

Conversation No. 462-5
 Date: March 5, 1971
 Time: 8:30 am - 10:15 am
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger

Laos (Lam Son)

-Military situation

President=s March 4, 1971 press conference

-Laos

-President=s performance evaluated

-The President=s preparation

-Kissinger=s view

-President=s statements about the press

-AToday= show

-President=s response to questions

-President=s advisors

-Kissinger=s viewing

-Winton M. (ARed=) Blount=s dinner

-Charles L. Bartlett

-Melvin R. Laird

-Response

-A Democrat Congressman from Oklahoma [John Jarman]

-Response

-Bob Dudley

-President=s acquaintance at Office of Price Administration

-Bartlett=s response

-Cambodia, Laos

-The President=s policies

-Democrats

-John C. Stennis= call to the President

-President=s performance

-Kissinger=s view

-Middle East

-Possible settlement

-Cease fire

-US guarantee

-Israelis

-Soviet Union

Vietnam

-Possible US military action

-Bombing of North Vietnam

-Winston S. Churchill=s book on World War I

-On the Eastern Front

-Response to North Vietnamese action

-Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]

-President=s comments at press conference

- President=s strategy
 - Bombing of missiles sites
 - President=s view
- Bombing
 - Effect
- Laird, Richard M. Helms, William P. Rogers, Admiral Thomas H. Moorer meeting
 - President=s position
 - Briefing by Moorer
 - Time

[Kissinger talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 8:30 am and 8:44 am]

[Conversation No. 462-5A]

- Forthcoming meeting on Vietnam
 - Laird, Helms, Rogers, and Moorer
 - Calls from General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
 - Briefing on Laos and Cambodia
 - Moorer
 - Haig=s telephone calls

[End of telephone conversation]

- President=s March 4, 1971 press conference
 - Questions about President=s advisors on foreign policy
 - Rogers
 - Kissinger
 - President=s comments
 - Garnett D. (AJack≡) Horner
 - Kissinger
 - Calls from press
 - Response

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[National Security]

[Duration: 31s]

CANADA

[The President talked with the White House operator at 8:44 am]

[Conversation No. 462-5B]

[End of telephone conversation]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

President=s March 4, 1971 press conference

- Preparation
 - State Department, Kissinger
 - The President=s role
 - John F. Kennedy comparison
 - The President=s role
 - Possible Kissinger press statement
 - Kissinger=s staff work
 - State Department

Pakistan

- National Security Council [NSC] study
 - Rogers, State Department
 - Conflicting views
 - US policy options
 - Kissinger

President=s press conference

- Kidnaping of US soldiers in Turkey
 - President=s comments
 - Kissinger=s view
 - Executive privilege

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 9:02 am

President=s schedule

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 9:04 am

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 9:02 am and 9:17 am]

[Conversation No. 462-5C]

President=s call to Pierre E. Trudeau

[End of telephone conversation]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[National Security]

[Duration: 12s]

CANADA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

Leadership

- On the Eastern Front by Churchill
 - German generals
 - President=s evaluation

- Erich F. W. Ludendorf
- Paul von Hindenburg
- [Forename unknown] von Schwanslof [?]
- General William C. Westmoreland
- General Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
- Compared to General George S. Patton, Jr.
- Kissinger=s view

Forthcoming meeting on Vietnam

- Timing
- Congressional meeting

Haig entered at an unknown time after 9:02 am

President=s press conference

- Haig=s view

Haig left at an unknown time before 9:19 am

Forthcoming meeting on Vietnam

- Participants
- Timing

The President=s press conference, March 4, 1971

- President=s response to Executive privilege question
 - Rogers
 - Congressional testimony
 - Private meetings with congressmen
 - Relationships with the President
 - Public relations
 - Foreign policy
 - State Department views
 - Agency input
 - Department of State
 - Department of Defense
 - Laird
 - Vietnam
 - Troop levels
 - President=s comments
 - Number
 - Review
 - Announcement by President
 - Forthcoming meeting with newspaper editors
 - Television
 - Timing
 - Ellsworth F. Bunker=s view
 - General Nguyen Van Thieu

Vietnam

- Leadership

- President=s reading of Churchill book
- President compared with Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Laos (Lam Son)
 - Troop levels
 - Tchepone
 - Support for the President
 - Moorer=s previous conversations with Kissinger
- US victory prospects
 - Kissinger=s view
- Military situation
 - President=s press conference, March 4, 1971
 - Questions on possible peace proposal
 - The President=s response
 - Possible effects of US withdrawal
 - North Vietnam
 - Cambodia, Laos
- Possible agreement
- Military situation
 - Moorer
 - Momentum
 - Kissinger=s view
 - Churchill book on World War I
 - Germans, Russians, Austrians
 - History of World War I
 - von Hindenburg, Ludendorf
 - Germans, Russians, Austrians

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

[National Security]

[Duration: 49s]

THAILAND

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

Brazil

- Possible visit
 - Date
 - State Department
 - President=s instructions

President=s press conference, March 4, 1971

- News reports
- Taiwan, People=s Republic of China [PRC]
 - President=s comments
 - United Nations

Brazil

- Lieutenant General Vernon A. Walters
 - Assignment
- President=s instructions

Italy

- President=s forthcoming letter to Pope Paul VI [Giovanni Battista Motini]

President=s leadership

- World role
- Effect of Vietnam
- Dutch leader
 - President=s foreign policy report
 - Impact in Europe

President=s AWorld Report=s

- Distribution
 - H. R. (ABob=s) Haldeman
 - Members of White House staff and Cabinet officers
- Elliot L. Richardson
- President=s accompanying letter to foreign leaders
- Distribution
 - US ambassadors
- Importance
 - US policy
 - Relations with Soviet Union
- Contents
 - President=s philosophy
- Press
 - Joseph W. Alsop and Stewart J. O. Alsop
 - Chalmers Roberts
- Evaluation
 - Robert S. McNamara
 - Cyrus R. Vance, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach

Vietnam and Laos (Lam Son)

- President=s March 4, 1971 press conference
 - Laos (Lam Son)
 - Prospects for success
 - Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN]
- Enemy supplies
 - James C. Hagerty=s press report
 - Moorer
 - Level
 - President=s comments
 - Rationale for military action
 - Decreases
 - Effect
 - Compared to previous year
- Laos
 - President=s comments

- Press coverage
- Military situation
 - Tchepone
 - ARVN progress
 - Importance
 - Effect
 - ARVN progress
- President=s forthcoming meeting
 - A report from Bunker

US foreign policy

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11

[National Security]

[Duration: 19s]

GERMANY

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11

- Letter from President to the Pope
- Targut Menemencioglu
- State Department
 - Peter G. Peterson
 - Nathaniel Samuels

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12

[National Security]

[Duration: 21s]

GREAT BRITAIN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12

- Cevdet Sunay and Suleyman Demirel
 - Domestic situation
- Greece
 - Henry J. Tasca
- Pakistan
 - Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
 - A policy review

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13

[Privacy]

[Duration: 3s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13

- Khan
 - The President=s position
 - A possible letter from President to Khan
- Possible Presidential letters
 - Lieutenant General T. N. J. Suharto
 - Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi
 - President=s previous meeting with Menemencioglu
 - President=s position
- Suharto
 - President=s foreign policy report
 - Economy
- The President=s foreign policy report
 - Dissemination to foreign leaders
 - Accompanying letters from the President
 - Yahya

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 14

[National Security]

[Duration: 1m 51s]

JAPAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 14

Vietnam

- Alekssei N. Kosygin
- Kissinger=s possible meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - President=s press conference
- US policy
 - Bombing of North Vietnamese missile sites
 - Justification
- President=s press conference, March 4, 1971
 - US bombing
- Press inquiries to Kissinger
 - Radio broadcasters= dinner
- President=s press conference
 - President=s demeanor
 - Television
 - Kissinger=s view
 - Compared with Kennedy
 - McNamara=s previous comments to Kissinger
 - Cabinet

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 9:17 am

President=s schedule

- Rogers, Helms
- NSC meeting
 - Possible statement to the press
- Quadriad meeting
 - Possible press briefing by John B. Connally

Ziegler left and Rogers, Laird, Moorer, and Haig entered at 9:19 am

Greetings

President=s March 4, 1971 press conference

- Ziegler
- Evaluated
- Question on Executive privilege
 - Rogers= meetings with Congress
 - Number

Meeting agenda

- Vietnam policy

Rogers and Laird

- Forthcoming press conferences
- Laird=s forthcoming Congressional testimony
 - Anti-ballistic missiles [ABMs]
 - Defense procurement
 - Responses to questions
- Schedule
- Press conference
 - Rogers
 - Timing
 - Press coverage
 - Wire services
 - Television
 - Robert J. McCloskey, Ziegler

Vietnam

- Military situation
- North Vietnamese missiles
 - US response
 - Bombing
 - President=s position
 - Pass area

Military situation in Laos (Lam Son)

- ARVN First Armored Division
- Artillery support
 - Routes 9, 914, 23, 92
 - Location of ARVN troops
 - Developments

- Abrams= reports
 - President=s March 4, 1971 press conference
 - Comments about ARVN forces
 - Public relations
 - Rogers= forthcoming press conference
 - Bunker and Abrams
 - ARVN forces
 - Enemy losses
 - Abrams= report
 - Artillery, tanks
 - Use
 - Effectiveness
- An anecdote
- General John W. Vogt, Jr.
 - Performance
 - Briefings
- North Vietnamese supplies entering South Vietnam
- Enemy losses

Helms entered at 9:25 am

- Enemy build-up
 - Route 9
 - Abrams
 - Thieu
 - Possible action
 - DMZ
 - US countermeasures
 - Capability
 - Location
 - Possible US response
 - Trucks, missiles

Vietnam

- Thieu
 - Possible ARVN offensive into North Vietnam
 - US policy
 - President=s press conference on March 4, 1971
- Enemy missiles, trucks, guns
 - US countermeasures
 - President=s statements
 - US aircraft
 - Supplies and equipment
- Lessons of military history
 - Levels of force
 - President=s position
- Enemy missiles
 - DMZ
 - President=s Response
 - US strategy

- Area of operations
- Public portrayal
 - Rogers
 - Protective reaction
- Bombing
- Public statements
 - Protective reaction
 - President's previous statements
 - Justification
- Press inquiries
- Nguyen Cao Ky
 - US air support
 - Bunker
- Vietnamization
 - Public relations
 - ARVN ability
 - Compared to North Vietnamese forces
- Cambodia
- US air power
 - Amount, type
 - President's position
 - Increases
 - Public opinion
 - Duration of increase
 - B-52 strikes
- President's press conference, March 4, 1971
 - Tricia Nixon's comments
 - William Stuart Symington's comments

Rogers left at 9:45 am

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 9:45 am

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:47 am

Vietnam

- US military actions
 - B-52 air strikes
 - Numbers
- Churchill's On the Eastern Front
 - Lessons
- President's position
 - US military action
- Possible South Vietnamese military actions
 - North Vietnam

Laird and Moorer left at 9:47 am

Laos

- Military situation
 - Possible outcome
 - US efforts
 - Air strikes
 - Preparations
 - Long Thieng
 - Vientiane
 - Importance of public relations
 - President=s view
 - President=s view
 - Kissinger=s view

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

[National Security]

[Duration: 29s]

LAOS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

- Vientiane and Long Thieng
 - Need for public relations
- Cambodia
 - Health of unknown leader
 - Effect of Laotian action
 - North Vietnamese
 - Press reaction

President=s press conference on March 4, 1971

- Questions
 - Vietnam, Middle East, PRC, Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
- Possible result
 - Press
 - President=s comments
- Helms= view

Vietnam

- Vietnamization
 - Helms= view
 - President=s view
- Possible future
- Laos (Lam Son)
 - ARVN forces
 - The President=s decision
 - Helms= view
 - Justification
 - North Vietnamese forces

- Effect on future operations
 - I Corps
- Public relations efforts
- Helms= conversation with J. W. Alsop
- Importance
 - President=s view
 - Effect on US position in the world
 - Possible US withdrawal
 - Need for action
 - Public opinion
 - Laos (Lam Son)
 - Polls
 - Possible US withdrawal
 - 1969
 - Justification
 - Impossibility
 - Justification
 - ADomino Theory=
 - Indonesia
 - Thailand
 - Malaysia
 - Philippines
 - Japan
 - India
 - President=s policy
 - Haig=s opinion
 - US public opinion
 - Kissinger=s meeting with student body presidents
 - Discussion of President=s policy
 - Media influence
 - Importance for US
 - President=s position
 - Cambodia
 - Helms= view

US foreign policy

- Cuba
 - President=s position
 - Effect on Latin America
 - Chile
 - Cuba=s foreign policy
 - Communism
 - Helms= position
 - US policy
 - Latin America
 - Chile
 - President=s position

[National Security]
[Duration: 2m 36s]

CUBA, ITALY, SPAIN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

- Catholic Church
 - Ideological change
 - President=s view
 - Latin America
 - Influence of Marxism
 - American Catholics

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 15

[National Security]
[Duration: 17s]

SPAIN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 15

- Study by Roger [Surname unintelligible]
 - Contents
- Compared to Protestant Church
 - William F. (ABilly=) Graham
 - Quakers
 - Pacifism
- President=s policy
- Eastern Europe
 - Poland
 - Political orientation

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 16

[National Security]
[Duration: 42s]

SPAIN, ITALY

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 16

- US foreign policy
 - Radio Free Europe
 - Senate committee hearings
 - Clifford P. Case

- Kissinger=s previous conversation with Bartlett
- Brazil
 - Forthcoming visit to the US by Emilio Garrastazu Médici
 - Department of State
 - President=s position
- Latin America
 - President=s policy
 - Leadership

Leadership

- President=s view
 - France
 - General Charles A. J. M. de Gaulle
 - Italy
 - Spain
 - Latin America
 - Colombia

US foreign policy

- Latin America
 - Helms= view
 - Possible 40 Committee meeting
 - Nelson A. Rockefeller=s visit
 - President=s view
 - Chile
 - Ecuador
 - Brazil
 - Argentina

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 17

[National Security]

[Duration: 16s]

ARGENTINA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 17

- Importance
- Venezuela
 - Oil
- Colombia
- Possible visits
 - Peru
 - Announcement
 - Brazil
 - Medici
 - Announcement
 - President=s view
 - Population increases

- President=s Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB]
 - Latin America
 - President=s view
 - Compared to previous Southeast Asia trip

PFIAB

- Possible appointment of Thomas E. Dewey
 - Call from Kissinger
 - Possible call from the President
- Forthcoming meeting
 - Schedule
- Dewey
 - President=s view

Helms= schedule

- House and Senate Armed Services Committee
 - Testimony
 - Soviet Union
 - PRC

Kissinger, Haig, and Helms left at 10:15 am