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DRAFT MEMO FROM THE PRESIDENT

12/1/72

MEMORANDUM FOR: HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT: Your Instructions for the December 4
 Negotiating Round

Following are your instructions for the final negotiations in Paris beginning December 4, 1972. The general framework remains as it has always been: we seek the best possible agreement; we will not sign it until we are convinced it is sound; and we will not delay signing it in any way once we are convinced it is sound. The agreement as it now stands is close to being acceptable, but we must have a few more changes before we can approve it and recommend it to our allies.

It must be made absolutely clear to the North Vietnamese negotiators that the concerns of both sides must be met. Just as they claim their principles, so do we have principles which we must and will respect. We have an obligation to continue presenting as forcefully as possible the concerns of our allies as well as our own views on what is required to make the agreement as satisfactory as possible. Accordingly, if the North Vietnamese are intransigent across the board, I will be prepared to authorize you to suspend the negotiations. If on the other hand, the North Vietnamese make a reciprocal effort and agree to the minimal changes

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