

SA 99 B-399

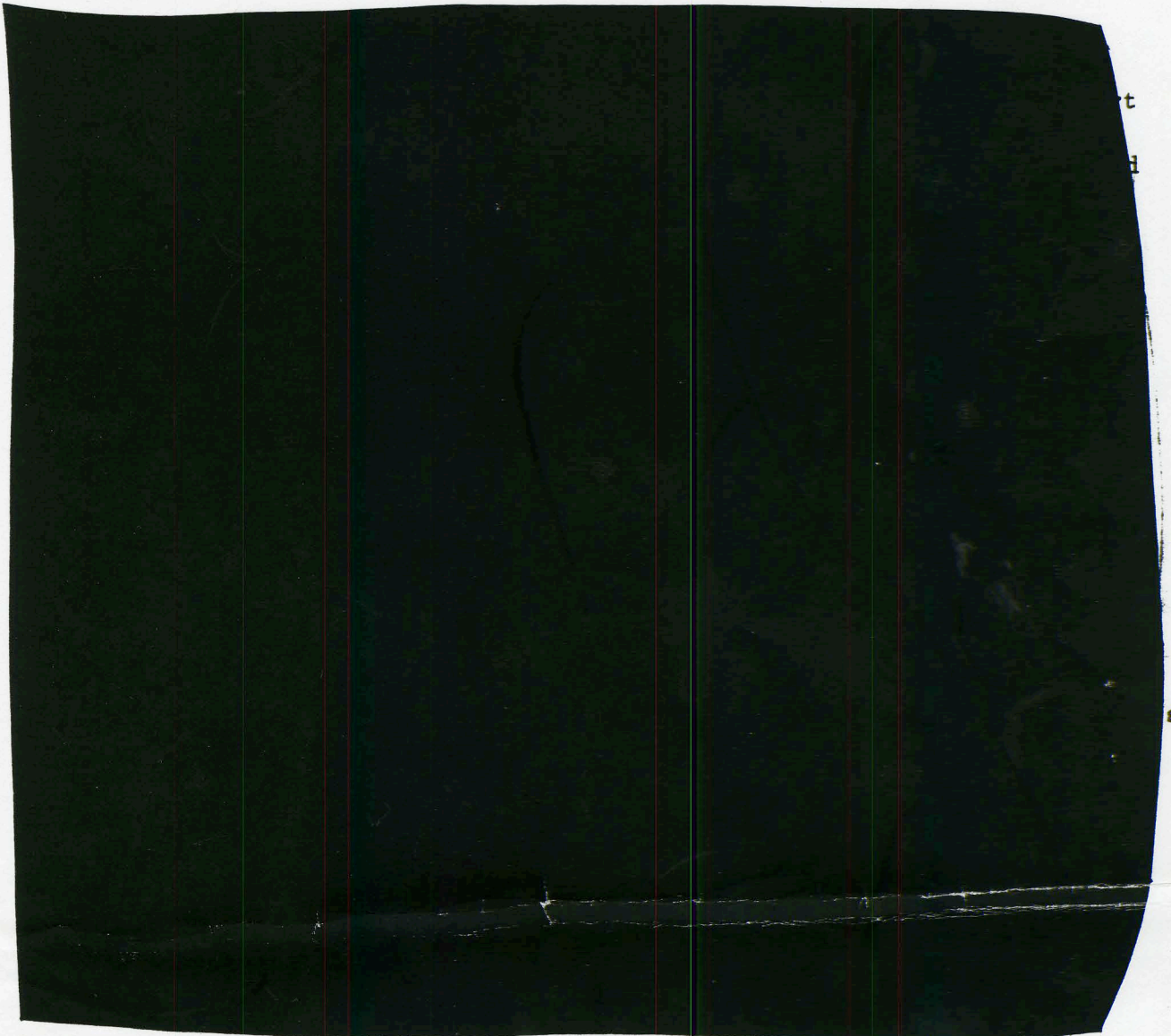
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~
~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

May 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: The Situation in Vietnam



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~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4
NSC 8/23/93 F9301180
By WJG NARA, Date 9/17/93

SA 99

(DP)
1.5(u)(4)

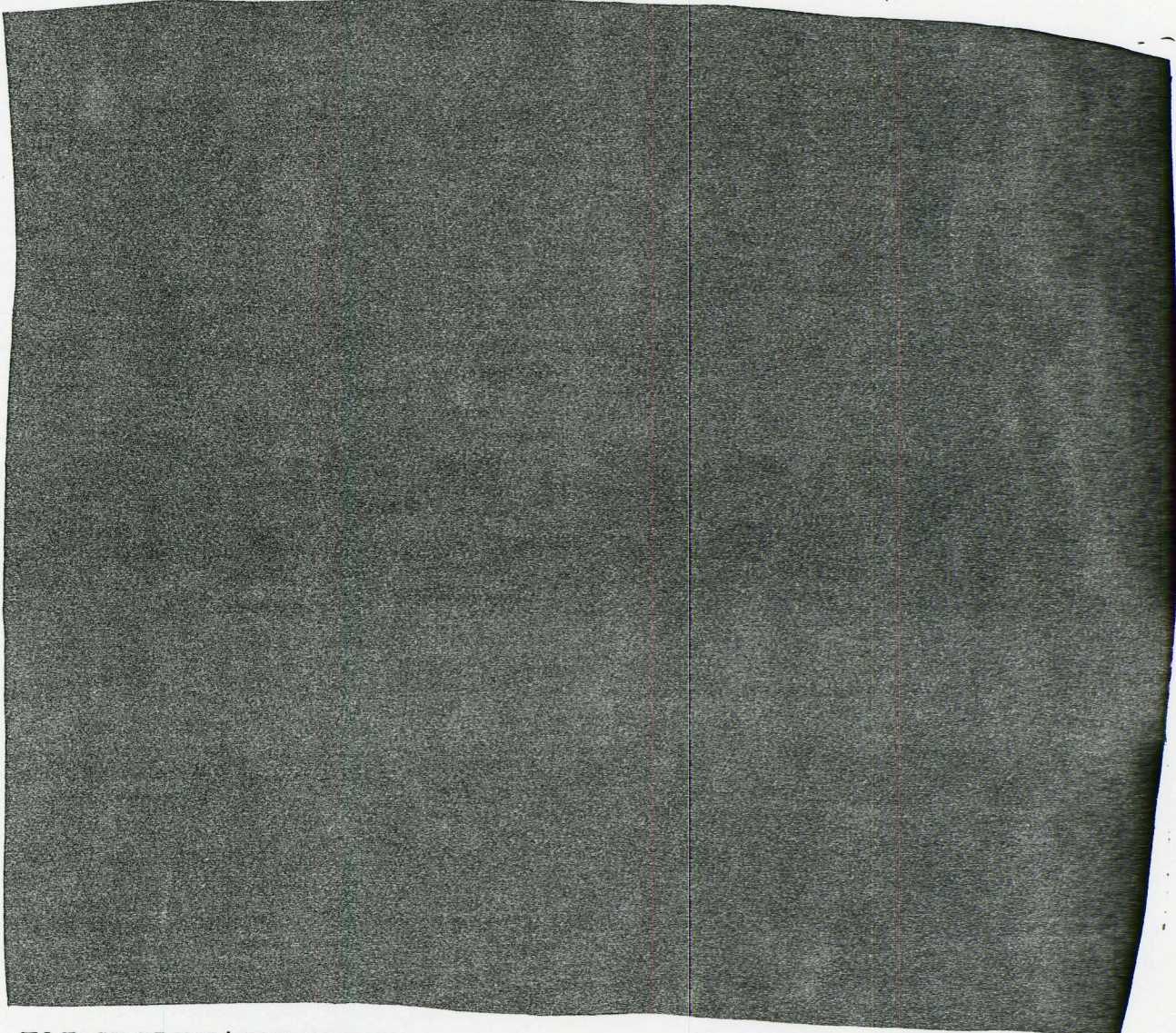
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- 6 -

Hanoi Views on POW's Status

1.3(6)(4)
[Sanitized

stated that Americans captured in North Vietnam are not POW's since the US and the DRV are not officially at war; therefore those Americans are not entitled to the treatment required by the Geneva Convention.



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SA 99 B-400

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

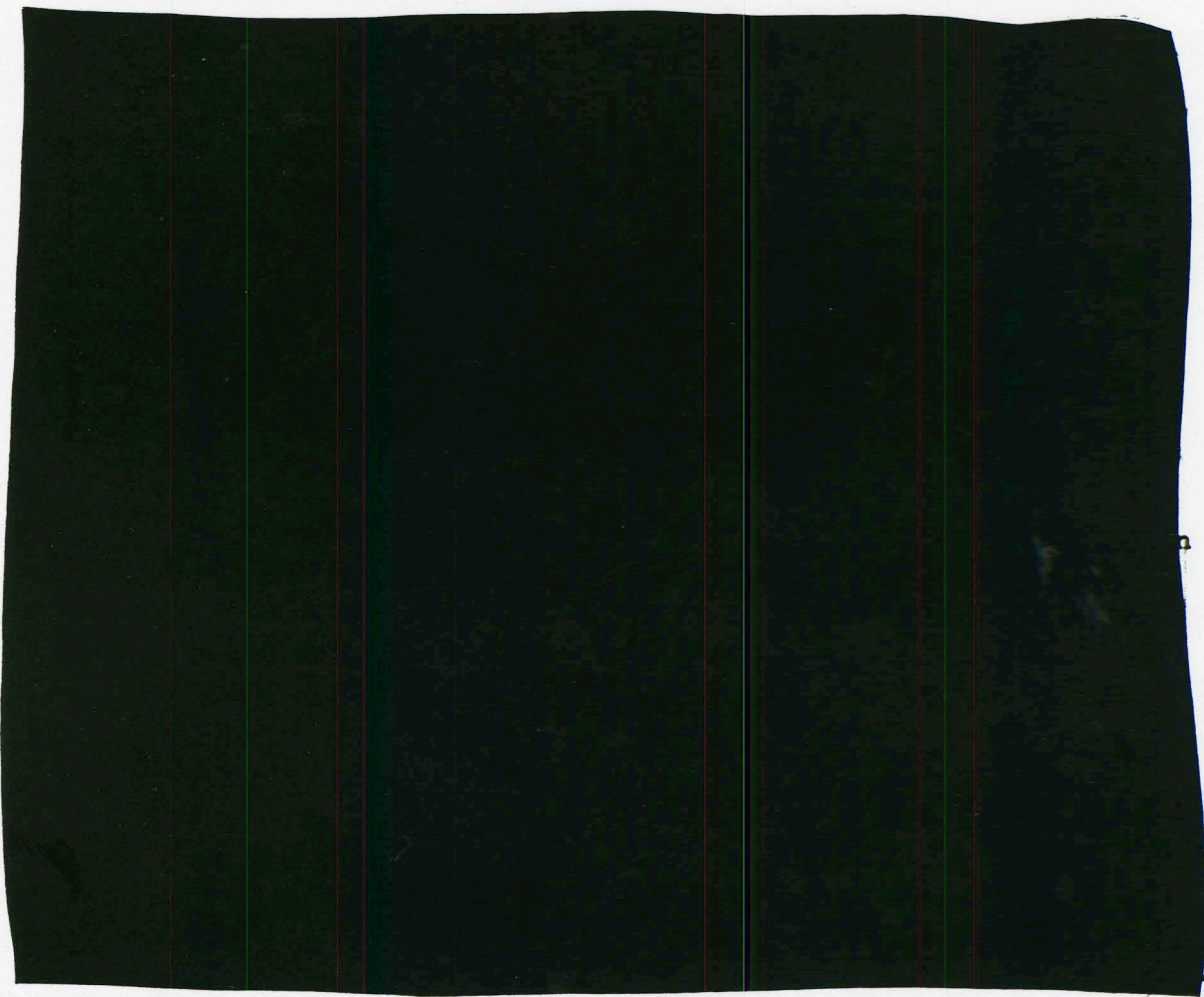
WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE/~~
~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

May 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: The Situation in Vietnam



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E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4

NSC 8/23/93 F9301180

By MXO NARA, Date 9/17/93

SA 99

(DP)

Hanoi Media on Protracted Struggle

Hanoi's Party daily candidly stated that "North Vietnam...has entered a phase of direct offensive"; however, it urged the army and population to prepare for "a protracted struggle." Since the April 16 U.S. raids on the North, the possibility of a long war has been increasingly stressed in Hanoi media. The May 11 DRV statement was the first Hanoi government statement during your administration to revive the 1966-1968 slogan that the war could go on a decade or longer.

Also worth noting is the total absence, so far, of any reference in Hanoi media to your May 8 proposals on cease-fire, ending U.S. actions in the North, POW releases, or U.S. withdrawal.



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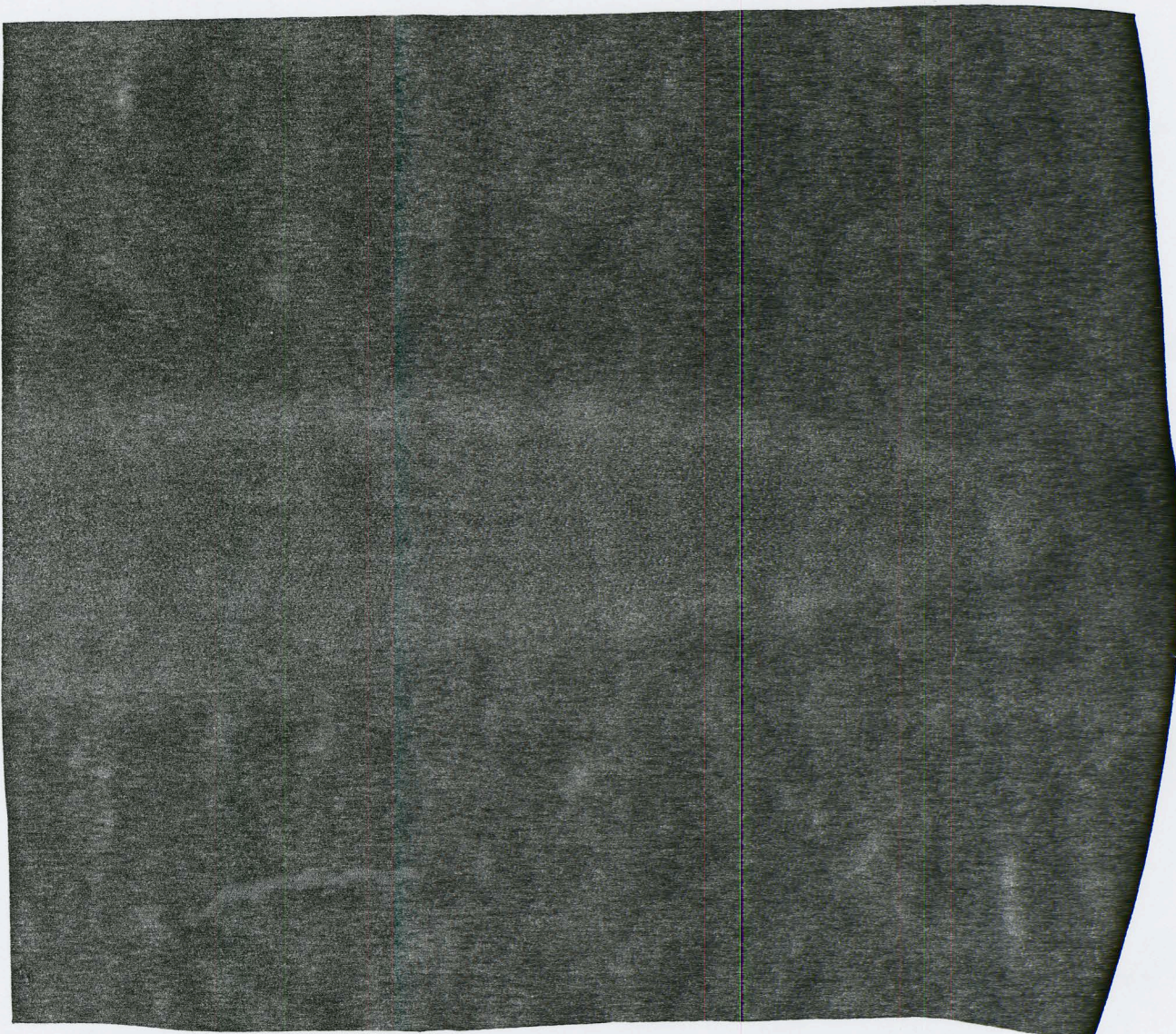
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~
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June 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: Situation in Vietnam



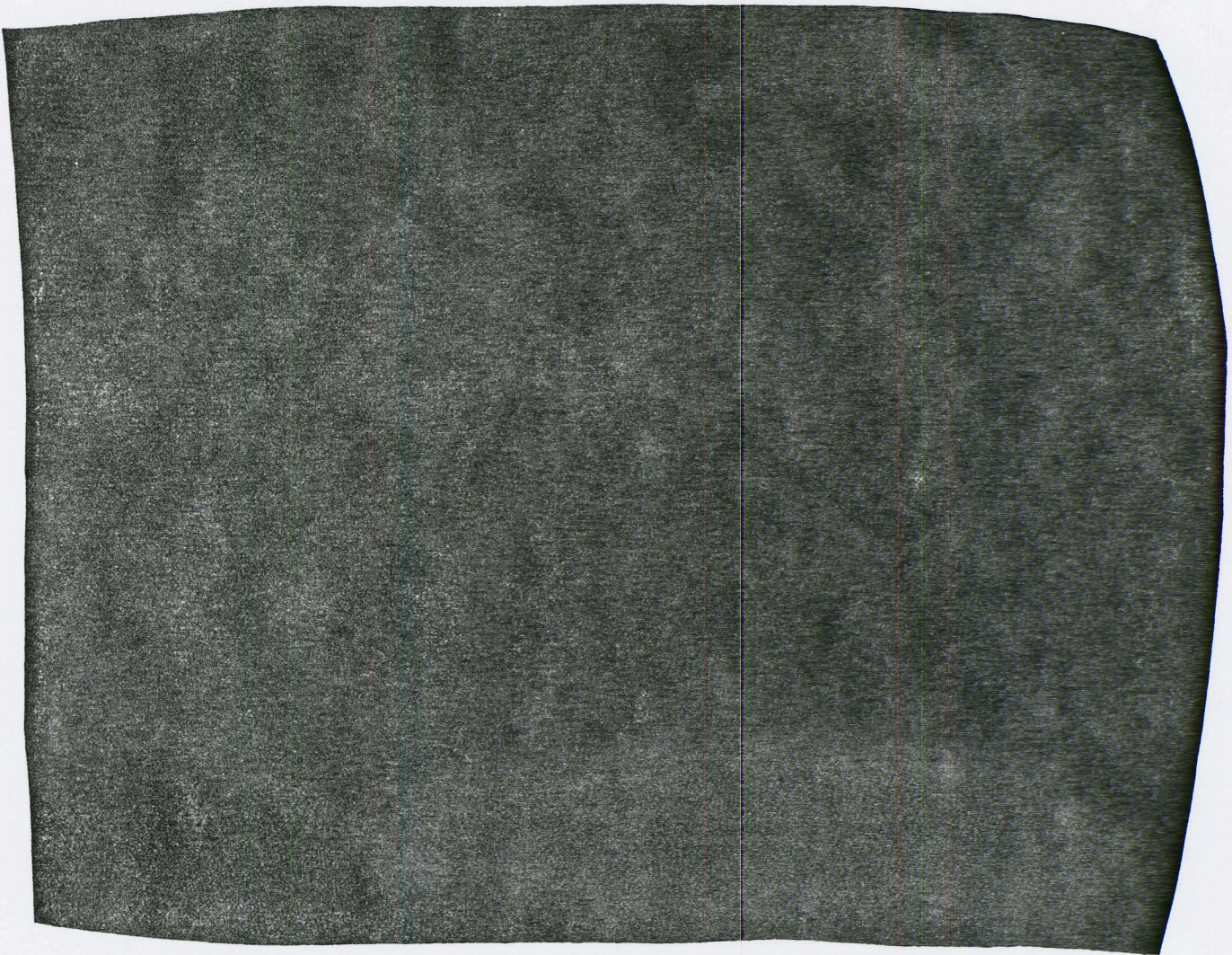
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(DP) 1.3(a)(4)

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E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4
NSC 1/4/93 F92-1408
By WAG NARA, Date 5/6/93
SA 99 (Part)

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-4-



Political/Diplomatic

North Vietnamese Diplomats Comment on DRV's Situation, Relations with Allies

1.3(a)(4)
1.3(a)(4)

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[redacted] a North Vietnamese Ambassador to [redacted] commented in mid-June that the DRV's situation is critical because it cannot build bridges and harbor facilities fast enough to replace those destroyed. He also complained that the Soviets are treating the North Vietnamese like Arabs. The Ambassador stated that North Vietnam fears it will lose bargaining leverage if our prisoners of war are released. The same report also carried comments by a lower ranking DRV official at the same embassy who admitted that the situation in Vietnam was serious and that there have been extremely heavy losses in the South. According to [redacted]

1.3(a)(4)

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SANITIZED

SANITIZING INSTRUCTIONS

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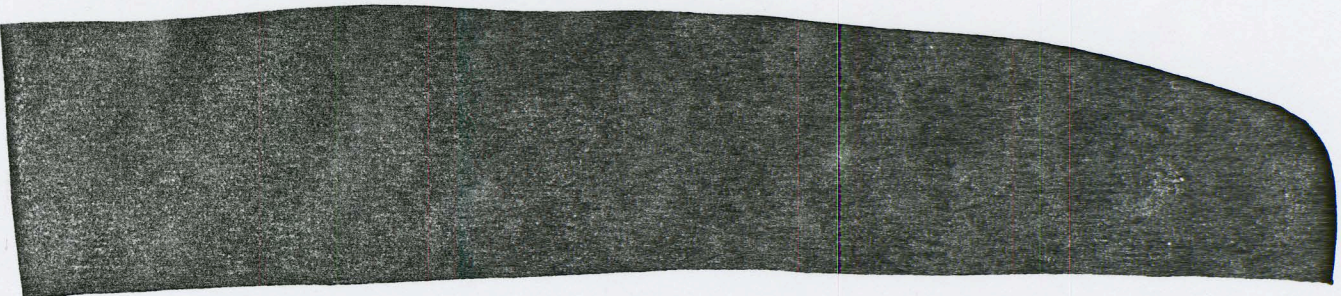
- 5 -

SANITIZED

1.3(a)(4)

SANITIZED

the PRG chief of mission [redacted] complained in late June about the attitudes of the Soviet Union and the PRC. The official reportedly expressed disappointment that both countries pay more attention to their own self-interests than to real problems, such as the war in Vietnam.



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~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

SANITIZING INSTRUCTIONS

SA 99 B-402

MEMORANDUM

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

June 23, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

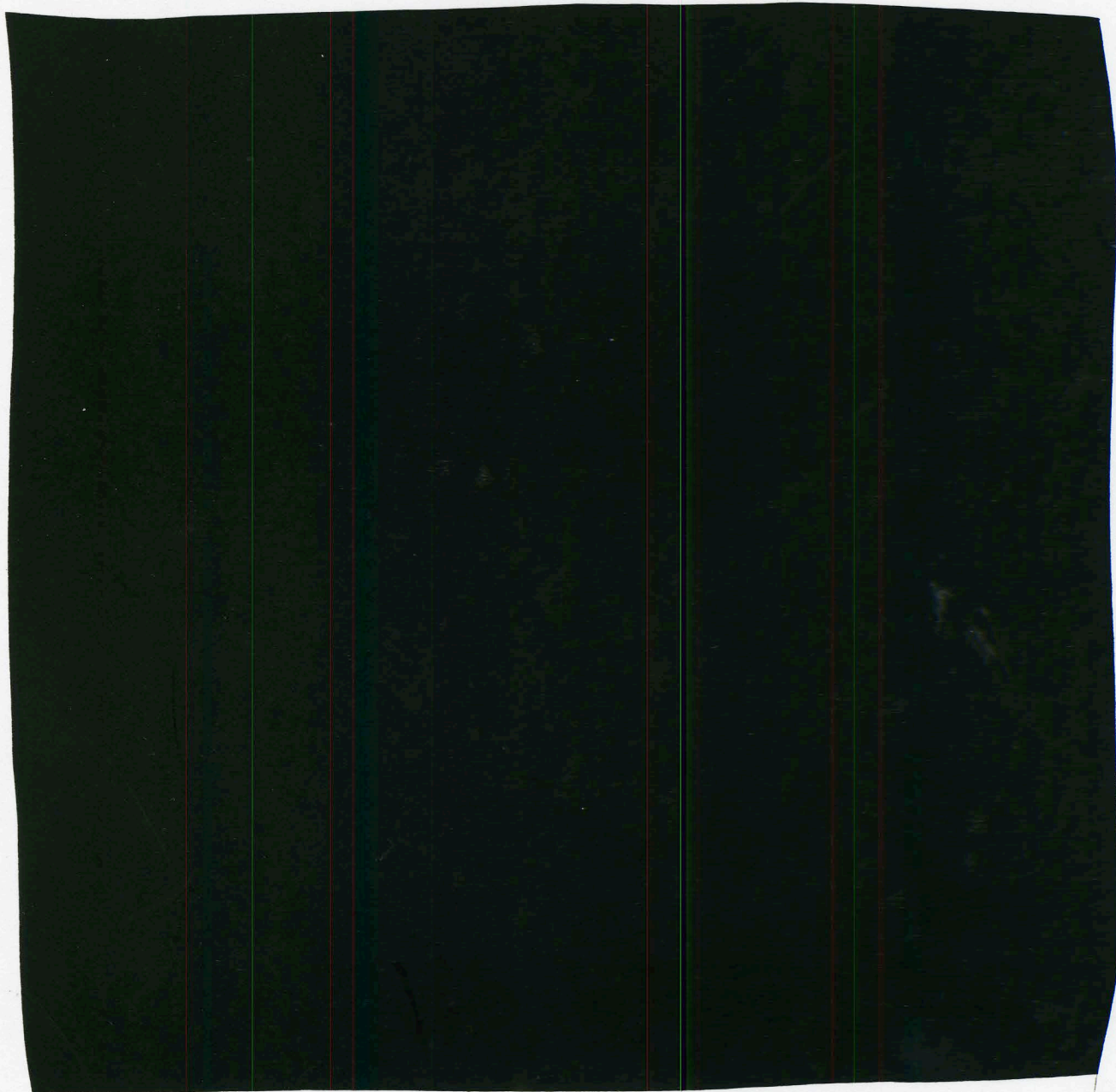
THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT:

Situation in Vietnam



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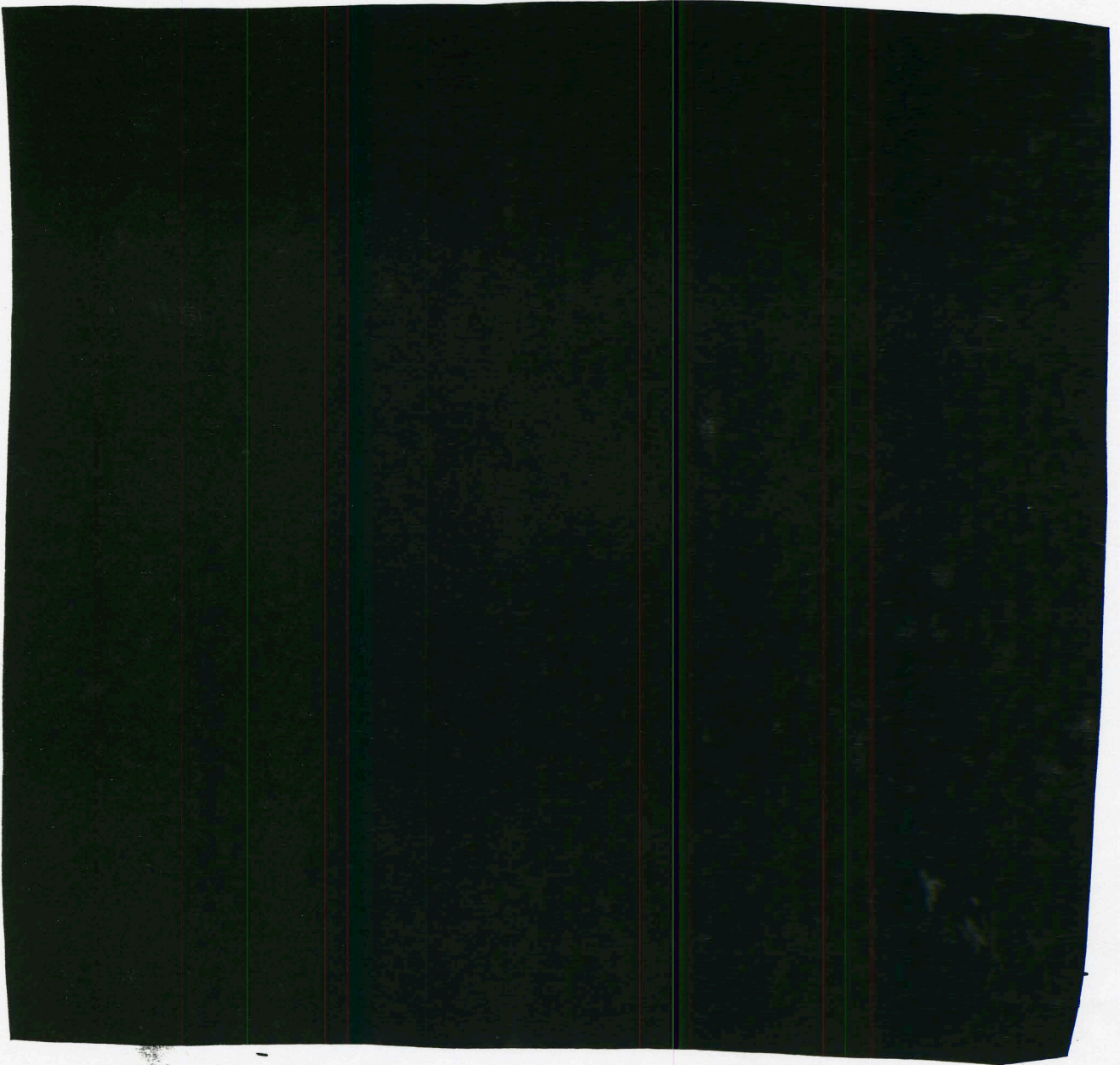
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E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4

NSC 8/23/93 F9301180

By WMO NARA, Date 9/17/93

SA 99




Political/Diplomatic

New POW List Released

An American lawyer and personal friend of the Kennedy family turned over to Ambassador Watson in Paris a list of 24 American Prisoners of War in North Vietnam who have been taken since November 1, 1970. Those on the list were actually captured between December 1971 and the end of May 1972.

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The lawyer had been asked by Senator Kennedy to pick up the list from the North Vietnamese Paris delegation. The North Vietnamese reportedly plan to announce to the press that the list has been turned over. Defense has notified the next of kin of the 24 POW's, and we expect to release their names on June 23.



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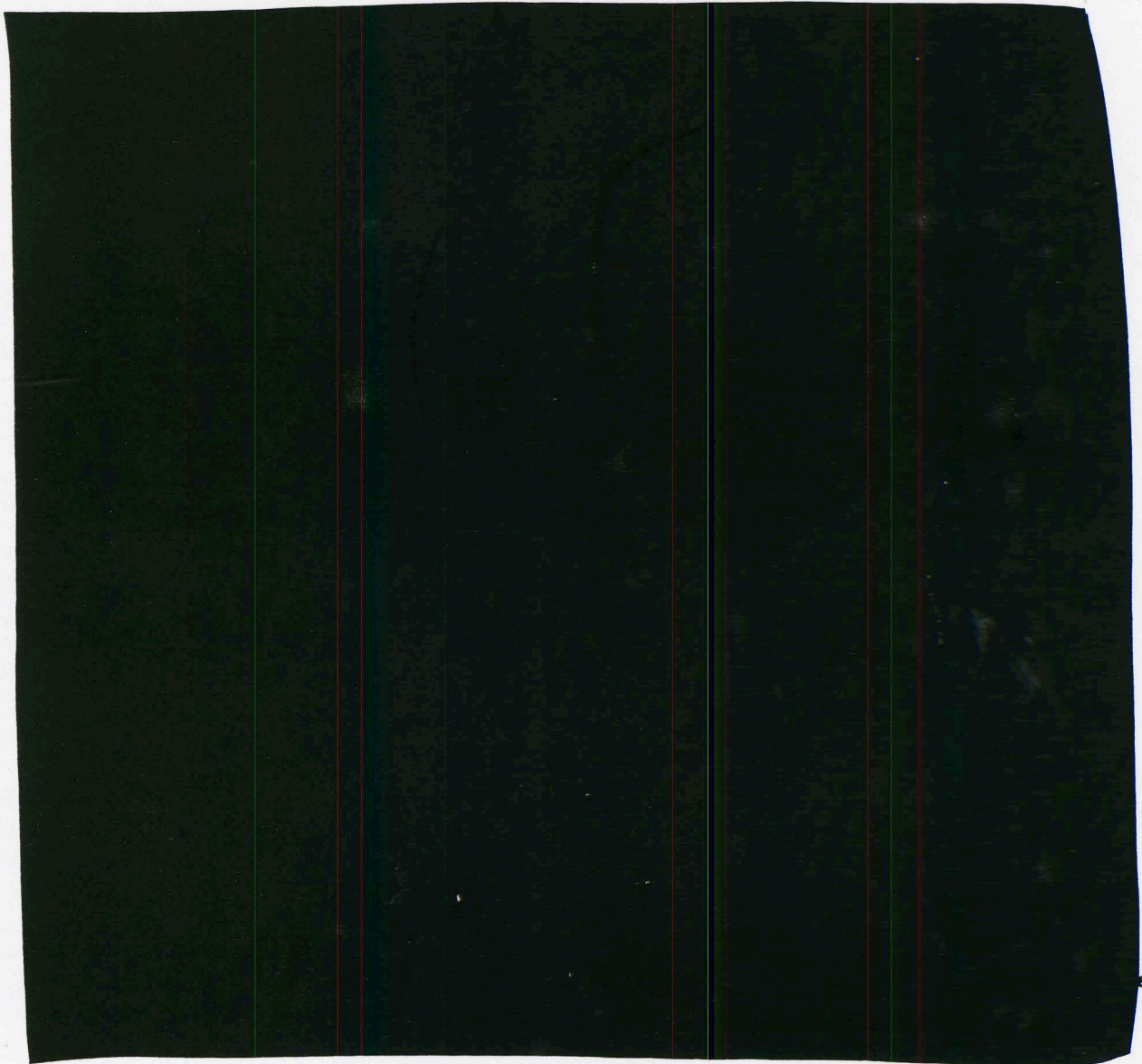
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~
~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

June 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: The Situation in Vietnam



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1.3(u)(4)

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E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4

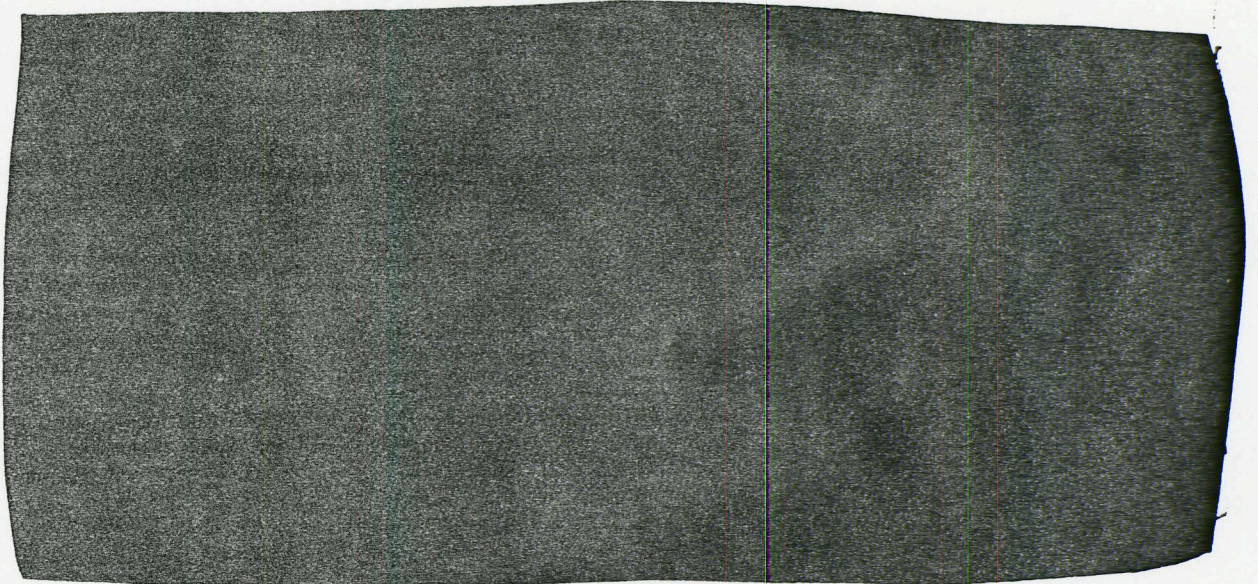
NSC 8/23/93 F9301180

By W20 NARA, Date 9/17/93

SA 99

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-6-



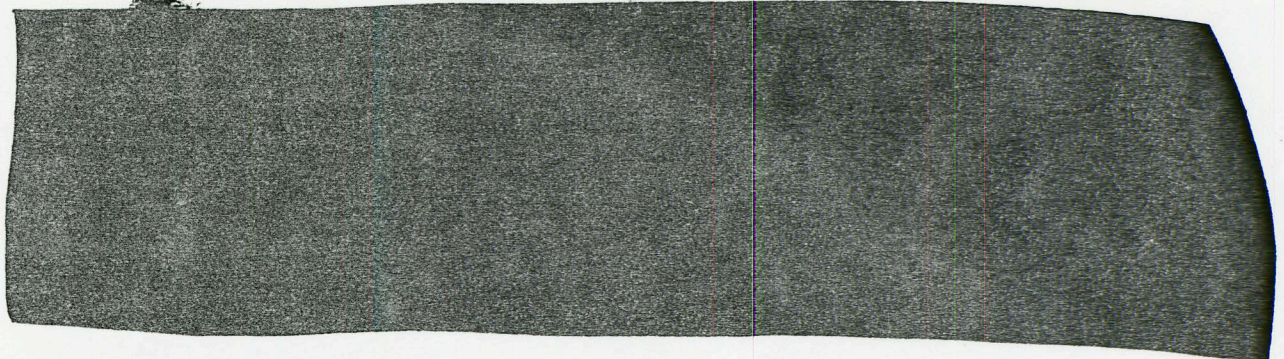
North Vietnam Concern over Dike System and another Son Tay-Type Raid

North Vietnam's news media are expressing acute concern over the threat of U.S. air strikes against the country's dike system. Official press releases and several commentaries in the daily press have warned that such attacks are possible. The Ministry of Water Conservancy recently issued a formal statement -- its first since 1968 -- claiming that we have bombed Red River embankments on 42 occasions since April 10. The threat to the dike system is the only feature of the U.S. air war which has merited its own separate propaganda campaign.

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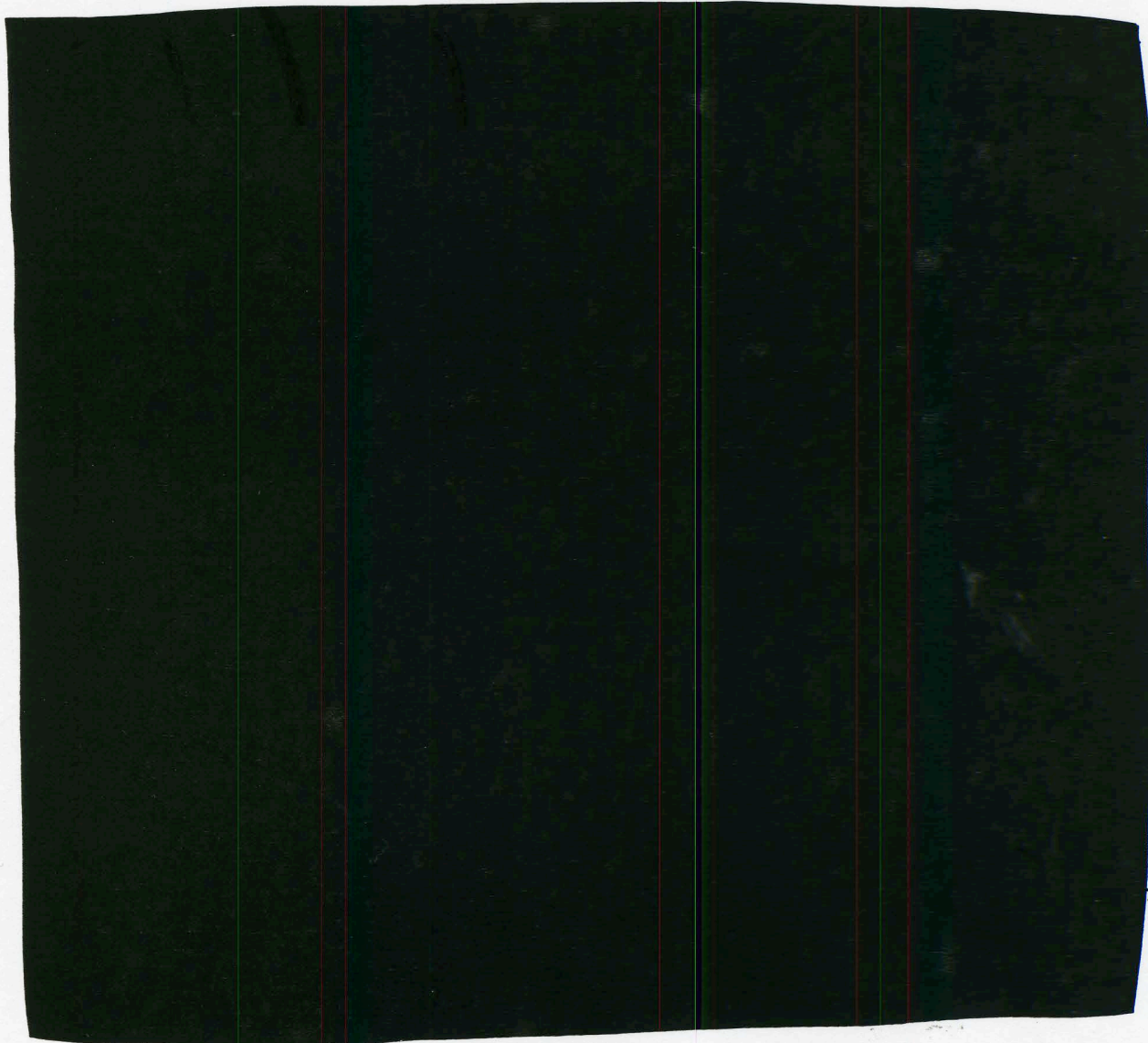
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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~
~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

July 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: Situation in Vietnam



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~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

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E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4

NSC 8/23/93 F9301180

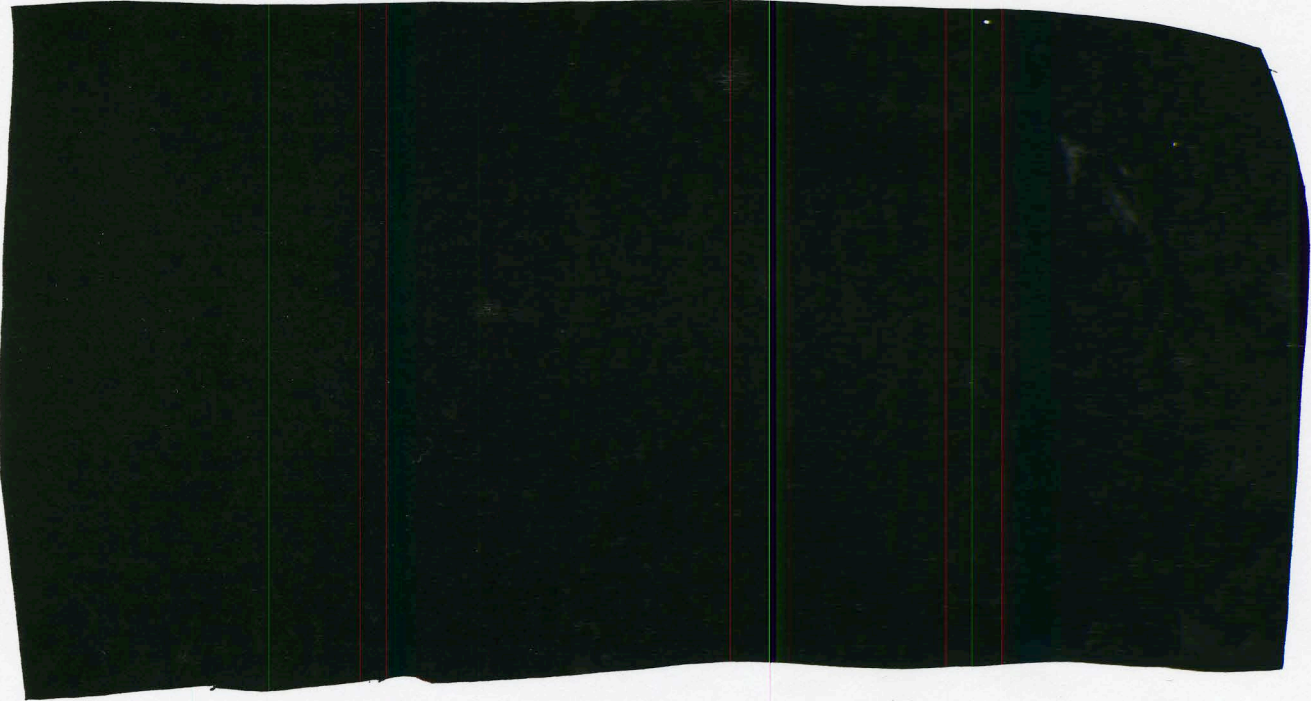
By WKO NARA, Date 9/20/93

SA 99

Political/Diplomatic

ASEAN Foreign Ministers Propose New Peace Plan

In accord with decisions made at a recent meeting of the Foreign Ministers of ASEAN member states (Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand), the Indonesian Foreign Minister requested our Embassy to transmit the text of a new, "informal" peace proposal on Vietnam to Secretary Rogers. The proposal calls for the withdrawal of both US and North Vietnamese forces within four months of a simultaneous ceasefire in North and South Vietnam and the release of all POW's simultaneously with the troop withdrawals. All POW's will be sent to a neutral third country for further transportation to their respective countries. "Political solutions should be left to the Vietnamese" to be decided by adhering to the 1954 Geneva Accords and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. The ASEAN Foreign Ministers will not make their proposal public but will also present it to Cambodia, Laos, the GVN, and the NLF. According to the Indonesians, the North Vietnamese Charge in Djakarta claimed that he could not accept the proposal; the message will be conveyed to Hanoi via the Indonesian Embassy in North Vietnam. (Comment: Although the proposal does not provide for an Indochina-wide, supervised ceasefire, its call for mutual withdrawals and an immediate ceasefire favors our positions and will doubtless displease the North Vietnamese.)



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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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July 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

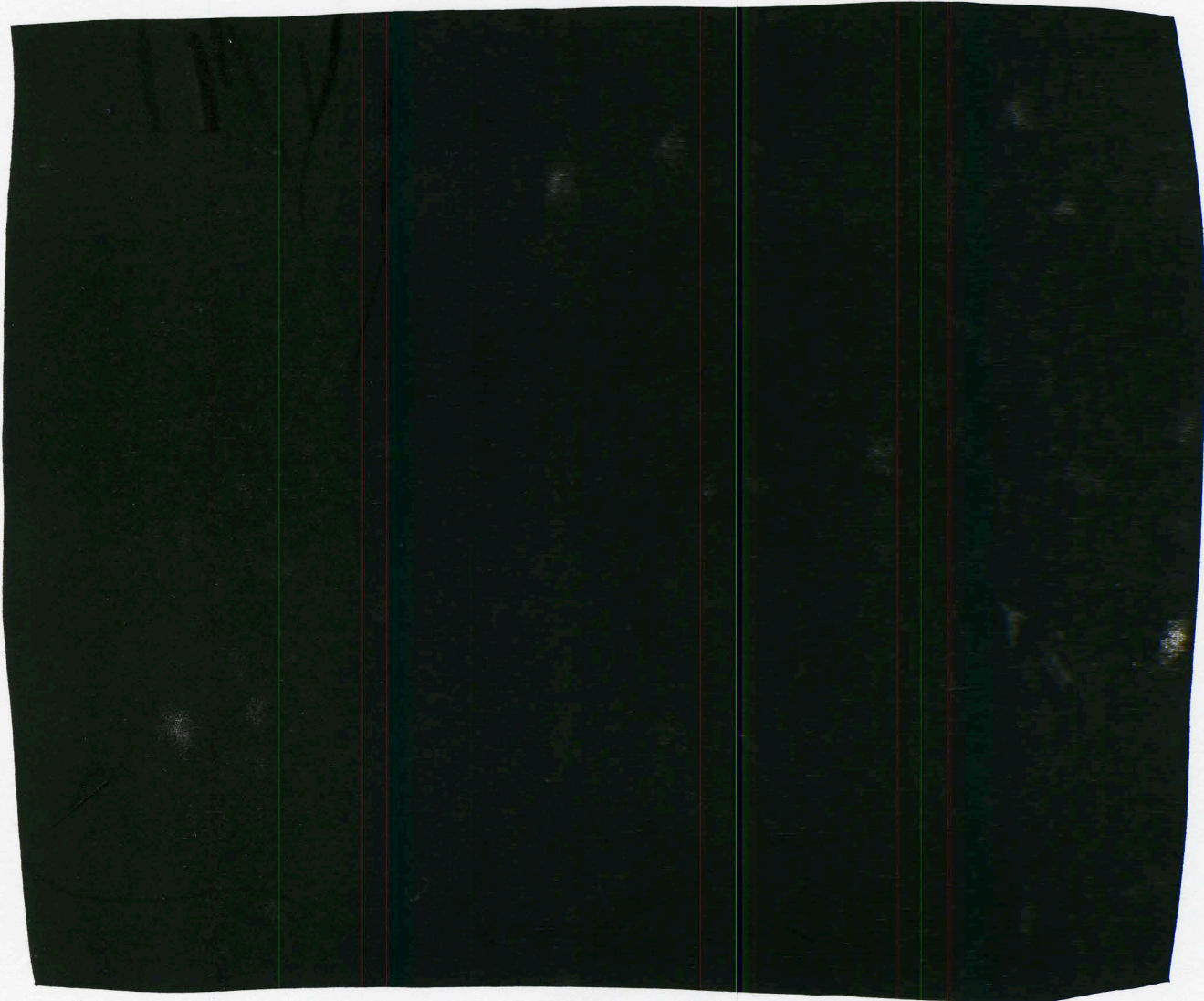
THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT:

Situation in Vietnam



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E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4

NSC 8/23/93 F9301180

By MJO NARA, Date 9/17/93

SA 99

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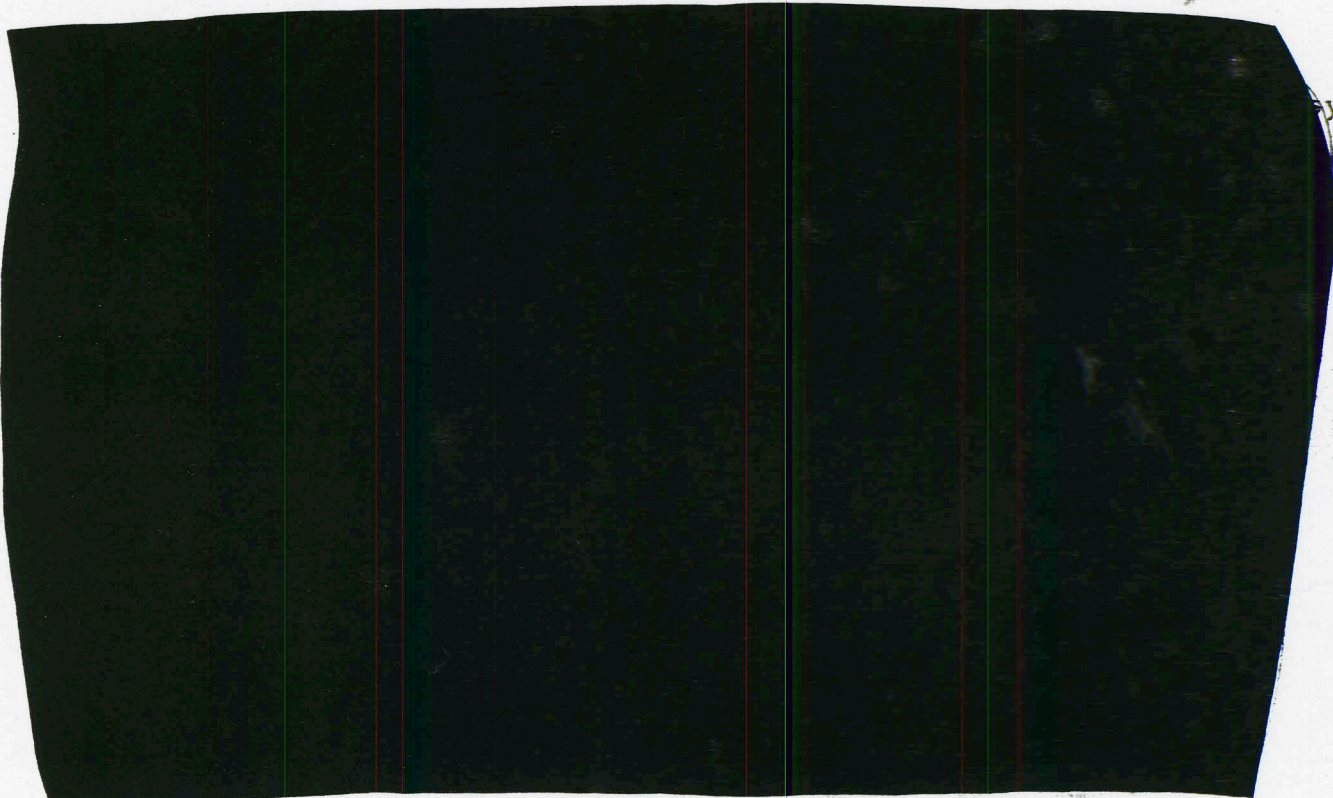
-6-

Political/Diplomatic

Senator Kennedy Releases Letter from Hanoi

On July 25, Senator Kennedy's office released the text of a letter dated June 16 from the DRV President, Ton Duc Thang. Referring to a request from Kennedy for a list of US prisoners captured in South Vietnam, the Thang letter says that the DRV will discuss this with officials of the PRG, who will decide. Kennedy's office and press are interpreting this as a hint that such a list may soon be provided.

A State Department spokesman issued the following statement on this subject in response to a press question: "any information or mail from our prisoners and missing men in Southeast Asia is of course welcome. At the same time we must emphasize that this problem would not exist if North Vietnam complied with the Geneva Convention by identifying all prisoners and allowing them all to correspond regularly with their families."



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SA 99 B-405

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

July 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

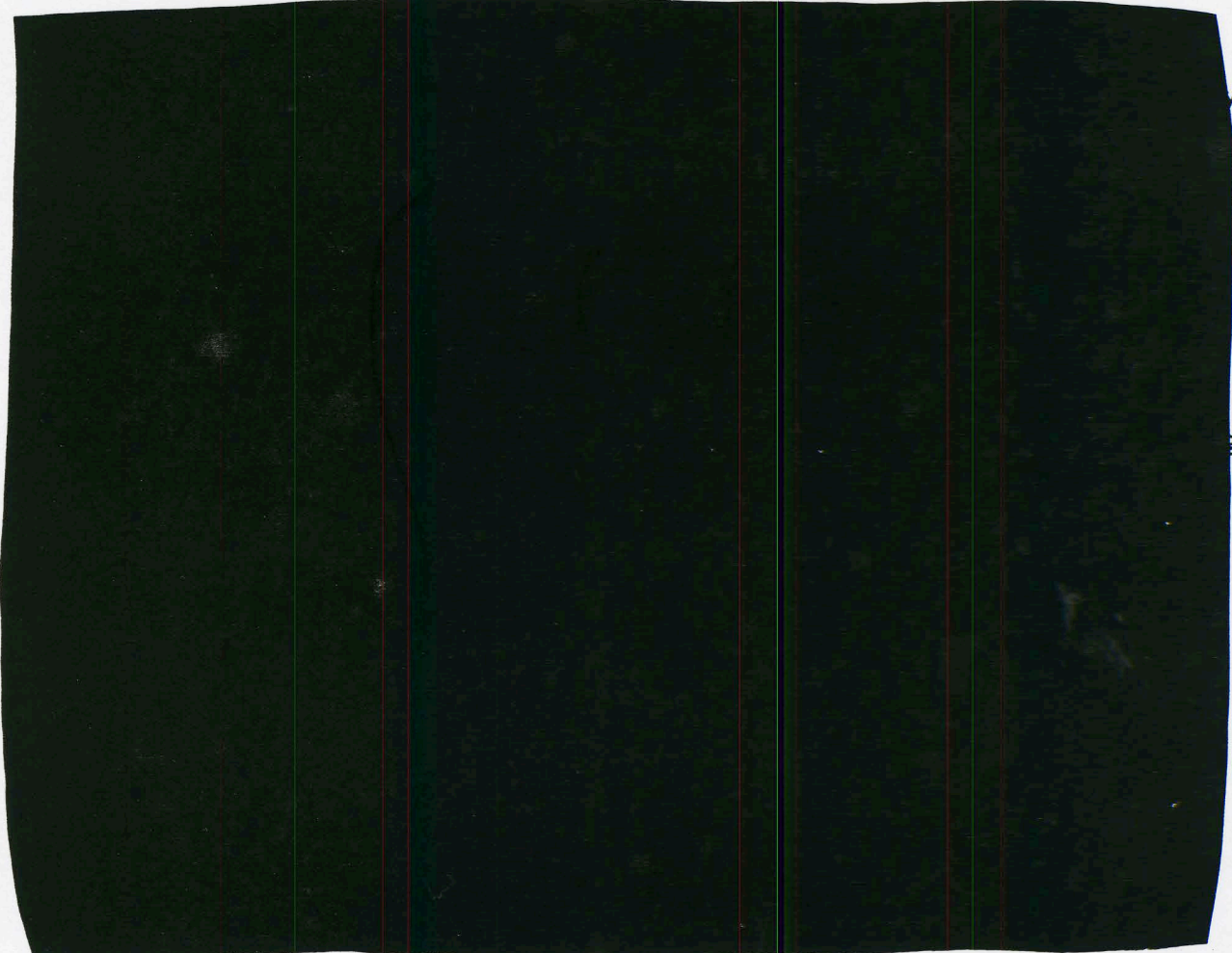
THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT:

Situation in Vietnam



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E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4

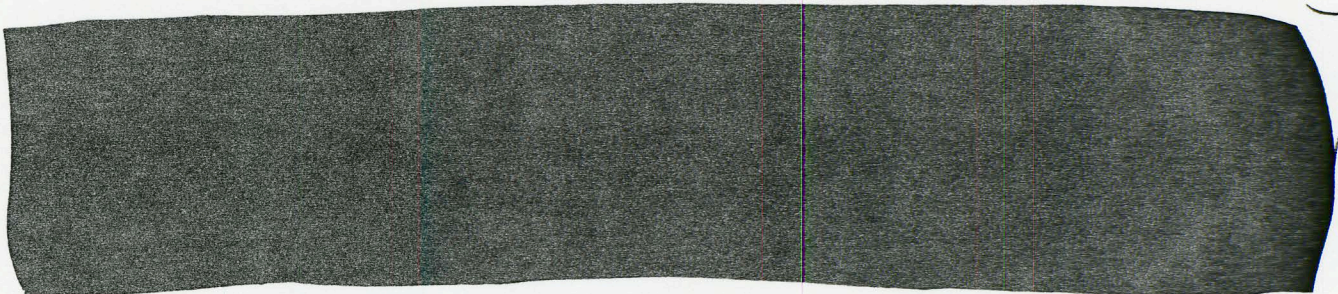
NSC 8/23/93 F9301180

By 111111 NARA, Date 9/20/93

SA 99

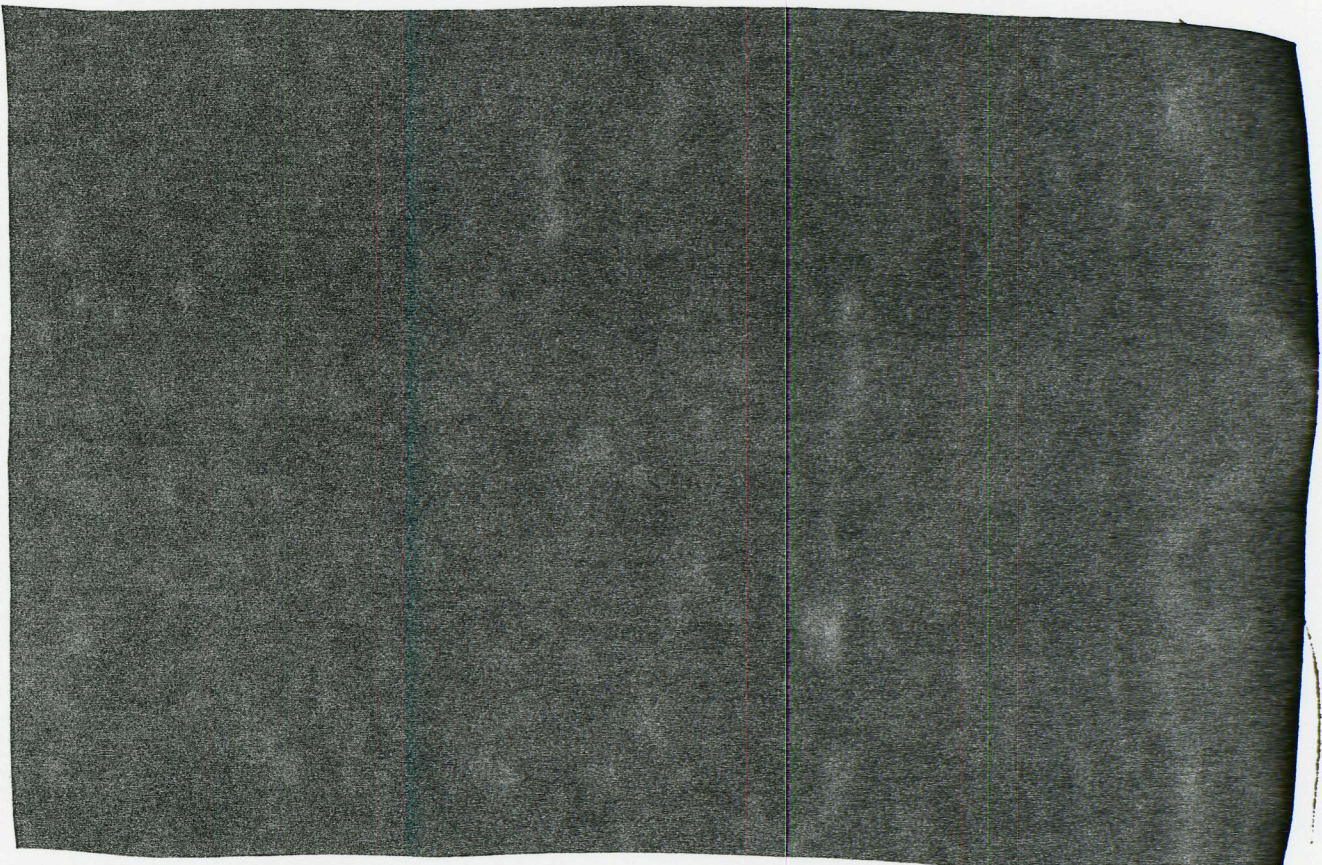
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-6-



NLF Diplomat Comments on POW's

1.3(a)(4)
The NLF's delegate ^{Sanitized} stated privately in late July that North Vietnam would be willing to release all American POW's in exchange for the announcement of a definite US troop withdrawal date. ^{SANITIZED} the delegate also said that North Vietnam would continue to fight against the GVN until the US ended its support for President Thieu. He noted however that the PRG and DRV wish to settle the war as soon as possible. The delegate's version of Hanoi's negotiating position has not been corroborated by other information.



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5A 99 B-407
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~
~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

July 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: Situation in Vietnam

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E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4

NSC 8/23/93 F9301180

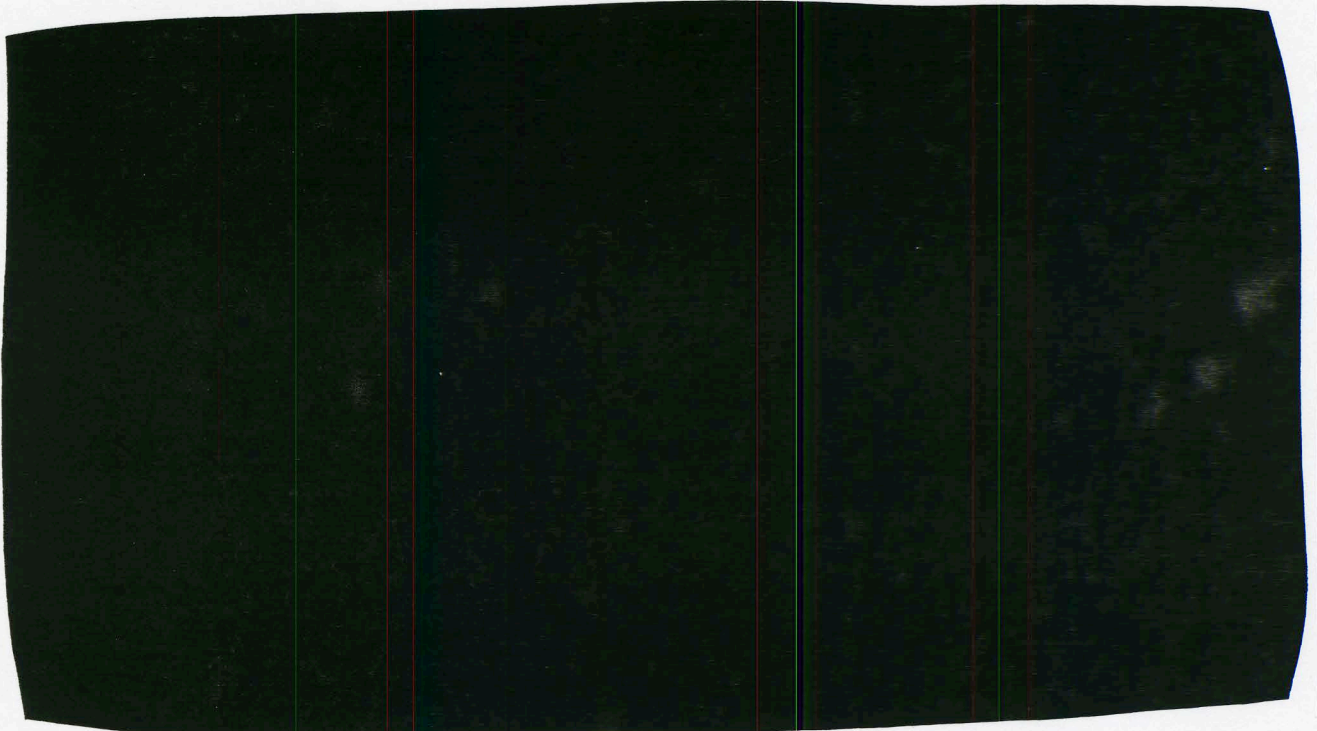
By MXO NARA, Date 9/20/93

SA 99

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- 4 -



Political/Diplomatic

July 20 Paris Plenary

Our Paris delegation has reported that the other side's presentation in the July 20 plenary contained nothing new of substance while carrying forward the tone of restraint and reasonableness set by Xuan Thuy last week.

Xuan Thuy pegged his brief opening statement on the Geneva Accords -- which he claimed the US has "violated" -- and noted that after agreement has been reached on "all military and political questions" a ceasefire can take place and such questions as POW releases "can be easily settled." Thuy only briefly mentioned the "genocide" committed by the US in its "attacks against the dikes and dams" in the north. According to our delegation, Mme. Binh's presentation was uncharacteristically subdued and contained nothing new of substance.

Ambassador Porter, seconded by Ambassador Lam, solicited the other side's comments and questions on our May 8 proposal. Ambassador Lam also noted that our eight point (January 25) proposal provides a broad framework for discussion.

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SA 99 B-408
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~
~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

July 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: Situation in Vietnam



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1.3(2)(4)

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E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4

NSC 8/23/93 F9301180

By 11/10 NARA, Date 9/20/93

SA 99

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- 5 -

Political/Diplomatic

ASEAN Proposal for a Vietnam Settlement

1.3(2)(4) [Sanitized] the ASEAN Foreign Ministers (of the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia) meeting in Manila agreed on July 14 to send the following proposal (drafted by Indonesia's Malik) to all parties engaged in the Vietnam war:

1. Simultaneous ceasefire ordered by North and South Vietnam.
2. Withdrawal of US forces from Vietnam four months after the ceasefire order.
3. Simultaneously with US troop withdrawals, a release of US POW's.
4. Withdrawal of North Vietnamese forces to their territory within four months after the ceasefire and a simultaneous release of North Vietnamese POW's.
5. POW's from both sides to be sent to a neutral country for repatriation.
6. Political solutions for Vietnam "should be left to the Vietnamese to be decided by adhering to the provisions of the Geneva Accord of 1954 and to the ten (sic) principles of the Bandung Conference of 1955. "

Such a proposal would clearly reflect strong southeast Asian support both for our negotiating position and for our military actions in support of South Vietnam.

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SA 99 B-70

MEMORANDUM

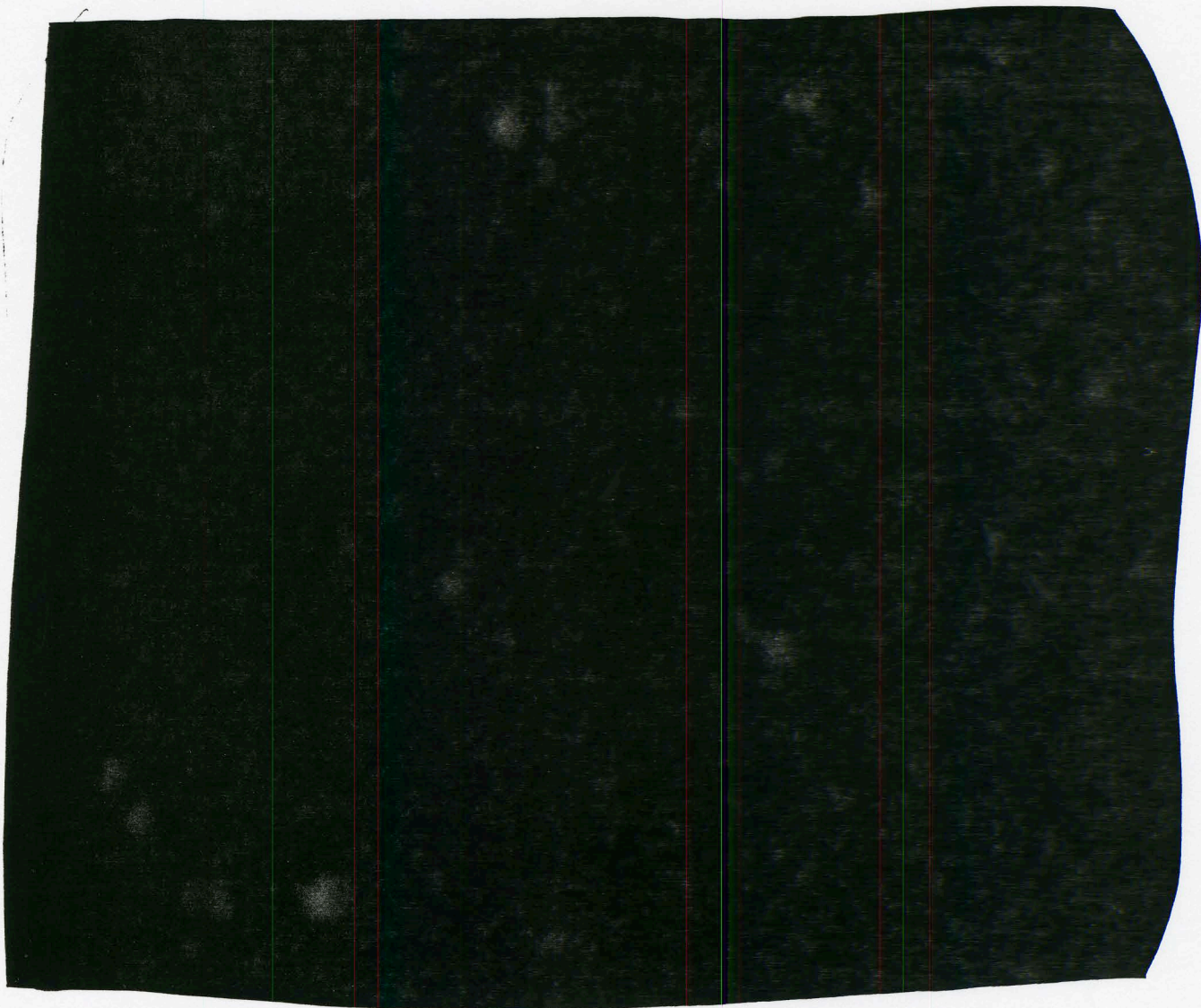
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

August 23, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: Situation in Vietnam

Harper



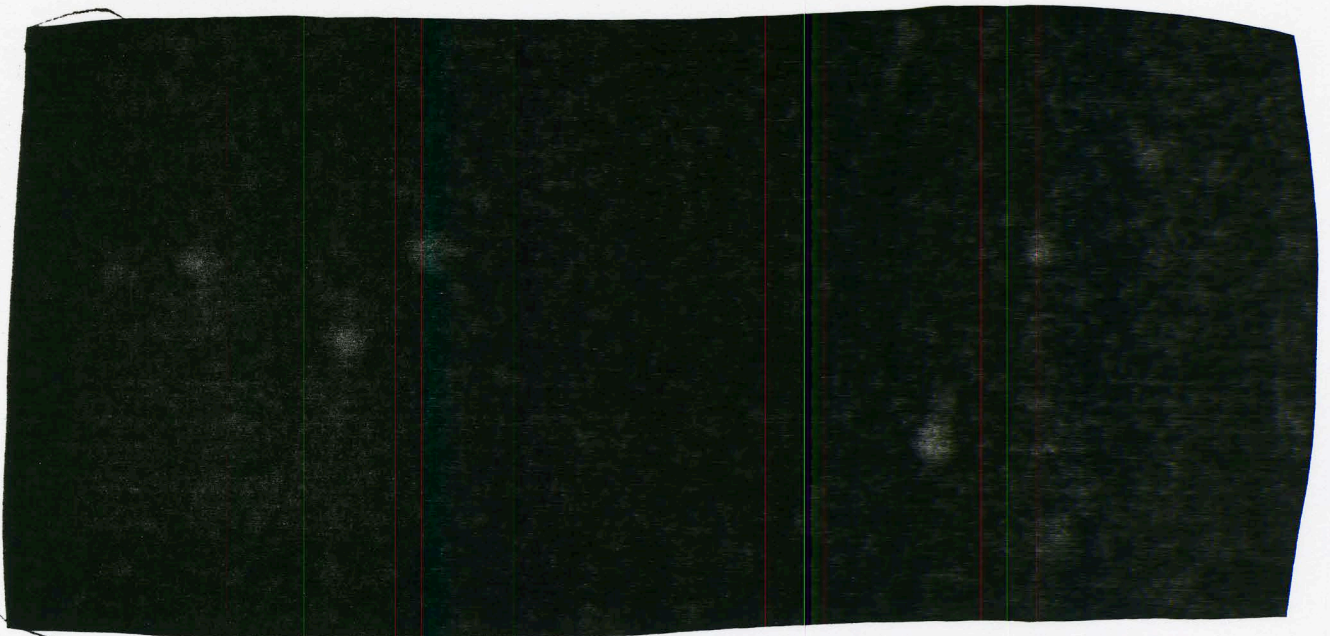
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E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4
NSC 9/22/93 F9301191
By 9/1/93 NARA, Date 9/30/93
SA 99

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-5-



Political/Diplomatic

South Vietnam Comments on Ceasefire, ASEAN Proposal

The South Vietnamese Foreign Ministry issued a communique on August 22 which expressed thanks for a recent ASEAN peace proposal but emphasized that "some basic differences" exist between the new offer and the GVN's 8-point position. The communique noted that ASEAN had proposed a ceasefire only between North and South Vietnam and that it did not mention any effective supervision by an international organization. In contrast, the Foreign Ministry asserted that a "ceasefire throughout Indochina must be implemented." The communique is intended to "clarify" a recent statement by the Indonesian Foreign Minister that the GVN had approved the ASEAN proposal.


Comment: In mid-July Indonesia's Foreign Minister presented a six-point peace proposal to the Indochina belligerents on behalf of the ASEAN organization (Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines). The proposal called for a ceasefire between North and South Vietnam followed within four months by North Vietnamese and American troop withdrawals and POW releases. The offer provided that the Vietnamese themselves would work out a political solution. The North Vietnamese and the PRG have flatly rejected the ASEAN proposal, broadcasting strong radio attacks on the

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-6-

initiative as biased in favor of the GVN. Laos, Cambodia and the GVN have expressed polite appreciation for the offer but all have emphasized that it fails to provide for an internationally supervised, Indochina-wide ceasefire.



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SA 99 B-71

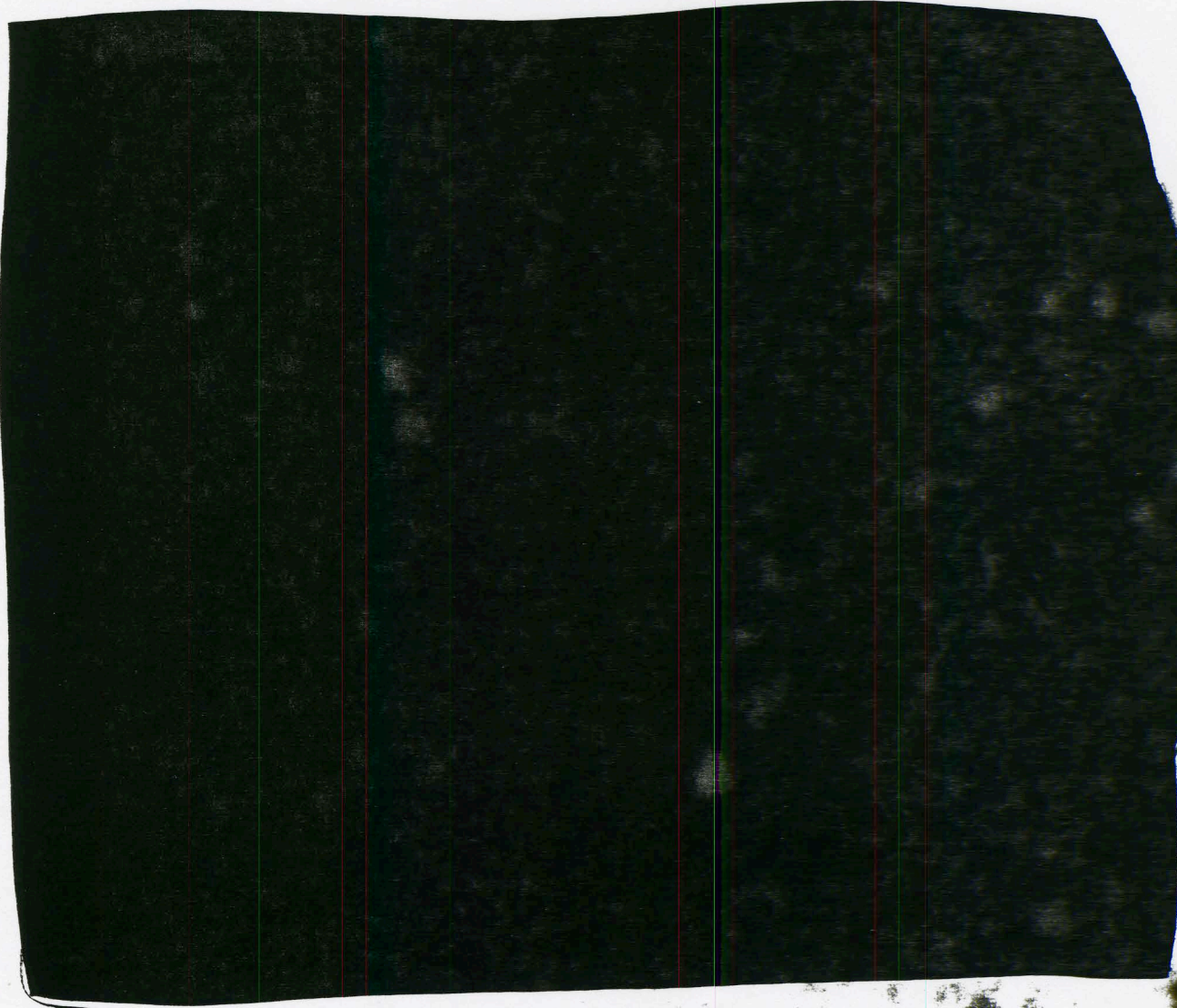
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN...
August 15, 1972
[Signature]

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER *[Signature]*
SUBJECT: Situation in Vietnam



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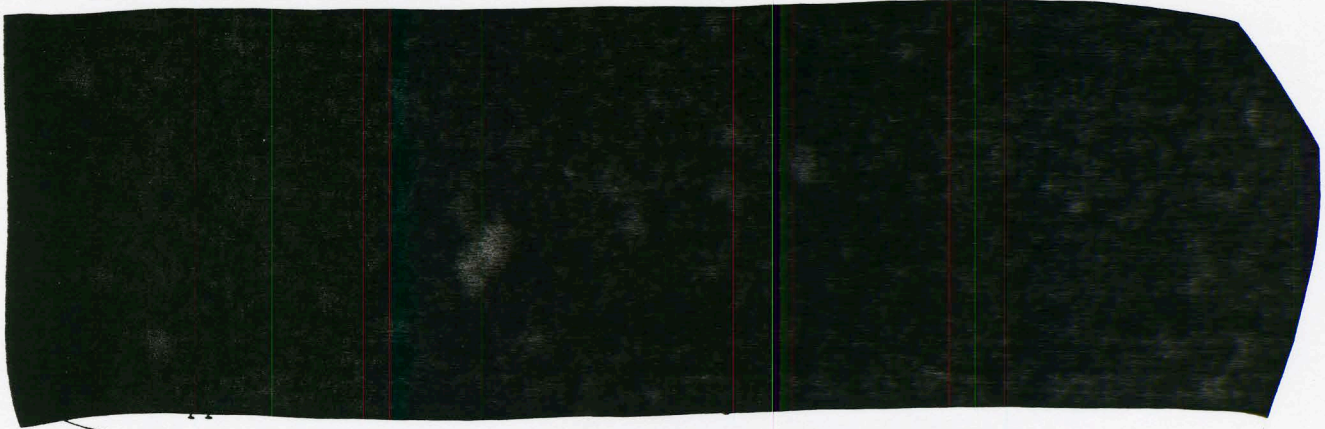
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E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4
NSC 9/22/93 F9301191
By *[Signature]* NARA, Date 9/30/93
SA 99

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-5-

Political/Diplomatic



Hanoi Claims Political Goals Main Objective of the War

An August 14 Radio Hanoi broadcast on the linkage of political and military problems stated: "To ceasefire or to release the captured soldiers are only concrete acts: the political objective is the only problem of decisive significance." The broadcast further asserted: "No one naively believes that if there is a ceasefire, if the American withdraw their troops and if the captured soldiers are released, the Vietnamese people will be able to solve their own political problems, as Nixon boasted."

The broadcast called upon the US to withdraw (its troops) and to stop supporting "the Thieu clique." It further demanded that Thieu resign and that "the Saigon puppet administration must change its policies." The broadcast concluded by stating that if these objectives are not reached, "we will fight on perseveringly, no matter how long we may have to endure hardships."

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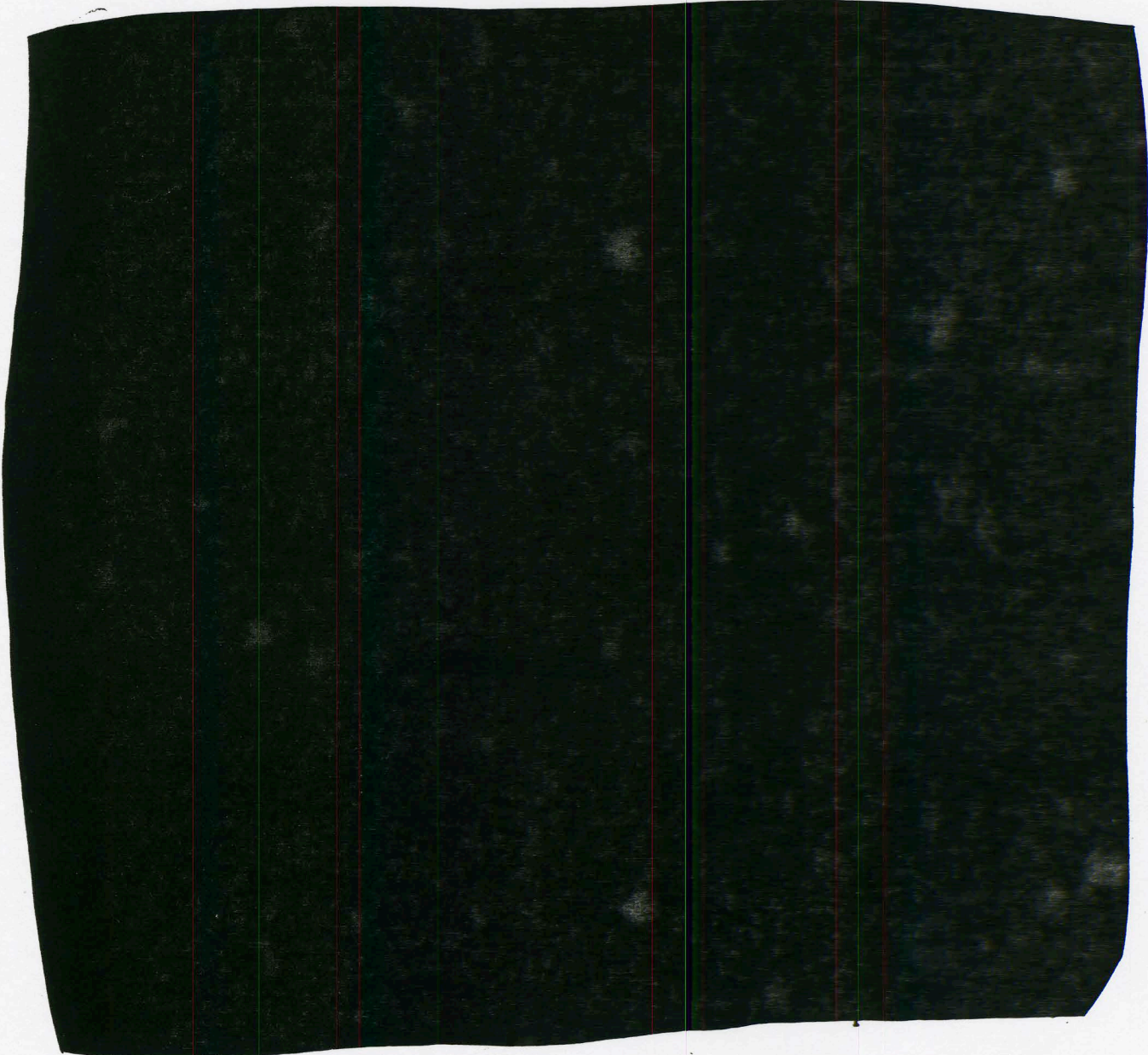
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~
~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

August 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: Situation in Vietnam



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~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

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E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4

NSC 9/22/93 F9301191

By WKO NARA, Date 9/30/93

SA 99

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~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

-6-



Communists Reject ASEAN Peace Proposal

The North Vietnamese Charge in Djakarta rejected out of hand a recent informal peace proposal presented by the Indonesian Foreign Minister on behalf of the ASEAN (Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaya and Singapore). The proposal called for mutual US-North Vietnamese troop withdrawals and POW releases four months after a ceasefire in Vietnam and specified that political issues would be subsequently resolved among the Vietnamese. According to a reliable source in the Thai Foreign Ministry, the North Vietnamese Charge rejected the proposal on grounds that it is biased, does not provide for a ceasefire simultaneous with a political settlement and does not distinguish between the "aggressors" and the "victims." The official insisted that the Indochina problem must be decided between North Vietnam and the United States. Comment: The GVN has reacted favorably to the proposal in private comments while Secretary Rogers welcomed the initiative as a positive move.

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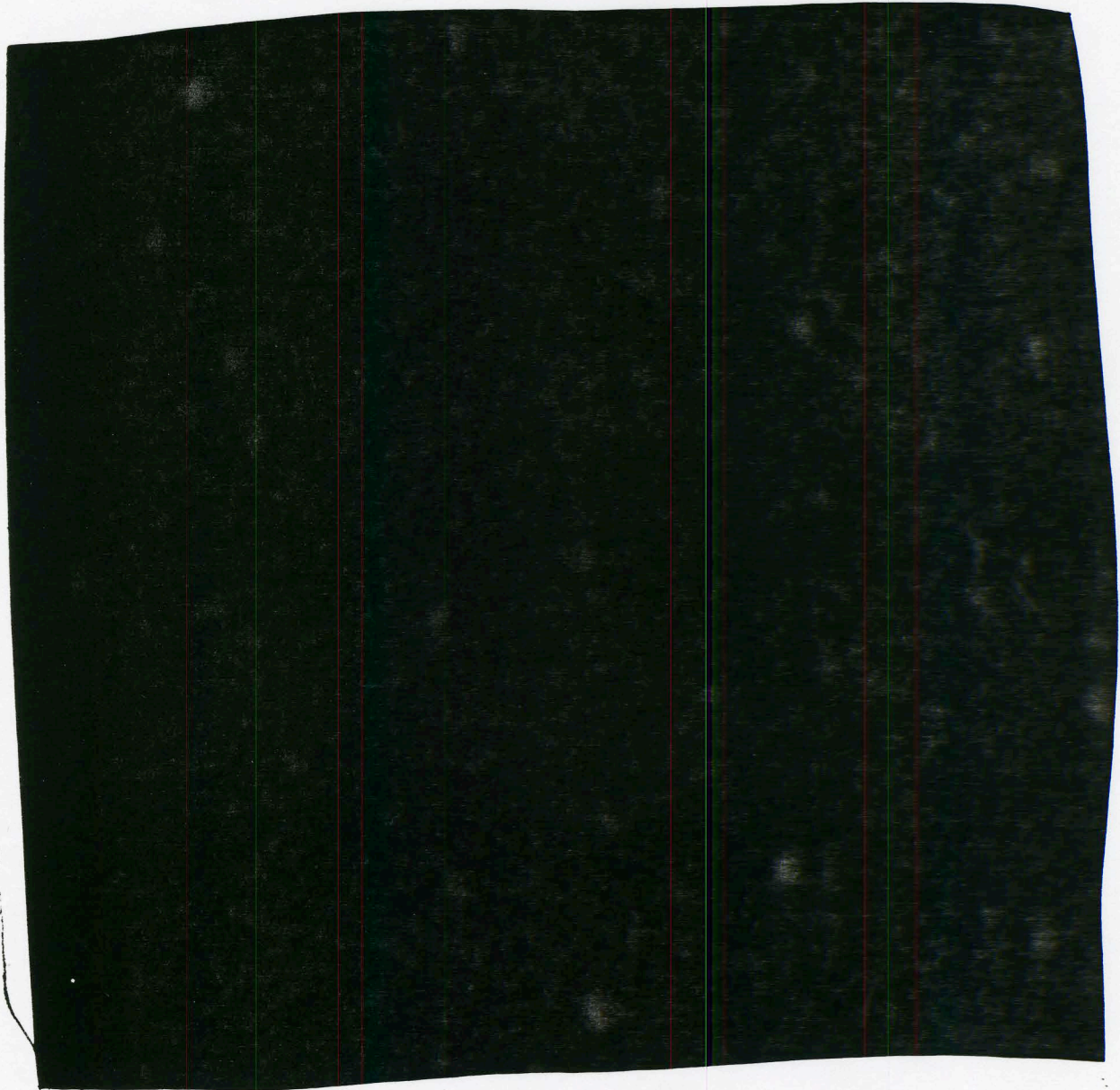
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 5, 1972

~~TOP SECRET-SENSITIVE~~
~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: Situation in Vietnam



~~TOP SECRET-SENSITIVE~~
~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4
NSC 9/22/93 F9301191
By MKO NARA, Date 9/30/93
SA 99

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~~CONTAINS CODEWORD~~

- 5 -

President Thieu Rejects the Notion of a U.S. -North Vietnamese Ceasefire

In a speech on August 1 President Thieu urged a ceasefire for all Indochina and rejected formally the idea of a ceasefire between the U.S. and the North Vietnamese in exchange for a return of POWs. Such a ceasefire, he claimed, would be "disasterous" for South Vietnam.

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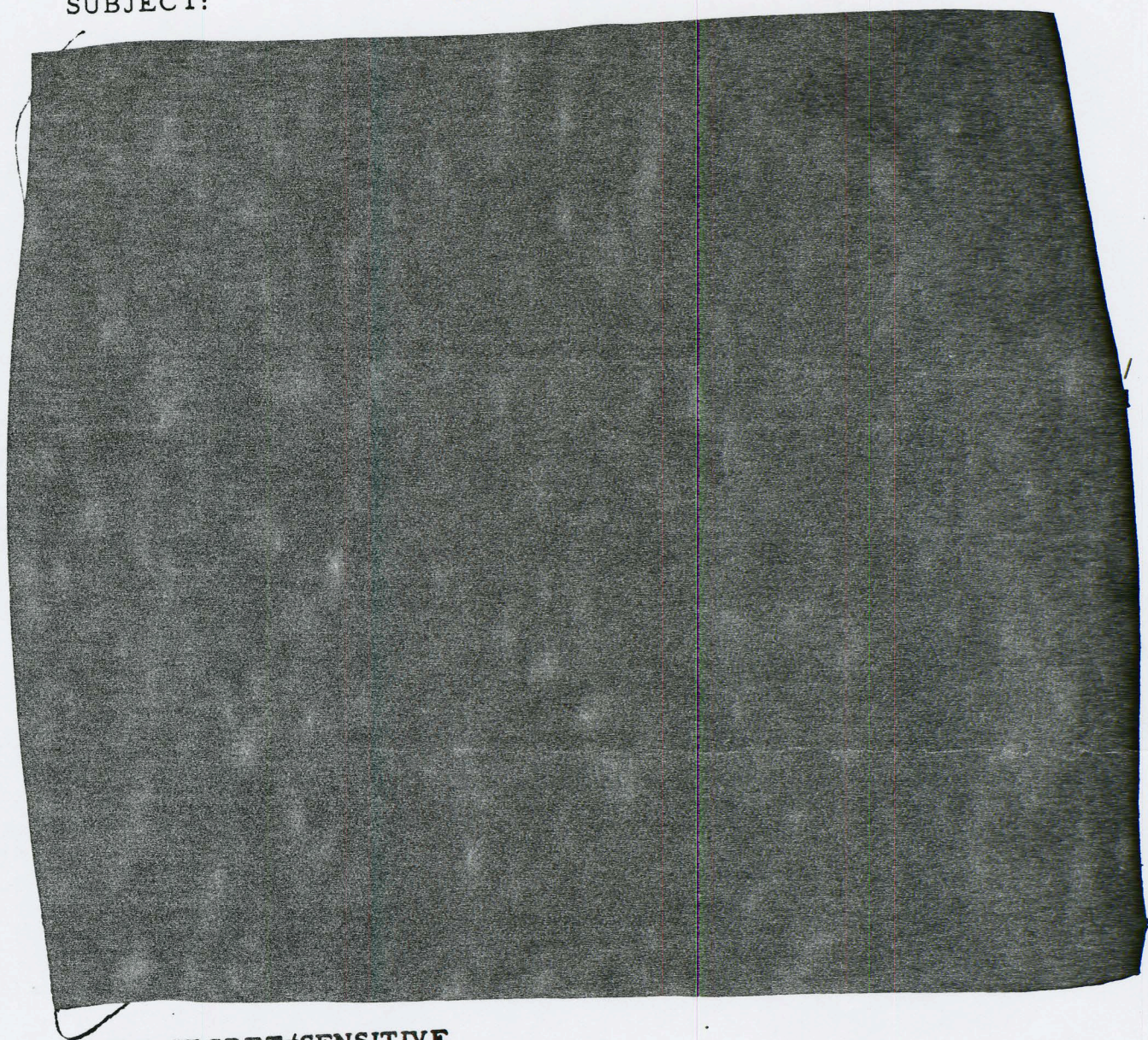
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~
CONTAINS CODEWORD

August 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: Situation in Vietnam



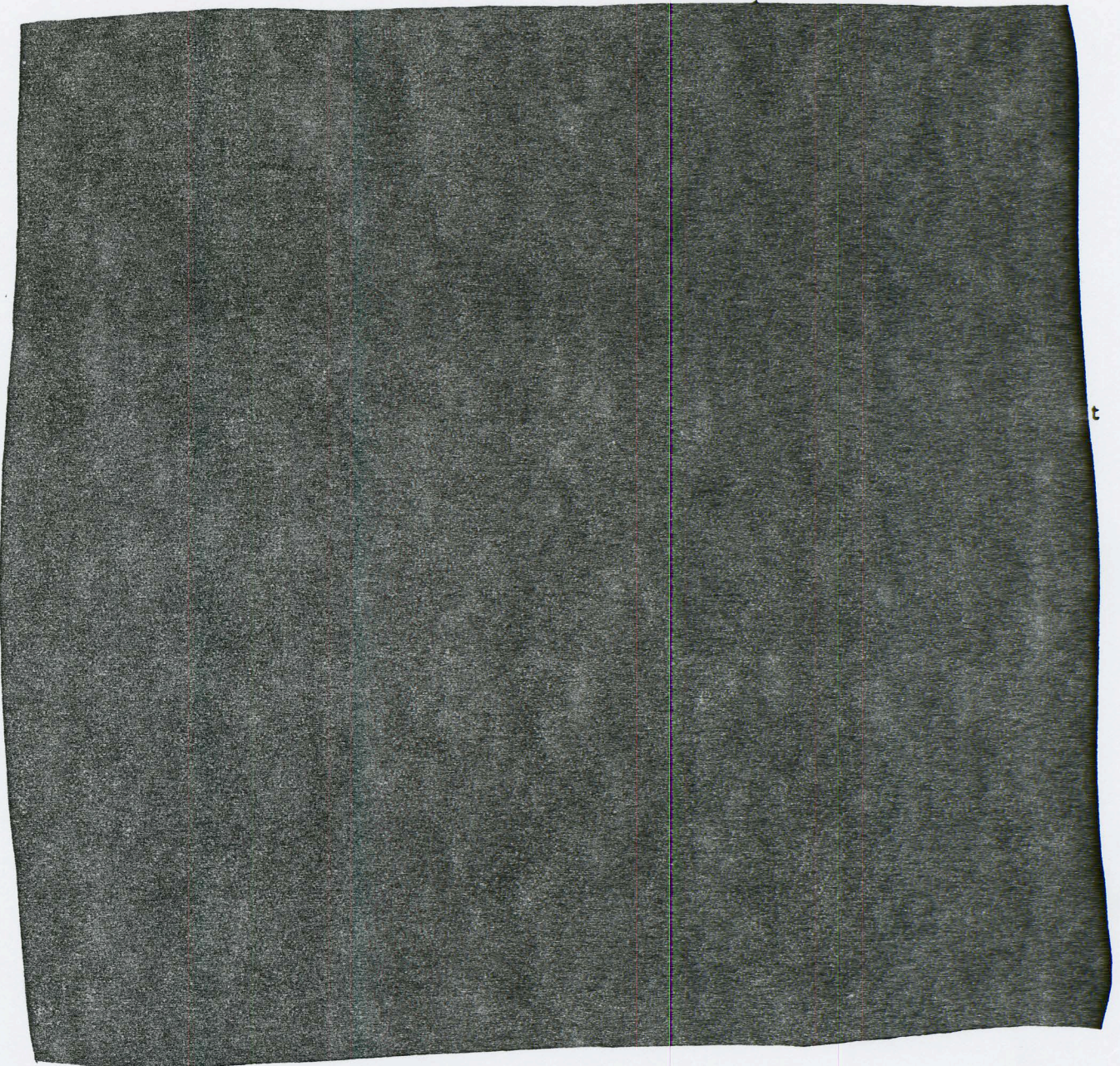
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E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4
NSC, Van Tassel authority 9/15/92
By ADH NARA, Date 9/15/92
(SA 99)

Sanitized

NOT RELATED TO
POW/MIA'S

NOT RELATED TO
POW/MIA'S



Prisoners Resist NVA Captors

1.3(a)(4) an unidentified North Vietnamese unit probably in the North Vietnamese panhandle reports serious difficulties with prisoners they were assigned to escort. the prisoner "started to give us trouble," "antagonized" our troops and "did everything they could to resist us." admitted that "we had to dispose of a few of them" and warned that if intense character reform sessions do not work then "we should shoot them." It is unclear whether the prisoners in question are ARVN POW's, captured US personnel, NVA deserters or kidnapped South Vietnamese civilians.

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E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4

NSC, Van Tassel authority 9/15/92

By AN NARA, Date 9/15/92

(SA 99)