 - Murder of Polish officers by Soviets [Katyn Forest Massacre]
 - Love of God, neighbor
- Wreath placement
 - Maximilian Kolbe
 - Plaque
 - Jews, gypsies

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:08 pm.

Refreshments

- Coffee

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 811-3 (cont'd)

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:02 pm.

- Jesuit Church
 - Jesuit deaths
 - Sanctuary for Jews
 - Incident
- Warsaw Ghetto
 - Wall
 - The President's trip
 - Jews
 - Murder by Germans

World War II

- Jews
 - Unknown book
 - Peter Krol
 - Marriage
 - Penalty
 - Protection by Gentiles
 - Penalties for aiding, sheltering, feeding, clothing, selling

Krol's visit to Poland

- Krol's conversation with seminary director
- Auschwitz
 - Attendance

Poland

- Roman Catholic Church
 - Recruiting for seminaries
 - Faith

Krol's trip to Poland

- Arrangements
 - Unknown people, places
- Reception

The President's schedule

Vietnam negotiations

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 811-3 (cont'd)

- Settlement agreement
 - Krol's statement
 - National Conference of Catholic Bishops
 - Requests for prayers
- Private talks, July 19, 1972
 - North Vietnamese proposals
 - Nguyen Van Thieu resignation
 - South Vietnam army, police
 - US economic, military aid
 - Vietnamization
 - Release of prisoners
 - South Vietnam negotiations with Vietcong [VC]
 - Coalition government
- Coalition government
- The President's proposals
 - May 8, 1972 proposals
 - Cease-fire, release of Prisoners of War [POWs], troop withdrawals
 - South Vietnam self-determination
- Publicity
 - US fear
 - George S. McGovern's possible claims
- October 8, 1972 breakthrough
 - The President's May 8, 1972 proposals
 - Thieu retention
 - US economic and military aid
 - South Vietnam army
 - Size
 - PRC
- Soviet Union and PRC
 - Influence of North Vietnam
 - Private channels
 - Kissinger's conversations, correspondence with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- Settlement agreement
 - South Vietnam
 - Political prisoners
 - Coalition government
 - National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord [NCRC]
 - Elections organization and supervision
 - Thieu
 - Veto power

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 811-3 (cont'd)

- Power
- Coalition government
 - Liberal Democrats' view
 - North Vietnam's view
 - [Pham Van Dong's] interview with Arnaud de Borchgrave of *Newsweek*
- Laos and Cambodia
 - North Vietnam troop withdrawals
 - Cease-fire
- Laos
 - Souvanna Phouma's recent meeting with the President
 - Phouma
 - French language, manners
 - Gen. Charles A. J. M. de Gaulle
 - North Vietnam
 - Recovery
 - US aid
 - Compared to Japan
 - Hard work, expansionism
 - US aid
- Coalition government
 - Territorial control
 - VC
 - South Vietnam government
- Thieu's relations with US
 - US military
 - B-52s, F-4s
 - Residual forces
 - South Vietnam military
 - Army
 - Comparison with North Vietnam
 - Air Force, navy
 - US economic and military aid
 - Air Force
 - Number, quality
- Dependence on US
 - Gen. Creighton W. Abram's, Jr.'s comments
 - US presence in South Vietnam
 - Compared to Europe, South Korea
 - Congressional aid

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 811-3 (cont'd)

-Vietnamization

-Alternative

-Continuation of war

-Post-1972 election

-Duration

-Effect on US

-Thieu

-South Vietnam, VC, North Vietnam deaths

-US relations with Soviet Union, PRC

-Thieu

-Possible perception

-North Vietnam

-Resilience

-North Vietnam intentions

-Cambodia and Laos

-Infiltration of South Vietnam

-Pause

-Mao Tse-Tung

-Effect of US mining, bombing

-Desire for US aid

-Soviet Union and PRC

-US withdrawal

-Costs of war

-Thieu's relations with US

-Public statements

-Nationalism

-Complexity

-North and South Vietnam

-US role

-Mediation

-Terms

-Quality

-Future of war

-South Vietnam

-Remote areas

-Montagnards

-North Vietnam

-Protracted war

-US bombing

-POWs

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 811-3 (cont'd)

- Thieu
 - Conversation with Kissinger
 - Victory in war
 - US withdrawal
 - Victory
 - Control of population
 - Army
 - Police
 - VC
 - Prisoners
 - Demoralization
 - Popular support
 - Elections
 - National legislative
 - Thieu
- US terms
 - POWs
 - Cease-fire in Indonesia
 - Cambodia and Laos
 - Coalition government
 - South Vietnam self-determination
 - Election
 - Arrangements
 - Communist participation
 - Thieu
- US options
 - Thieu
 - Breakdown of negotiations
 - US public opinion
 - Media, opinion makers
- Thieu's retention
- Quality
- De Borchgrave
 - Recent lunch with Kissinger
 - Newsweek*
 - Recent trip to Hanoi
 - View
 - Newsweek*
 - Victory
- Substance

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Conversation No. 811-3 (cont'd)

- Thieu
 - US withdrawal
 - POWs
 - Effect on Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia
- The President's policies
 - “Intelligent” opinion
 - Compared to popular opinion
 - Peace with honor
 - South Vietnam self-determination
 - Discouraging aggression, evil
 - Impact on Soviet Union
 - US mining, bombing
 - Impact on PRC
 - Impact on Middle East
 - Golda Meir
- Total victory
 - Nuclear weapons
 - Conventional bombing
- Willingness to settle
 - North Vietnam
 - Compared to South Vietnam
- Details
 - North Vietnam
 - South Vietnam
- Substance
 - North Vietnam agreement
- Marginal changes
 - Possible effect on North Vietnam
 - Confidence
 - Thieu
- PRC, Soviet Union
- Thieu
 - Concurrence
 - The President's role
 - Possible meeting
 - Timing
- Timing
 - 1972 election
 - North Vietnam's view
 - Thieu

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Conversation No. 811-3 (cont'd)

- 1968 election
 - 1968 bombing halt
 - Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Hubert H. Humphrey
 - Strategy in 1968
 - Compared to 1972
 - Change in conditions
 - Bombing halt
 - Humphrey
 - Humphrey's position on Vietnam
 - Compared to the President's
 - George S. McGovern
 - Presidential support
- Krol's support
 - Request for prayers
 - Statement, October 31, 1972
 - National Conference of Catholic Bishops
 - Press conference, November 1, 1972
- Roman Catholic Church
 - Criticism
 - Unknown bishop
 - Henry C. Cashen, II's concern
- US public opinion
 - Krol's view
 - Politics
 - Thieu
 - Peace
 - Krol's view
- US foreign policy
 - Kissinger's schedule
 - Middle East
 - Difficulties of settlement
 - Comparison with Vietnam

James McGettigan, press, and photographers entered at 4:02 pm.

Greetings

Photograph session

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Conversation No. 811-3 (cont'd)

-Arrangements

[Photograph session]

McGettigan

- Background
- Philadelphia

Presidential gifts

- Golf balls
- Cuff links
- Presidential seal
- Flag

McGettigan

- Role as secretary to John Krol
- The President's viewing of *The Cardinal*
- Possible promotion to cardinal

John Krol

- Meeting with the President
- Prayers

Vietnam War

- The President's policy
- Tone

Krol and McGettigan left at 4:05 pm.

[Unintelligible]

John Krol

- Possible ambassadorship
- Foreign policy view
- Tone
- Roman Catholic Church
- Vietnam War
- The President's policy

Vietnam negotiations

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 811-3 (cont'd)

- Thieu
 - Emissary
 - Settlement agreement
 - October 8, 1972
 - Hypothetical US "stonewalling"
 - Publication of terms
 - 1972 election
 - McGovern
 - Cease-fire
 - Troop withdrawals [from Laos, Cambodia]
 - POWs
- Thieu
 - Dealings with administration
 - Emissary
 - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
 - Abrams
 - Haig
 - Kissinger
 - Haig
 - Delivery of letter
 - Return to US
 - Letter
 - Legal palaver
 - Adm. [John S. McCain, Jr.]
 - Kissinger's view
 - Haig
 - Timing of trip
 - Kissinger
 - Haig
 - Delivery of letter
 - Return to US

Kissinger left at 4:07 pm.

Conversation No. 811-4

Date: November 1, 1972
Time: Unknown after 4:07 pm

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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Conversation No. 811-4 (cont'd)

Location: Oval Office

Unknown Secret Service agents met.

Inquiry

The President's location

-Executive Office Building [EOB]

Unknown agents left at unknown time after 4:07 pm.