MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

THE PRESIDENT
HENRY A. KISSINGER

Situation in Vietnam

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4
NSC 9/22/93 F9302191
By: NARA, Date 9/30/93
SA 99

This document has been reviewed pursuant to Executive Order 13526 and has been determined to be declassified
Political/Diplomatic

Released POW's Irked by Hanoi Tour, Desire Immediate Return

The three recently released American POW's and their families reportedly were annoyed by their publicity tour of North Vietnam and are anxious to return to the United States immediately. According to the Canadian International Control Commission delegate in Hanoi, the US POW's balked at continuing the "road show" which North Vietnam arranged prior to their departure. Despite objections from the anti-war escorts, Hanoi cut short the prisoners' propaganda tour and left the group largely to itself for the final four days of their stay in North Vietnam. Also, the anti-war delegation reportedly was perplexed and exasperated by the pilots' reluctance to go along on the trips and not to speak out more often on the need for peace.
In a related report, New York Times correspondent Seymour Hersch has advised our Stockholm Embassy that the released POW's desire to return to the United States as soon as possible. Fearing that the POW's might desert them, the escorts are therefore resisting efforts by another anti-war group to bring the pilots to Stockholm (as was originally planned) for further propaganda exploitation.

Upon arrival in Moscow, Wednesday, the released officers told our Charge that, to avoid jeopardizing further releases, they would return to the US by commercial airlines rather than by the medevac flight arranged for them (from Copenhagen, where they will stop over en route home). They are scheduled to arrive in New York at 7:00 p.m. this evening.
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT:
Situation in Vietnam

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE
CONTAINS CODEWORD

DECLASSIFIED
Political/Diplomatic

Released POW's Have Reportedly Left Hanoi

According to an AFP report from Hanoi, the three released officers left Hanoi on the evening of September 25 (local time) and spent the night in Nanning (southern China), then arrived in Peking this morning. Additional information indicates the officers, with their accompanying relatives and anti-war escorts, will fly from Peking to Moscow, then after a nine-hour layover will fly on to Copenhagen and from there catch another commercial flight to New York where they should arrive Thursday afternoon.

We have information that one of the three -- probably Major Elias -- indicated a preference for returning to the US via US military medical evacuation aircraft. This possibly led the anti-war escorts to change travel plans (i.e., cancelling return via Vientiane) in order to minimize the possibility of one or more of the officers leaving the group and returning under official US auspices.
MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: Situation in Vietnam
Political/Diplomatic

Released POW’s Reportedly Travelling from Hanoi to Moscow via Peking

A Polish ICC representative in Vientiane told one of our Embassy officers that the released POW’s and their anti-war escorts will depart Hanoi on Monday (September 25) and will fly to Moscow via Peking.

Comment: We have previous reports indicating that the POW’s will be returned by this route. This would make it impossible for US officials to contact them before they reach Moscow and is consistent with the anti-war group’s demands.

Hanoi Editor States US Air and Naval Activity Thwarted April Offensive

"We would have accomplished our goals in April this year had not Mr. Nixon re-Americanized the war with his Navy and Air Force. Because the war was re-Americanized, we were unable to drive ahead." This statement was made by Hoang Tung, editor of Hanoi’s Party daily Nhan Dan in an interview with
the anti-war activists now in Hanoi in connection with the POW release. An AP correspondent who was also present reported the interview. According to AP, Tung made the following additional points:
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 27, 1972

TOP-SECRET/SENSITIVE
CONTAINS CODEWORD

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

THE PRESIDENT
HENRY A. KISSINGER
Situation in Vietnam

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Travel Schedule of Released POW’s

According to our latest information, the three released POW’s are to arrive in Moscow (from Peking) Wednesday at 4:25 p.m. (9:35 a.m. EDT). Our Charge and other Embassy officials will meet the plane and inform them that a US medical evacuation flight has been arranged to transport their group from Copenhagen (where they will go from Moscow Thursday morning) to the US. In the meantime, the Embassy will offer the released men, their relatives and anti-war escorts overnight accommodations in Embassy facilities. Should the officers choose to return to the US by a commercial flight from Copenhagen a US doctor and Embassy officer will accompany the group from Moscow to the US. The commercial flight from Copenhagen will arrive in New York Thursday at 7:00 p.m.
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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

September 22, 1972

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE
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Political/Diplomatic

Hanoi Accuses US of Plan to Kidnap Released POW's

On September 21 Radio Hanoi accused the United States of a "brazen plot to kidnap" the three American POW's North Vietnam plans to release imminently. The broadcast quoted extensively from AP and AFP wire service stories which reported preparations by our Vientiane Embassy to contact the POW's during a possible stop-over and to separate them from their anti-war escorts. Comment: The tone of the article suggests that Vientiane might well be bypassed by the flight carrying the released POW's.
Reports Hanoi POW Releases May Continue

reports that plans are underway to arrange a steady stream of POW's returning to the US until election day to embarrass the Administration. The same anti-war group involved in the current release of three POW's will reportedly participate in those future releases.
MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT: Situation in Vietnam
Enemy Urged to Capture More American POWs

An interrogation report of a recent NVA rallier reveals that the enemy has ordered main force and local units to capture as many American military personnel as possible and to ensure that they are safely delivered to rear areas. Heavy rewards reportedly have been offered. Units were instructed to provide needed medical care and to ensure that the POWs received proper treatment.

Comment: This is consistent with other reports that enemy troops have been ordered to capture as many U.S. prisoners as possible in order to increase Communist bargaining leverage in negotiations with the U.S.
Anti-War Group Sets Terms for POW Repatriation

Hanoi's news service (VNA) on September 22 disseminated the text of a telegram to you from the U.S. anti-war group accompanying the three released POWs which lists four "terms" for the repatriation of these men. The anti-war group demanded that:

-- The men shall proceed home with the anti-war group and accompanying relatives in civilian aircraft.

-- The men, if they wish, shall be granted a furlough.

-- The men shall receive a complete medical checkup at the hospital of their choice, civilian or military.

-- The men shall do nothing further to promote the American war effort in Indochina.
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1972

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE
CONTAINS CODEWORD

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

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE
CONTAINS CODEWORD

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Released POW's to Stop Over in Stockholm

We have learned that the three US POW's to be released by Hanoi are tentatively scheduled to be returned to the US via Stockholm where they, their accompanying relatives, and anti-war escorts will spend twenty-six hours before continuing the trip to New York. The first leg of the trip will be on a September 23 Soviet Aeroflot flight from Hanoi to Moscow. It is entirely possible that this flight will omit its normal stop in Vientiane and will first touch down in Rangoon or Calcutta where it will be more difficult for us to arrange for onward transportation via US military medevac aircraft (which the anti-war escorts strongly oppose). The stopover in Stockholm may well have been designed to provide maximum propaganda exploitation of the POW's before their return to the US (and to military control) where, the anti-war groups probably fear, they could be "muzzled."
MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: Situation in Vietnam

September 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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CONTAINS CODEWORD

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Jimmy Hoffa Plans a Visit to Hanoi

The State Department has advised us that former Teamster President Jimmy Hoffa plans to travel to Hanoi to discuss POW releases. Hoffa, his lawyer, and Harold Gibbons, Teamster Vice President, claim that they have been invited by the North Vietnamese Trade Union Federation. They
will depart on September 7 for Hanoi and plan to stop in Paris for North Vietnamese visas. (We have no confirmation that Hoffa has in fact been invited by Hanoi and are uncertain on whether their trip is related to the impending release of three American POW’s recently announced by North Vietnam.)
MEMORANDUM

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE
CONTAINS CODEWORD

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 5, 1972

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

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Hanoi Comments on POW Release

A September 4 commentary in the Hanoi Party Daily (transmitted in English) stressed the "leniency and humanity" of the recent North Vietnamese decision to release three U.S. POW's, but pointed out that U.S. acceptance of the "seven points" is the "only way" to secure the release of all POW's.

The paper more than implied that this release was in support of the U.S. anti-war movement which is "playing a positive part in the lenient and goodwill decision of the DRV Government." It stated that "we wish to see their [POW's] early reunion with their families" but cautioned: "We also wish that progressive opinion in the U.S. would keep them from being once again transformed by the Nixon administration into a tool of its aggressive war in Vietnam." The paper recalled that earlier POW releases had been halted because released POW's had been "pressurized (sic) to take a traitorous act which is to distort the lenient policy of the DRV Government of which they themselves were beneficiaries."

In conclusion, the paper contrasted Hanoi's September 1 statement on the POW release with heavy September 2 J.S. air strikes in North Vietnam -- including the Hanoi area -- and asked: "To the American people, to the families of those U.S. pilots captured or killed in North Vietnam, is there any better illustration of Nixon's true colors?"

Comment:

The concluding statement of the commentary might be related to anti-war leader Cora Weiss' reported September 3 statement to the effect that the freedom of the three POW's chosen for release could be jeopardized by continued U.S. bombing of North Vietnam. Weiss and Dellinger have also stressed that these released POW's should not be used in any way against North Vietnam and that U.S. military "interference" with the POW's once they return -- or even before -- could torpedo possible future releases.
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT
HENRY A. KISSINGER
Situation in Vietnam

FROM:

SUBJECT:

TOP-SECRET/SENSITIVE
CONTAINS CODEWORD

DECLASSIFIED
This document has been reviewed pursuant to Executive Order 13526 and has been determined to be declassified
Political/Diplomatic

North Vietnam to Release three US Pilots

Radio Hanoi, quoting a Foreign Ministry statement, said three captured U.S. pilots, including one who has been held for more than four years, will be released to "a U.S. social organization." Alleging that the US forced pilots released in July, 1969 to issue "distortions" of the DRV’s "humane policy," resulting in the "temporary" suspension of such releases, the statement urged the US to stop using released pilots "to slander" the DRV. Late information indicates that peace activists Cora Weiss and David Dellinger held a press conference in Paris this morning and said that the three prisoners will not be released for several weeks or until arrangements can be made. Weiss and Dellinger also said they will escort the prisoners from Hanoi to their families in the U.S.

DECLASSIFIED

This document has been reviewed pursuant to Executive Order 13526 and has been determined to be declassified
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TOP-SECRET/SENSITIVE
CONTAINS CODEWORD

December 15, 1972

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

TOP-SECRET/SENSITIVE/CONTAINS CODEWORD

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By NARA, Date 9/30/93 SA 99
President Thieu Briefs Politicians on Negotiations

President Thieu reportedly presented a pessimistic view of the current peace negotiations during a three hour briefing on December 13 for about 100 political leaders. According to participants at the meeting who spoke with Embassy officers, Thieu stated that the GVN's demands for revisions in the proposed agreement have not been met. He claimed that signature of the settlement would result in eventual Communist take-over of South Vietnam and that the draft accord "is too high a price to pay for release of 600 US POW's." On the other hand, Thieu said, if he refused to sign, the US Congress would cut off aid within two months and the GVN would be finished anyway. Thieu also expressed strong skepticism on US assurance of massive retaliation against NVA ceasefire violations but left it unclear whether he intends to sign the agreement or not.
Political/Diplomatic

President Thieu Restates GVN Negotiating Position Before National Assembly

Addressing a sober, attentive joint plenary session of the National Assembly on December 12, President Thieu restated the standard GVN negotiating position, calling for the complete withdrawal of NVA forces from SVN and rejecting the proposed National Council of Reconciliation as a "disguised..."
coalition government." Sensitive to world and particularly US public opinion, President Thieu proposed a Christmas truce; an exchange of US and NVA POW's; and direct talks between the RVN, NLF and DRV. He further offered an unconditional release of 1,015 disabled NVA POW's on the day such a truce might begin, and held out the prospect of extending the truce indefinitely if the other side shows itself ready to negotiate in good faith. President Thieu also stated formally a proposal he had previously floated, calling for a national referendum which would establish a "coalition government" with representation to include the NLF on a proportional basis. President Thieu asserted the success of Vietnamization and the RVN's capability of assuming yet still more of the burden of continued conflict should the Communists refuse to negotiate a just peace. He expressed hope that as the leader of the free world, the US would continue to play that role in SEA by assisting small nations in the area like South Vietnam that are suffering aggression. He also called upon the "peoples and governments of allied nations which have sacrificed in the struggle and directly assisted South Vietnam in our fight... to support our just position."

In conclusion, President Thieu called for national unity and stated that he would be consulting with the leaders of political parties and of religious and other groups in a search for their cooperation and assistance in meeting the challenges of the future. Thieu did not, as rumored, call for an extension of the special powers granted him last June 28.

The Embassy has commented that President Thieu's restatement of the standard GVN position will be taken as a firm rejection of the draft peace proposal as previously outlined. His proposal for a Christmas truce and POW exchange were obviously directed to public opinion, especially in the US in an attempt to portray the GVN as actively pursuing peace and as sensitive to the plight of US POW's. His tone was firm but not belligerent.
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TOP-SECRET-SENSITIVE
CONTAINS-CODEWORD

December 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:
HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT:
Situation in Vietnam
Sanitized
Cora Weiss and POW's

Reliable informants have reported that according to anti-war activist and some time POW-escort Cora Weiss, four unnamed members of her Committee of Liaison with Families of Service-men Detained in North Vietnam (COLIFAM) will depart from New York for Hanoi on December 13.

Comment: The travel of COLIFAM representatives could indicate that Hanoi may be planning further POW releases prior to Christmas.