

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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2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END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

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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]

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[National Security]

[Duration: 12s]

CANADA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7  
[National Security]  
[Duration: 49s ]

### THAILAND

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

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### 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=

- Distribution
  - H. R. (ABob≡) 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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11

[National Security]

[Duration: 19s]

GERMANY

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11

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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12

[National Security]

[Duration: 21s]

GREAT BRITAIN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12

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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13

[Privacy]

[Duration: 3s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13

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- 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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 14

[National Security]  
[Duration: 1m 51s ]

JAPAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 14

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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
      - AProtective 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
  - W[illiam] 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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

[National Security]

[Duration: 29s]

LAOS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

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- 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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[National Security]

[Duration: 2m 36s ]

CUBA, ITALY, SPAIN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

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Catholic Church

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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 15

[National Security]

[Duration: 17s]

SPAIN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 15

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-Study by Roger [Surname unintelligible]

-Contents

-Compared to Protestant Church

-William F. (ABilly≡) Graham

-Quakers

-Pacifism

-President=s policy

-Eastern Europe

-Poland

-Political orientation

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 16

[National Security]

[Duration: 42s]

SPAIN, ITALY

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 16

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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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 17  
[National Security]  
[Duration: 16s]

ARGENTINA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 17

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- 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