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
    -Louis 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.
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.

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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
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
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, consumme

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
Conversations 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 Siekierczyna
  - Krol’s father
  - Receptions
    - Meeting with young girl
      - Road paving
      - Commissioner
      - Warsaw

- Lvov
  - Church
    - Attendance
  - Roman Catholic Church
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
-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
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
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
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
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
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
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
-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
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
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
Unknown Secret Service agents met.

Inquiry

The President’s location
   -Executive Office Building [EOB]

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