Date: October 24, 1972
Time: 11:15 am - 11:45 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger and Fritz G.A. Kraemer; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introduction

[Photograph session]

Intellectual interpretation of world events
- Doves
- Totalitarianism
  - Soviet Union, the People’s Republic of China [PRC]

Sacrifice

Kraemer
- Analysis of administration activities
  - Kissinger’s effort bringing to President’s attention
- Background
  - Nicholas P. Thimmesch’s article
    - Thimmesch’s conversation with Kraemer
    - Baltimore Sun
  - Tone
    - Farm work in Maine
    - Commission in infantry
    - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
  - Power

World affairs
- Change
- Intentions of Communists
  - Soviet Union, PRC
  - Nikolai A. Podgorny, Leonid I. Brezhnev, Aleksei N. Kosygin
    - Bureaucracy
    - Compared to Nikita S. Khrushchev, Josef V. Stalin
  - Risk
    - Egypt
    - Confrontation
- PRC
  - Mao Tse-tung
    - Kraemer’s efforts in 1965
Perception

Vietnam
- Technical cables
  - Central Office of South Vietnam [COSVN] instruction
- Cease-fire
- Viet Cong [VC] view
  - North Vietnam intentions

- Cease-fire
  - Timing of announcement and implementation
    - North Vietnamese actions
      - Twelve hours
      - First two days
    - International supervision
      - Timing of arrival

- 1972 election
  - Settlement
    - Timing
    - Deadline
      - Concessions
    - North Vietnamese reaction
      - View of the President
  - US strategy
    - US demands
      - North Vietnamese prisoners in South Vietnamese jails issue

- Cease-fire
  - North Vietnamese stance
    - Military situation
      - Bombing
      - Mining
      - Attrition
      - B-52s, carriers
    - Results
      - Mao’s writings on retreat
      - November 7, 1972 deadline
  - US negotiating position
    - Prior to October 8, 1972
    - Post -October 8, 1972
      - US demands
        - Cambodia
          - North Vietnamese position
        - PRC
      - Laos
        - Commission
Souvanna Phouma
-Quoted in French

US position
-Critics
-Demonstrators
-Establishment
-Journalists
-Professors
-Ministers
-Businessmen
-Supporters
-Intellectual backgrounds similar to Kraemer and Kissinger
-Workers
-Ethnics, Farmers, Southerners
-Washington, DC

Quality of settlement
-War dead
-Effect on US foreign policy
-Thieu
-Effect on US stance

Success of settlement
-Time frame

Effect of failure of settlement on US foreign relations
-US-North Vietnam relations
-Questions of other nations
-Soviet Union, PRC
-Conclusions
-Rio de Janeiro to Copenhagen, Hanoi to Moscow
-Political compared to diplomatic options

Reasons for Vietnam War
-Berlin
-South Vietnam
-Cuba
-Psychological factors
-French Foreign Legion
-Discipline
-Prince [Aage] of Denmark
-Discipline of North Vietnamese forces
-Thieu

South Vietnam’s military
-Kissinger’s meetings with regional intelligence officers
-Directives compared to execution
-Example
-Unknown place
-Cease-fire

Gen. Duong Van Minh
Kissinger’s analysis
- Kissinger
- The President’s outlook

Kissinger and Kraemer
- Intellectual background
- Intelligence Quotient [IQ]
  - Character quotient
    - Harvard University, Yale University
- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Promotions
  - Army
  - Support from field grade officers
    - David Landau quote of Kraemer on brilliance [for Kissinger: The Uses of Power]
      - Landau
        - Harvard

Presentation of gifts
- Cuff links
  - Presidential seal
- Kraemer's son [Sven]

Kissinger and Kraemer left at 11:45 am.