Date: March 26, 1971
Time: 9:40 am - 9:55 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger
[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

Seating

Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] figures
- Kissinger
  - Kissinger’s previous briefing
  - Congressional leaders
  - Memorandum for the President

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:40 am

President’s schedule
- John D. Ehrlichman
- Cabinet meeting

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:55 am

Vietnam
- Washington Post story, March 26, 1971
  - President’s response
  - Peter Osnos
  - Quotes by an American major

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:40 am

Washington Post delivery

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:55 am

Vietnam
- Washington Post story
  - A major’s quotes
    - Admiral Thomas H. Moorer
    - General Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
-President’s view
  -Ranks
  -Osnos
  -Laos operation (Lam Son)
    -Content of press account

-Abrams
-\textit{Washington Post} story
  -A major’s quotes
  -President’s concern

Abrams
-Work
  -Kissinger’s view
  -Possible appointment as Chief of Staff
    -Army’s needs
      -Kissinger’s view
  -General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  -General Richard G. Stilwell

Vietnam
-\textit{Washington Post} story
  -Laos operation (Lam Son)
    -Account
    -Congressmen
  -Laos operation (Lam Son)
    -End of operation
      -Kissinger’s view
  -President’s March 14, 1971 press conference
  -US and South Vietnam command
  -General Nguyen Van Thieu’s decision
    -Weather
      -Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN] losses
  -Enemy losses
    -Number
    -Abrams
  -South Vietnamese morale
    -Ellsworth F. Bunker memorandum
      -Success of operation
      -Publicity
  -Thieu
  -Bunker
    -Cable
- President’s assessment
- *Washington Post* story
  - A major’s quotes
  - Haig
- Army and Air Force morale
  - Press
  - Public opinion
    - President’s view
- Kissinger’s previous meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- North Vietnam
- President’s forthcoming announcement
- President’s forthcoming speech
  - William P. Rogers
  - Melvin R. Laird
- Negotiations
  - Dobrynin
  - Timing
    - Kissinger’s response
- President’s forthcoming speech, April 7, 1971
  - Negotiations
  - Troop withdrawals
    - Number
      - Effect of Laos operation (Lam Son)
  - Length
  - Writer
    - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
    - William L. Safire
    - Winston Lord
      - October 10, 1970 Speech
      - Draft
  - President’s delivery
    - Compared with Howard K. Smith interview
      - Delivery of draft
  - Press
    - Kissinger’s role
    - Stewart J. O. and Joseph W. Alsop
      - S. J. O. Alsop’s position
        - Withdrawal
          - President’s response
- Democrats’ caucus
  - A vote on March 31, 1971
-President’s statements
  -President’s policies
  -[Thomas] Hale Boggs

Southerners

Boggs
  -Previous dinner with Kissinger
  -Support for the President
  -Compared with Republicans

Republicans
  -Support for President
  -Congressional leaders
  -Draft

Vietnam
  -Television coverage
  -Effect
    -Abraham Lincoln’s presidency
    -Shenandoah Valley
  -Laos operation (Lam Son)
  -Evaluation
    -President’s view
    -Press
      -Public relations efforts
        -President’s view
        -New York Times, March 25, 1971
    -Television
      -Coverage
      -Previous footage
  -Public opinion
    -Effect
  -Casualties
    -Decreases
  -Future military action
    -Kissinger’s view
      -Possible North Vietnamese attacks
      -Possible ARVN attacks
    -Effect on public opinion
    -Kissinger’s view
    -I, III, IV Corps
-US role
  -President’s view
-South Vietnamese role
-US role
  -Air power
  -A meeting with Laird and Moorer
-Future
  -Military equipment and material
  -Air strikes
    -Number
-Attacks on Kissinger

Kissinger left at 9:55 am

Date: March 26, 1971
Time: 9:55 am - 10:00 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman

Domestic Intelligence Advisory Board
  -Executive Order
  -Staff

Cabinet meeting
  -Arthur F. Burns
    -A speech by Herbert Stein
      -Federal Reserve Board
      -Burns’ previous meeting with the President
      -President’s influence with Stein, Paul W. McCracken
    -A report on Cabinet meeting by friends
  -Agenda [Stabilization of wages and prices]
    -McCracken
    -Ehrlichman’s view
    -James D. Hodgson
  -President’s schedule
    -Meeting with Justinian Society
-Ehrlichman’s role
-Length
-Agenda
  -Hodgson’s proposal
  -Discussion
  -President’s remarks
-President’s decision
  -Announcement at meeting
  -New York Times story
  -Signing of Executive Order on March 29, 1971 in San Clemente
  -Attendees
-Hodgson’s previous meeting with George Meany
  -Meany’s response
    -Support
    -Call to a building trade union president

Ronald W. Reagan
-Position on California Rural Legal Assistance [CRLA]
  -Possible meeting of Ehrlichman and President on Air Force One
  -Possible call from President
  -Forthcoming meeting with President
-H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman and Ehrlichman’s previous meeting with the President
  -Possible responses

The President and Ehrlichman left at 10:00 am

Conversation No. 474-3

Date: March 26, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:00 am and 11:12 am
Location: Oval Office

Nellie L. Yates [?] met with unknown men [maintenance]
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Non-historical]
[Duration: 38s ]

[UNINTELLIGIBLE]  
Conv. No. 474-3 (cont.)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Yates [?] and the unknown men [maintenance] left at an unknown time before 11:12 am

Date: March 26, 1971  
Time: 11:15 am - 11:17 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

President’s schedule
-Justinian Society
-Number attending
-John A. Volpe
-President’s role
-Roosevelt Room
-Anthony J. Celebrezze and [Name unintelligible]
-White House Conference on Drugs
-Religious leaders
-President’s role
-Time of meeting

Bull left at 11:17 am
Date: March 26, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:17 am and 11:22 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

President’s schedule
- White House Conference on Drugs
  - Religious leaders
  - White House theater
  - Oval Office
  - President’s remarks
  - Length of President’s meeting
  - Oval Office
  - Scheduler
  - Length of meeting
  - Number attending
  - Time involved
  - President’s role

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 11:17 am

  - H. R. (‘Bob’) Haldeman
  - President’s role

Haldeman’s location
- Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger

President’s schedule
- Justinian Society
- Drug conference
  - Time
- Justinian Society
  - An afternoon event
  - Tour
  - Volpe
  - President’s role
  - Tour of Oval Office
    - Volpe, President

The President, Bull, and Butterfield left at 11:22 am
Date: March 26, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:22 am and 11:35 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

President’s schedule
- Meeting with Justinian Society lawyers
  - President’s role
  - Arrangements
  - President’s role
    - John A. Volpe’s understanding
  - Cabinet meeting
- Number attending
- Tour of Oval Office

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:35 am

Date: March 26, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:22 am and 2:54 pm
Location: Oval Office

A tour group [members of the Justinian Society] met with the President outside the Oval Office

Greetings

[General conversation]

Recording ends at an unknown time before 2:54 pm
Date: March 26, 1971
Time: Unknown after 4:09 pm until 4:53 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Melvin R. Laird, Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, David Packard, Henry A. Kissinger, General Alexander M. Haig, Jr., and John B. Connally

[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress; discontinuities occur during the recording]

Vietnam
- US casualties
- General Nguyen Van Thieu
  - Laird’s previous conversation
- Air capabilities
  - Helicopters
  - Fixed-wing aircraft
- North Vietnamese losses
- South Vietnamese troops
  - Supplies
  - US role
  - Thieu’s election
- Soviet Union
- South Vietnamese forces

Kissinger left at 4:25 pm

- Democrats in Congress
  - Connally’s view
    - Laos operation (Lam Son)
    - Chubb plantation operation
    - US withdrawal
- South Vietnamese supplies
- Carl B. Albert
- Caucus, March 30, 1971
- Recess schedule
- Albert
- President’s trip to California
- Laird’s conversations
- President’s previous conversation with Albert and [Thomas] Hale Boggs
  - Support for the President
- Laos operation (Lam Son)
- President’s actions
- Vietnamization
- US troop withdrawal
  - Date set by President
  - Reasoning
    - South Vietnamese stability
    - Prisoners of War [POWs]
  - Negotiating position
- Effect of possible democratic resolution
  - POWs
  - President’s view
  - Thieu, Nguyen Cao Ky
- President’s Vietnam accomplishments
- Political situation
- US withdrawal
  - Date set by Congress
  - Effects
    - South Vietnam’s future
    - President’s view
  - Date set by President
    - Effects
  - Date set by Congress
    - Effects
- Possible cutoff of funds
  - Possible Congressional action
    - Effects
    - President’s assessment
    - President’s conversation with Boggs and Albert
- US troop withdrawals
  - Air power
  - Effect on South Vietnam
  - Air power
    - B-52 strikes
      - Number
  - Gunships
- Democrat Caucus
  - Laird’s meeting, March 30, 1971
    - Possible conversation
      - President’s policy compared with Democrat actions
        - Potential political considerations
      - President’s forthcoming speech
-President’s policy
  -Compared with Democrat action
- Laos operation (Lam Son)
  -Moorer’s briefing
  -Colors on chart
    -Representations
- General Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.’s view
  -North Vietnamese forces
    -Casualties
    -Effectiveness
    -Infiltration routes
- South Vietnamese forces
  -Position
    -Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
- North Vietnamese tanks
  -Number
  -Attacks
  -Number
- Helicopters
- Military situation
  -Khe Sanh attack
    -Assessment
    -US action
      -Withdrawal
      -Supplies
      -Helicopter
- North Vietnamese Army
  -Reinforcements
  -Supplies
  -Artillery attacks
- DMZ
  -North Vietnamese Army attacks
    -Compared with Laos operation
    -Supplies and artillery
    -US air strikes
      -Moorer’s assessment
      -Weather
      -Targets
      -Timing
    -President’s view
    -Future strikes
    -President’s view
- Weather
- Reconnaissance
- North Vietnam artillery presence
- US air strikes
  - Considerations
  - President’s view

- Press coverage
  - An Associated Press [AP] dispatch concerning casualties
  - Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN]
  - Number
  - Tammy Arbuckle
  - Department of Defense response
  - Compared with reports on Cambodia
  - President’s concern
  - Television
  - Effect
  - Accuracy
  - Department of Defense response
  - ARVN
  - Abrams
  - Pentagon action
  - Accuracy
  - President’s view
  - Current stories compared with 1968 Tet offensive
  - Reasons
    - Civil War, World War II
  - President’s view
  - Administration policy
    - Laird’s call to AP
  - Moorer’s March 25, 1971 press conference
  - Democrats
    - Laird’s forthcoming meeting on Capitol Hill
    - Laird’s possible call to Russell B. Long
    - Laird’s previous meetings
    - Senators
      - Briefing for Armed Services Committee
      - Senators’ response
      - President’s view

Forthcoming Congressional testimony
- William P. Rogers
- Coordination with Laird
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[National Security] [Duration: 3m 39s]

MIDDLE EAST

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

President’s schedule
- California trip
- Weather
- Samuel Goldwyn
  - Medal of Freedom award
  - Health

Farewells
Laird, et al. left at 4:53 pm

Date: March 26, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:53 pm and 4:55 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator

Call to John N. Mitchell
Date: March 26, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:53 pm and 4:55 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man

President’s schedule
- Meeting with George P. Shultz
- California trip
- Departure time
- Meeting with Shultz

The President and the unknown man left at an unknown time before 4:55 pm
President’s call to John N. Mitchell

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 4:55 pm

Date: March 26, 1971
Time: 4:55 pm - 4:59 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with John N. Mitchell

President’s helicopter

Unknown issue
  - Mitchell’s advice
  - President’s view

Economy
  - President’s policy
    - Wage-price boards
      - A response
    - Davis-Bacon Act
    - Public relations
      - President’s previous dinner for businessmen
      - John B. Connally’s role

The President met with George P. Shultz

Economy
  - A previous meeting
    - Maurice H. Stans
    - Administration spokesman
    - Need for business support
- Paul W. McCracken
- Ezra Solomon
  - Speaking ability
  - Public relations efforts
    - McCracken
    - Solomon

The President and Shultz left at 5:04 pm

Conv. No. 474-13 (cont.)