

State Department review completed

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

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Flash

T O P S E C R E T 230525Z OCT 72 SENSITIVE VIA CAS CHANNELS (BUNKER)
TO: GENERAL HAIG, EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY FLASH
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER CITE SAIGON 0231
HAKTO 049

PLEASE TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE IMMEDIATELY TO GUAY FOR HIM TO DELIVER AT HIS 1500 MEETING TODAY.

BEGIN TEXT:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WISHES TO INFORM THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM OF THE FOLLOWING URGENT MATTERS.

THE UNITED STATES HAS PROCEEDED IN GOOD FAITH TO IMPLEMENT THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES AND SUBSTANCE DISCUSSED WITH THE DRV IN PARIS. THE DRV MUST CERTAINLY HAVE BEEN INFORMED OF THE STRENUOUS EFFORTS MADE BY DR. KISSINGER AND HIS ASSOCIATES IN LAOS, CAMBODIA, THAILAND AND ABOVE ALL IN SAIGON.

AT THE SAME TIME THE DRV SIDE IS AWARE OF THE FACT THAT THE CONSTANT U.S. POSITION HAS BEEN THAT IT WILL NOT IMPOSE A UNILATERAL SOLUTION ON ITS ALLIES AND THAT IT WILL MOVE AHEAD ONLY ON THE BASIS OF CONSULTATION.

THERE HAVE BEEN THE FOLLOWING DIFFICULTIES. FIRST, THERE IS THE EXCESSIVE SPEED WITH WHICH THE DRV HAS SOUGHT TO PROCEED. SECOND, THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE NEWSWEEK CORRESPONDENT HAD A DEVASTATING IMPACT AT THE CRUCIAL MOMENT IN SAIGON. SENSITIVE CONSULTATION WERE BOUND TO BE UNDERMINED BY THE VIRTUAL ~~ANNOUNCEMENT~~ OF AN AGREEMENT STILL BEING DISCUSSED AND BY ATTACKS ON THE STRUCTURE AND PERSONNEL THAT THE AGREEMENT WAS MAINTAINING. THIRD, THERE IS THE PROBLEM WHICH DR. KISSINGER HAS REPEATEDLY MENTIONED TO SPECIAL ADVISOR LE DUC THO, REPRESENTED BY THE DRV FORCES IN THE SOUTH. FOURTH, THERE ARE SEVERAL TECHNICAL POINTS WHICH HAVE ARISEN, BUT WHICH COULD BE READILY SOLVED IN ONE MORE SESSION BETWEEN SPECIAL ADVISOR LE DUC THO AND DR. KISSINGER. ALL OF THESE PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED IN A SPIRIT OF GOOD WILL, INCLUDING THE THIRD ONE ON WHICH THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO GO OUT OF ITS WAY TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE DRV POSITION.

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THE PRESIDENT REITERATES HIS FIRM BELIEF THAT AN AGREEMENT IS OBTAINABLE IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE DRV AND US SIDES MUTUALLY EXPLORE EXISTING DIFFICULTIES IN THE SAME SPIRIT OF GOOD WILL WHICH HAS CHARACTERIZED DISCUSSIONS THUS FAR.

TO THIS END THE PRESIDENT PROPOSES THAT SPECIAL ADVISOR LE DUC THO AND DR. KISSINGER MEET AGAIN AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY IN PARIS, TO RECONCILE THE REMAINING ISSUES. DR. KISSINGER WILL COME TO PARIS ON AND DATE SET BY THE DRV. IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR DR. KISSINGER TO GO TO HANOI UNTIL THESE ADDITIONAL DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED.

IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE ITS GOOD FAITH, THE U.S. SIDE WILL MAINTAIN THE CURRENT RESTRICTIONS ON THE BOMBING UNTIL THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE CONCLUDED.

THE U.S. SIDE MUST WARN THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO EXPLOIT THE PRESENT, TEMPORARY DIFFICULTIES PUBLICLY CAN ONLY LEAD TO PROLONGATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

IT IS INEVITABLE THAT IN A WAR THAT HAS LASTED SO LONG AND HAS GENERATED SUCH DEEP PASSIONS THERE SHOULD BE SOME TEMPORARY OBSTACLES ON THE WAY TO A FINAL RESOLUTION.

THE U.S. REMAINS DETERMINED TO PURSUE EVERY AVENUE FOR PEACE AND URGES THE LEADERSHIP OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM TO JOIN WITH IT IN THE SAME SPIRIT OF GOOD WILL AND COOPERATIVE EFFORT WHICH HAS BROUGHT THE NEGOTIATIONS SO CLOSE TO A SOLUTION. IF THIS SAME ATTITUDE IS MAINTAINED, THE CURRENT PROBLEMS WILL SURELY BE SURMOUNTED AND THERE SHOULD BE AN EARLY SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF AGREEMENTS THAT HAVE ALREADY BEEN ACHIEVED. END TEXT