

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE


WASHINGTON

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November 25, 1972

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER 

SUBJECT: Changes Obtained in the Draft Agreement

The six days we spent in Paris improved the draft agreement and brought us closer to signing it. We made progress on both Vietnamese fronts. With the North Vietnamese we gained some significant changes in the text and narrowed the remaining issues down to the hard core. With the South Vietnamese a continual series of meetings with their representatives in Paris, of increasing bluntness and electricity, served to bring home the perils of their present course and the impossibility of further delay.

We still have very difficult work ahead in both respects. The North Vietnamese position at the end was very tough; it will take hard bargaining to milk the few remaining changes we need. And while his representatives now grasp the situation, Thieu himself remains intransigent. Starting with your meeting with his emissary Duc, we will have to continue our heavy pressure to bring Saigon around.

In this context getting a brief recess in the talks was essential. It shows Hanoi we cannot be stampeded and disarms Thieu who probably expected us to finish this week regardless. We have thus regained the tactical initiative and should now be able to complete the task of reaching a peaceful settlement of the war.

What We Achieved

We came into this round of talks with an agreement that we already considered excellent. This week we have further improved the agreement by securing roughly a dozen changes, some of substance and others more technical, but all in our favor. Following are the significant ones so far:

-- In several articles, including the first one, we have removed invidious references to the U.S. by changing purely American obligations to ones required of all foreign countries.

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