

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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**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**

*(rev. Jan.-08)*

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**

*(rev. Jan.-08)*

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**

*(rev. Jan.-08)*

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

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**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan.-08)

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**

*(rev. Jan.-08)*

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**

(rev. Jan.-08)

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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**Tape Subject Log**

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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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**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. Jan.-08)*

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

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**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan.-08)

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



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*(rev. Jan.-08)*

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.