TO: The Secretary of State  
The Secretary of Defense  
The Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Preparations for the International Conference on Indochina

The President has directed that a study be prepared on an urgent basis concerning the convening of and U.S. participation in the International Conference on Indochina stipulated in Article 19 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam.

The study should include consideration of:

- How the conference should be organized.
- The anticipated and preferred duration of the Conference.
- The objectives of the Conference and what the U.S. would hope to achieve.
- The alternatives for a supervisory relationship with the International Commission of Control and Supervision which could be sought from the Conference.
- A possible continuing mechanism for such supervisory responsibilities after the conclusion of the Conference itself.
- The relationship of the Conference to the issues of Laos and Cambodia and the existing mechanisms created by the 1954 and the 1962 Geneva Accords.
- The possible relationships between the International Conference and other conferences proposed (e.g. ASEAN Conference, the proposed conference of 10 Southeast Asian countries, the conference proposed by the Japanese on post war economic assistance and relationships).

The study should include a proposed game plan and negotiating instructions for the U.S. delegation to the Conference.
The study should be prepared under the direction of the Chairman of the NSC Interdepartmental Group for East Asia and be forwarded not later than the opening of business February 2, 1973 for consideration by the NSC Senior Review Group.

Henry A. Kissinger