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# CALL TO ~~HAI~~ HANOI

1. The President called upon Hanoi to cease military operations immediately and to honor the terms of the Paris Agreement. How does the United States plan to do this?

The President believes strongly that the current situation derives essentially from the flagrant violations by Hanoi of the Paris Agreements and the President took this occasion to remind Hanoi once more of its solemn obligations. By this call and by his urgent request to the signatories of the Paris Conference, he hopes to enlist international support for an immediate ceasefire.

*Note @ Hanoi. See Dos.*



# PARIS CONFERENCE

2. He said that the United States is urgently requesting the signatories of the Paris Conference to meet their obligation to use their influence to halt the fighting and to enforce the 1973 Accords. Will he call for a plenary meeting of the signatories?

**Answer:** The note takes the approach that we considered the most effective and expeditious to obtain international action.

**FYI:** Under the agreement the conference can be reconvened either by a joint request of the United States and the DRV or by the request of any six or more of the signatories.

(There are 12 signatories: United States, France, Republic of Vietnam, Hungary, Indonesia, Poland, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, Russia, Canada, and the People's Republic of China.)



# PARIS ACCORDS

3. He said that diplomatic notes have been sent to all members of the Paris Conference including the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Republic of China. When were these notes sent, through what channels and what, in reality, do you expect to come out of this initiative, particularly in the case of China and the USSR who are the principal suppliers of the enemy. Release text of notes?

The notes were sent last night through diplomatic channels. We can not speculate on the outcome until we have the responses to our notes.

Our objective is to reestablish the political framework established by the Paris Accords. We are urging other parties with influence in the area to urge restraint on military action and reestablish the political framework embodied in the Agreements.



~~Through~~ The United States sent letters to the signatories several weeks ago calling for a resumption of negotiations between the North and South and deploring the violations of the Agreement by the North. There has been no indication on the part of North Vietnam that it is willing to resume talks with the South Vietnamese, despite their ~~publicly stated willingness~~ willingness ~~to do so.~~ I stated publicly and repeatedly do do so.



*File*

~~There were no secret commitments, or secret agreements.~~

Assurances to the Republic of Vietnam as to both U.S. assistance and U.S. enforcement of the Paris Agreement were stated clearly and publicly by President Nixon. *officially stated by Nixon about Paris Peace* The confidential exchanges at the time reflected the publicly stated policy and intention of the United States Government to continue to provide adequate economic and military assistance and to react vigorously to major violations of the Paris Agreement. *In substance do not differ*

*leaf assurance may differ from what had been stated publicly.*

*July 1973 address*  
The level ~~of~~ any of the assurances as to *reaction, to violations* U.S. ~~enforcement~~ of the agreement

(See, for example, President Nixon's news conference of March 15, 1974, the US-GVN Communique at San Clemente, April 3, 1973, and the President's Foreign Policy Report to the Congress, of May 3, 1973.)

ORIGINAL RETIRED FOR PRESERVATION

This is part of a speech of Sen. Jackson  
which will be delivered today on the floor  
of the Senate.

"I am reliably informed that there  
exists between the governments of the U.S.  
and South Vietnam secret agreements which  
envisions faithful American decisions yet  
whose very existence has never been acknow-  
ledged. We do not even know when Pres. Ford  
himself learned of all of them."

*Message  
from  
Ed Savage*



U.S. VIOLATIONS OF THE PARIS ACCORDS

Q: There are reports from Saigon that U.S. airmen are being flown in from the Philippines to give assistance to the South Vietnamese in contravention of the 1973 Paris Peace Accord which prohibits military advisors. Do you have any reaction to this?

A: It is my understanding that from time to time technicians and specialists visit South Vietnam to assist in administering certain specialized aspects of our military assistance program. This is done in the interest of good management and a more effective supply program.

We do not consider this in any way a violation or a contravention of the Paris Accords.





Aid

Nixon Address to the Nation, January 23, 1973:

- "We shall continue to aid South Vietnam within the terms of the agreement and we shall support efforts by the people of South Vietnam to settle their problems peacefully among themselves. . . . We look forward to working with you in the future, friends in peace as we have been allies in war."

U. S. -GVN Communique, (San Clemente), April 3, 1973:

- "...this vigilance will require the continued political, economic, and military strength of the governments and nations menaced by any renewal of this aggressive threat. Because of their limited resources, the nations of the region will require external assistance to preserve the necessary social and economic stability for peaceful development."
- "President Nixon reaffirmed his wholehearted support for the endeavors of postwar rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of the Republic of Vietnam."
- "The President [Nixon] noted that the assumption by the Republic of Vietnam of the full manpower requirements for its own defense was fully in keeping with [the Nixon] Doctrine. He affirmed that the United States, for its part, expected to continue, in accordance with its Constitutional processes, to supply the Republic of Vietnam with the material means for its defense consistent with the Agreement on Ending the War."

Secretary Kissinger's Letter to Senator Kennedy, March 25, 1974:

- "As a signator of the Paris Agreement, the United States committed itself to strengthening the conditions which made the cease-fire possible and to the goal of the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination. With these commitments in mind, we continue to provide to the Republic of Viet-Nam the means necessary for its self-defense and for its economic viability."
- "We have... committed ourselves very substantially, both politically and morally."



# DEPARTMENT OF STATE

March 5, 1973

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## TEXT OF THE ACT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON VIET-NAM

The Government of the United States of America;  
The Government of the French Republic;  
The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the  
Republic of South Viet-Nam;  
The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic;  
The Government of the Republic of Indonesia;  
The Government of the Polish People's Republic;  
The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam;  
The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and  
Northern Ireland;  
The Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam;  
The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;  
The Government of Canada; and  
The Government of the People's Republic of China;  
In the presence of the Secretary-General of the United Nations;

With a view to acknowledging the signed Agreements; guaranteeing the ending of the war, the maintenance of peace in Viet-Nam, the respect of the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights, and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination; and contributing to and guaranteeing peace in Indochina;

Have agreed on the following provisions, and undertake to respect and implement them;

### Article 1

The Parties to this Act solemnly acknowledge, express their approval of, and support the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam signed in Paris on January 27, 1973, and



the four Protocols to the Agreement signed on the same date (hereinafter referred to respectively as the Agreement and the Protocols).

Article 2

The Agreement responds to the aspirations and fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people, i.e., the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Viet-Nam, to the right of the South Vietnamese people to self-determination, and to the earnest desire for peace shared by all countries in the world. The Agreement constitutes a major contribution to peace, self-determination, national independence, and the improvement of relations among countries. The Agreement and the Protocols should be strictly respected and scrupulously implemented.

Article 3

The Parties to this Act solemnly acknowledge the commitments by the parties to the Agreement and the Protocols to strictly respect and scrupulously implement the Agreement and the Protocols.

Article 4

The Parties to this Act solemnly recognize and strictly respect the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people, i.e., the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Viet-Nam, as well as the right of the South Vietnamese people to self-determination. The Parties to this Act shall strictly respect the Agreement and the Protocols by refraining from any action at variance with their provisions.

Article 5

For the sake of a durable peace in Viet-Nam, the Parties to this Act call on all countries to strictly respect the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people, i.e., the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Viet-Nam and the right of the South Vietnamese people to self-determination and to strictly respect the Agreement and the Protocols by refraining from any action at variance with their provisions.

Article 6

(a) The four parties to the Agreement or the two South Vietnamese parties may, either individually or through joint action, inform the other Parties to this Act about the implementation of the Agreement and the Protocols. Since the reports and views submitted by the International Commission of Control and Supervision concerning the control and supervision of the implementation of those provisions of the Agreement and the Protocols which are within the tasks of the Commission will be sent to either the four parties signatory to the Agreement or to the two South Vietnamese parties, those parties shall be responsible, either individually or through joint action, for forwarding them promptly to the other Parties to this Act.

(b) The four parties to the Agreement or the two South Vietnamese parties shall also, either individually or through joint action, forward this information and these reports and views to the other participant in the International Conference on Viet-Nam for his information.



Article 7

(a) In the event of a violation of the Agreement or the Protocols which threatens the peace, the independence, sovereignty, unity, or territorial integrity of Viet-Nam, or the right of the South Vietnamese people to self-determination, the parties signatory to the Agreement and the Protocols shall, either individually or jointly, consult with the other Parties to this Act with a view to determining necessary remedial measures.

(b) The International Conference on Viet-Nam shall be reconvened upon a joint request by the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam on behalf of the parties signatory to the Agreement or upon a request by six or more of the Parties to this Act.

Article 8

With a view to contributing to and guaranteeing peace in Indochina, the Parties to this Act acknowledge the commitment of the parties to the Agreement to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity, and neutrality of Cambodia and Laos as stipulated in the Agreement, agree also to respect them and to refrain from any action at variance with them, and call on other countries to do the same.

Article 9

This Act shall enter into force upon signature by plenipotentiary representatives of all twelve Parties and shall be strictly implemented by all the Parties. Signature of this Act does not constitute recognition of any Party in any case in which it has not previously been accorded.

Done in twelve copies in Paris this second day of March, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-Three, in English, French, Russian, Vietnamese, and Chinese. All texts are equally authentic.

For the Government of the  
United States of America

WILLIAM P. ROGERS

The Secretary of State

For the Government of  
the French Republic

MAURICE SCHUMANN

The Minister for  
Foreign Affairs

For the Provisional Revolutionary  
Government of the  
Republic of South Viet-Nam

NGUYEN THI BINH

The Minister for  
Foreign Affairs

For the Government of the  
Hungarian People's Republic

JANOS PETER

The Minister for  
Foreign Affairs



For the Government of the  
Republic of Indonesia

The Minister for  
Foreign Affairs

ADAM MALIK

For the Government of the  
Polish People's Republic

The Minister for  
Foreign Affairs

STEFAN OLSZOWSKI

For the Government of the  
Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam

The Minister for  
Foreign Affairs

NGUYEN DUY TRINH

For the Government of the  
United Kingdom of Great Britain  
and Northern Ireland

The Secretary of State  
for Foreign and  
Commonwealth Affairs

ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME

For the Government of the  
Republic of Viet-Nam

The Minister for  
Foreign Affairs

TRAN VAN LAM

For the Government of the  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The Minister for  
Foreign Affairs

ANDREI A. GROMYKO

For the Government of  
Canada

The Secretary of State  
for External Affairs

MITCHELL SHARP



For the Government of the  
People's Republic of China

The Minister for  
Foreign Affairs

CHI PENG-FEI

JANUARY 28, 1975

Office of the White House Press Secretary

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THE WHITE HOUSE

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Two years ago the Paris Agreement was signed, and several weeks later was endorsed by major nations including the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France and the People's Republic of China. We had succeeded in negotiating an Agreement that provided the framework for lasting peace in Southeast Asia. This Agreement would have worked had Hanoi matched our side's efforts to implement it. Unfortunately, the other side has chosen to violate most of the major provisions of this Accord.

The South Vietnamese and Cambodians are fighting hard in their own defense, as recent casualty figures clearly demonstrate. With adequate U.S. material assistance, they can hold their own. We cannot turn our backs on these embattled countries. U.S. unwillingness to provide adequate assistance to allies fighting for their lives would seriously affect our credibility throughout the world as an ally. And this credibility is essential to our national security.

Vietnam

When the Paris Agreement was signed, all Americans hoped that it would provide a framework under which the Vietnamese people could make their own political choices and resolve their own problems in an atmosphere of peace.

In compliance with that Agreement, the United States withdrew its forces and its military advisors from Vietnam. In further compliance with the Agreement, the Republic of Vietnam offered a comprehensive political program designed to reconcile the differences between the South Vietnamese parties and to lead to free and supervised elections throughout all of South Vietnam. The Republic of Vietnam has repeatedly reiterated this offer and has several times proposed a specific date for a free election open to all South Vietnamese political groups.

Unfortunately, our hopes for peace and for reconciliation have been frustrated by the persistent refusal of the other side to abide by even the most fundamental provisions of the Agreement. North Vietnam has sent its forces into the South in such large numbers that its army in South Vietnam is now greater than ever, close to 289,000 troops. Hanoi has sent tanks, heavy artillery, and anti-aircraft weapons to South Vietnam by the hundreds. These troops and equipment are in South Vietnam for only one reason -- to forceably impose the will of Hanoi on the South Vietnamese people. Moreover, Hanoi has refused to give a full accounting for our men missing in action in Vietnam.

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~~The Communists have also violated the political provisions of the Paris Agreement.~~ They have refused all South Vietnamese offers to set a specific date for free elections, and have now broken off negotiations with the Government of the Republic of Vietnam. In fact, they say that they will not negotiate with that Government as it is presently constituted, although they had committed themselves to do so.

Recent events have made it clear that North Vietnam is again trying to impose a solution by force. Earlier this month, North Vietnamese forces captured an entire province, the population centers of which were clearly under the control of the South Vietnamese Government when the Paris Agreement was signed. Our intelligence indicates, moreover, that their campaign will intensify further in coming months.

At a time when the North Vietnamese have been building up their forces and pressing their attacks, U.S. military aid to the South Vietnamese Government has not been sufficient to permit one-to-one replacement of equipment and supplies used up or destroyed, as permitted by the Paris Agreement. In fact, with the \$700 million appropriation available in the current fiscal year, we have been able to provide no new tanks, airplanes, trucks, artillery pieces, or other major equipment, but only essential consumable items such as ammunition, gasoline, spare parts, and medical supplies. And in the face of the increased North Vietnamese pressure of recent months, these supplies have not kept pace with minimally essential expenditure. Stockpiles have been drawn down and will soon reach dangerously low levels.

Last year, some believed that cutting back our military assistance to the South Vietnamese Government would induce negotiations for a political settlement. Instead, the opposite has happened. North Vietnam is refusing negotiations and is increasing its military pressure.

I am gravely concerned about this situation. I am concerned because it poses a serious threat to the chances for political stability in Southeast Asia and to the progress that has been made in removing Vietnam as a major issue of contention between the great powers.

I am also concerned because what happens in Vietnam can affect the rest of the world. It cannot be in the interests of the United States to let other nations believe that we are prepared to look the other way when agreements that have been painstakingly negotiated are contemptuously violated. It cannot be in our interest to cause our friends all over the world to wonder whether we will support them if they comply with agreements that others violate.

When the United States signed the Paris Agreement, as when we pursued the policy of Vietnamization, we told the South Vietnamese, in effect, that we would not defend them with our military forces, but that we would provide them the means to defend themselves, as permitted by the Agreement. The South Vietnamese have performed effectively in accepting this challenge. They have demonstrated their determination and ability to defend themselves if they are provided the necessary military materiel with which to do so. We, however, may be judged remiss in keeping our end of the bargain.

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We -- the Executive and Legislative Branches together -- must meet our responsibilities. As I have said earlier, the amount of assistance appropriated by the previous Congress is inadequate to the requirements of the situation.

I am, therefore, proposing:

- A supplemental appropriation of \$300 million for military assistance to South Vietnam.

The \$300 million in supplemental military assistance that I am requesting for South Vietnam represents the difference between the \$1 billion which was authorized to be appropriated for fiscal year 1975 and the \$700 million which has been appropriated. This amount does not meet all the needs of the South Vietnamese army in its defense against North Vietnam. It does not, for example, allow for replacement of equipment lost in combat. It is the minimum needed to prevent serious reversals by providing the South Vietnamese with the urgent supplies required for their self-defense against the current level of North Vietnamese attacks.

I believe that this additional aid will help to deter the North Vietnamese from further escalating their military pressure and provide them additional incentive to resume the political discussions envisaged under the Paris Agreement.

All Americans want to end the U.S. role in Vietnam. So do I. I believe, however, that we must end it in a way that will enhance the chances of world peace and sustain the purposes for which we have sacrificed so much.

#### Cambodia

Our objective in Cambodia is to restore peace and to allow the Khmer people an opportunity to decide freely who will govern them. To this end, our immediate goal in Cambodia is to facilitate an early negotiated settlement. The Cambodian Government has repeatedly called for talks without preconditions with the other Khmer parties. We have fully supported these proposals as well as the resolution passed by the United Nations General Assembly calling for early negotiations among Khmer parties.

Regrettably, there has been no progress. In fact, the Communists have intensified hostilities by attacking on the outskirts of Phnom Penh and attempting to cut the land and water routes to the capital. We must continue to aid the Cambodian Government in the face of externally supported military attacks. To refuse to provide the assistance needed would threaten the survival of the Khmer Republic and undermine the chances for peace and stability in the area.

The Cambodian Government forces, given adequate assistance, can hold their own. Once the insurgents realize that they cannot win by force of arms, I believe they will look to negotiations rather than war.

I am, therefore, proposing:

- Legislation to eliminate the current ceilings on military and economic assistance to Cambodia, and

more





to authorize the appropriation of an additional \$222 million for military aid for Cambodia, and

-- An amendment to the fiscal year 1975 budget for the additional \$222 million.

To provide the assistance necessary, the present restrictions on our military and economic aid to Cambodia must be removed and additional money provided. The \$200 million in military assistance currently authorized was largely expended during the past six months in response to the significantly intensified enemy offensive action. In addition, I have utilized the \$75 million drawdown of Department of Defense stocks authorized by Congress for this emergency situation. Since the beginning of the Communist offensive on January 1, ammunition expenditures have risen and will exhaust all available funds well before the end of this fiscal year. To meet minimum requirements for the survival of the Khmer Republic, I am requesting an additional \$222 million in military assistance and the elimination of the present \$200 million ceiling on military assistance to Cambodia. I am also requesting elimination of the \$377 million ceiling on overall assistance to Cambodia. This is necessary to enable us to provide vital commodities, mostly food, under the Food for Peace program, to assure adequate food for the victims of war and to prevent the economic collapse of the country.

I know we all seek the same goals for Cambodia -- a situation wherein the suffering and destruction has stopped and the Khmer people have the necessary security to rebuild their society and their country. These goals are attainable. With the minimal resources and flexibility I am requesting from you, the Congress, we can help the people of Cambodia to have a choice in determining their future. The consequences of refusing them this assistance will reach far beyond Cambodia's borders and impact severely on prospects for peace and stability in that region and the world. There is no question but that this assistance would serve the interests of the United States.

GERALD R. FORD

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
January 28, 1975

# # # #



# The Secretary of State



## Press Conference

Washington, D.C.  
March 26, 1975

Bureau of Public Affairs  
Office of Media Services

**MAJOR TOPICS:** Indochina, Middle East, Latin America

**SECRETARY KISSINGER:** I would like to begin with a brief statement concerning the suspension of the Middle East peace talks.

The step-by-step approach pursued by the United States attempted to separate the Middle East problem into individual, and therefore manageable, segments. Now that approach has suffered a setback, and the Middle East issues have to be dealt with comprehensively, under more difficult circumstances.

A moment of potentially great danger is not the time to assess blame between the parties or to indulge in recrimination. We need a calm appraisal of the situation and the United States policy best suited to the new conditions. Let me sum up the United States position:

- With the end of the step-by-step approach, the United States faces a period of more complicated international diplomacy. Consequently, a reassessment of policy is essential; this reassessment has been ordered by the President.
- The dangers which produced the need for progress toward peace are still with us. The United States, therefore, is determined to continue the search for peace in the Middle East. It is prepared to go to Geneva, and will be in touch with the Cochairman of the conference—the U.S.S.R.—in the near future.
- The United States is prepared to consider any other approach acceptable to the parties.
- The United States remains fully committed to the survival of Israel.
- The search for peace can be nurtured only in an atmosphere of calm. The parties involved in the Middle East conflict

thus have a responsibility to moderate words and deeds and to refrain from threatening acts.

- All outside powers have a responsibility to exercise restraint and to follow a course of moderation.

We face a difficult situation in the Middle East and throughout the world. The times demand a renewed sense of national purpose.

We must understand that peace is indivisible. The United States cannot pursue a policy of selective reliability. We cannot abandon friends in one part of the world without jeopardizing the security of friends everywhere. We cannot master our future except as a united people.

Our energies should be directed not at recriminations about the past but toward a vigorous and constructive search for a lasting peace. And to this, the Administration is dedicated.

Now I'll take questions.

*Q: Mr. Secretary, with respect to American policy and what you have just said regarding selective reliability: In 1965 the United States equated the defense of South Viet-Nam with the commitment to NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization]. Now it appears to be equating the additional aid to South Viet-Nam with regard to the Middle East, and so forth.*

*Do you feel that during the past 5 years, the policy and the techniques of diplomacy which we have pursued have been wrong? Have the conditions been wrong? Or what has happened?*

**A:** As I understand it, you are asking two separate questions: One is the policy, the relationship between Indochina and other parts of the world. And the second is whether the policies pursued in the last 5 years have been wrong.

First, let me talk—

*Q: I didn't mean "policies"; I meant "strategies."*

A: Well, that's a distinction without much difference.

*Q: In what way?*

A: Well, if the strategy is wrong—I don't see how you can have the right strategy and the wrong policy, or the wrong strategy and the right policy. So let me answer your question.

With respect to Indochina, we are not equating the intrinsic importance of each part of the world, and we are not saying that every part of the world is strategically as important to the United States as any other part of the world. The problem we face in Indochina today is an elementary question of what kind of a people we are.

For 15 years, we have been involved in encouraging the people of Viet-Nam to defend themselves against what we conceived as external danger. In 1973, we negotiated a settlement in which we withdrew our forces and, in return, achieved the release of our prisoners.

This settlement, it is well to recall now, was—while we were negotiating it—generally criticized for our holding out for stronger terms. The fact of the matter is that now that we have withdrawn our forces and have obtained the release of our prisoners, there was never any question that the United States would continue to give economic and military aid to Viet-Nam. And what we face now is whether the United States—not just “will withdraw its forces,” which we achieved—and not just “will stop the, or end the loss of American lives”—but whether it will deliberately destroy an ally by withholding aid from it in its moment of extremity.

This is a fundamental question of how we are viewed by all other people, and it has nothing to do with the question of whether we should ever have gotten involved there in the first place.

Now with respect to whether the basic policies have been correct in the last 5 years: That, of course, is a rather sweeping question which would require an answer that could easily occupy the better part of this press conference.

With respect to Indochina, I would urge people to look at the newspapers and the public debate during the period that these agreements were being negotiated to see what the imperatives were on the Administration in negotiating these settlements.

And the general conviction was that the United States had done enough in expending American

lives and that the people of Viet-Nam should have an opportunity to defend themselves without American support. There was never any proposition that the United States should withdraw and cut off aid.

And these agreements were negotiated on the assumption that there would be—that the United States would continue economic and military aid to South Viet-Nam—and also that there would be some possibility of enforcing the agreements. And this is the basic problem with the policy in Viet-Nam.

With respect to other policies, I would rather answer specific questions.

*Q: Mr. Secretary, if I may follow up on that question, it appears that the Congress, at least, has felt that the Nixon doctrine has outlived itself and that now supplies will not be provided as have been committed by the United States in the past. Do you plan to reassess the alternatives, as a result of the demise of the Nixon doctrine, particularly in reference to Viet-Nam, Cambodia, and Thailand?*

A: We have to face the fact that there are many countries in the world which have no conceivable opportunity to defend themselves without American economic or military assistance. And, therefore, if it becomes our national policy that countries must at some point be able to rely entirely on their resources, we will have brought about a massive change in the international environment that in time will fundamentally threaten the security of the United States, as well as the security of many of our friends.

The so-called Nixon doctrine was based on the assumption that the United States would help those countries that were prepared to help themselves. If this is no longer true, then we are likely to find a massive shift in the foreign policies of many countries and a fundamental threat over a period of time to the security of the United States.

*Q: Mr. Secretary, how serious did you find in your Middle East negotiations the concern on the Arab, on the Egyptian, and the Israeli sides, the problems you are facing in getting aid for Indochina? Was this a factor in the breakdown of the talks?*

A: I cannot assign any particular cause for the breakdown of the talks. There is no question that events in Portugal, Greece, Turkey, and Indochina had an effect on the conduct of the negotiations. On the part of our friends, it raised the question of the durability of our assurances. And since one of

our problems was to substitute American assurances for some physical terrain features, this was a factor.

On the part of those who were threatening our friends, there was the feeling that perhaps concessions were less necessary, because the drift of events was in any case favorable.

Nevertheless, I think that the major reason for the breakdown of the negotiations was intrinsic to the negotiations themselves; but the surrounding circumstances were certainly not favorable.

*Q: Mr. Secretary, to pursue the question of the interrelationship of Indochina and other portions of the world, where does the Administration go from here? It is clearly at loggerheads with the Congress on this fundamental question. The United States policy, according to the Administration, apparently is immobilized diplomatically on Indochina. Is there any way over this barrier except a constant head-on clash with Congress?*

A: I don't agree that United States policy is immobilized over Indochina. There is a philosophical disagreement which I have attempted to explain earlier.

I have believed ever since I came to Washington that it is overwhelmingly in our national interest to put the debate on Indochina behind us.

The Administration has proposed to the Congress a 3-year program for phasing out American military aid to Viet-Nam and which would, if the Congress and the Administration can agree, remove this issue from the yearly Congressional-Executive battles.

I believe, as I pointed out, that we face a grave situation. The Administration cannot give up its convictions simply for the sake of a technical compromise. But we believe that this 3-year program, if the levels are adequate, might provide an opportunity to get the debate behind us.

*Q: Mr. Secretary, is the reassessment of U.S. policy toward the whole Middle East primarily aimed at prompting Israel to adopt a more relaxed or less intransigent negotiating posture?*

A: At this moment, there are no negotiations going on, and therefore we would have no concrete proposals to make to Israel, even if Israel asked us what negotiating posture it should adopt.

The assessment of our policy that is now going on is made necessary by the new circumstances. Our policy had been designed, as I pointed out in this statement, to segment the issues into individual elements, to negotiate each element sep-

arately, and therefore to permit each party to adjust itself domestically and internationally to a process of a gradual approach toward peace.

Now that this approach has to be abandoned, we face an entirely new situation in which, in all probability, all problems will have to be negotiated simultaneously and in which, instead of a forum in which Israel deals with one Arab country through the mediation of the United States, the strong probability is that Israel will have to deal with all Arab countries in a multilateral forum.

The assessment of our policy is not directed against Israel. It is not designed to induce Israel to alter any particular policy. It is designed to develop a position that the United States can take in order to prevent an increasing radicalization in the area and an increasing tension and, above all, in order to avoid a war in which inevitably the United States would be involved at least indirectly, given the international circumstances.

*Q: A very quick follow-up. You and your spokesmen have denied that this reassessment contemplates a cutoff, but I don't think anybody has denied that it might contemplate a reduction. Can you respond to that?*

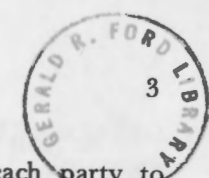
A: There is no level of aid right now that has been set for next year's—for the next year. And therefore the question of a reduction is an entirely academic one.

We have before us an Israeli request of rather large size which, at this moment, is being staffed on the entirely technical level and has been staffed on the entirely technical level for weeks. It has not yet reached either my desk or the President's desk. We will make our decisions on aid to Israel on the basis of our national objectives and on the basis of the statement that I made here—that we remain committed to the survival of Israel.

Of course, whatever conclusions we come to will be submitted to the Congress, and the Congress can make its independent judgment.

We are not approaching the reassessment with an attitude of cutting aid. And we are approaching it with the attitude of looking at the overall situation in the Middle East to determine what the best course might be.

*Q: Mr. Secretary, now that you have written an obituary on step-by-step negotiating, does that mean that you are writing off the possibility of unilateral American action in the Middle East? Are you now going to be walking step-by-step with the Soviet Union? What will be your approach?*





A: Our approach will be whatever is most likely to lessen the dangers of war and to produce steps toward peace. As I pointed out in our statement, the United States is prepared to go to Geneva. The United States is prepared also to go along with any other approach that the parties may request of it. So, we are not insistent on any particular approach. We will follow whatever approach is most likely to be effective and is requested by the parties. The obvious forum that is now open is Geneva, but we are prepared to look at other approaches.

Q: Mr. Secretary, to follow that up, could you say when you go to Geneva, would it not be likely that the talks would themselves become segmented into the various problems, and that would provide an opportunity for the United States or other parties to play a role in each individual problem—Israel-Egypt, Israel-Syria, Israel-Jordan?

A: If that is the turn that the negotiations take, the United States will be prepared to participate in it. The United States has no fixed idea on which course to pursue. At this moment, we have to consult with the other parties, and we of course also have to consult now with the Cochairman of the Geneva conference.

The United States will do what is most likely to reduce the danger of war and to promote peace, and if it should turn out that separate negotiations develop at Geneva, the United States will certainly support them.

Q: You [alluded] to difficulties in Portugal, Greece, Turkey, and Indochina. One could add the dismemberment of Ethiopia by an Arab coalition, the sellout of the Kurds, and so on. To what extent do you consider that this—

A: An objective question. What do you want me to say, "yes"? [Laughter.]

Q: Would this reflect what Dr. Schlesinger [Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger] has described as a worldwide perception of American impotence?

A: I have pointed out at many press conferences over the years that the central authority of a major country cannot be under persistent attack without ultimately paying a price in foreign policy.

We have gone through the experience of Viet-Nam, through the anguish of Watergate. And I think the cumulative effect of nearly a decade of domestic upheaval is beginning to pay—to take its toll.

Foreign governments, when they deal with the United States, make a bet in their dealings on the constancy of American policy and on the ability of the United States to carry through on whatever it is we promise, or fail to promise, or threaten. And this is one of the big problems in foreign policy today. It is not a problem of the Congress at this particular moment, because the Executive also shares a responsibility for it over a period of a decade.

At this moment, it is senseless to try to assess the blame. At this moment, the great need is to pull together and to see whether we can restore a sense of national purpose. And as far as the Administration is concerned, we will do our utmost to do this in a cooperative spirit.

Q: Mr. Secretary, it seems to me that part of the national debate over Viet-Nam has come about because of what might be called the light-at-the-end-of-the-tunnel syndrome. And now you are suggesting that possibly with 3 more years of aid, the Indochina question could be more satisfactorily resolved. Isn't this just another way of buying yet another slice of time?

A: Well, Mr. Koppel [Ted Koppel, ABC News], my own personal conviction, about which I have left no question, is that the right way to do it is to vote annually what is necessary. There are some problems in the world that simply have no terminal date. And in Indochina, as long as the North Vietnamese are determined to attack, it is not responsible to say that there is an absolute date in which an end can be achieved. On the other hand—given the very strong feelings in the Congress, given the cataclysmic, or the very dangerous, impact on the United States position in the world, of destroying a country where we have lost 50,000 men, where we have fought for 10 years, and which we, as a country, projected into this conflict—we are prepared to go to a 3-year program in which, with adequate aid, we believe that there is at least a chance that then, with the development of oil resources and other factors, that this country could be put on a more self-sustaining basis.

It is our offer, in order to take Viet-Nam out of the national debate for this period and in order to avoid what we think would be a very grievous blow to the United States.

Q: Sir, in another part of the world, this is a question about your projected trip to Latin America. Is it still on, and what is the main

purpose of the trip? And whom do you expect to see there?

A: Well, I have planned a trip to Latin America for the last 6 months. And as I pointed out in the speech in Houston a few weeks ago [March 1, 1975] the United States attaches great importance to its relationships with Latin America, with which we have had the longest uninterrupted tradition of foreign policy in our history, which is a part of the world which is in a position somewhere between the less-developed nations and the advanced nations, and with which we share many cultural and political traditions. And therefore we believe that Western Hemisphere policy is a central part of our overall policy and a test of our relationship to many of the less-developed countries.

Now, I am planning to go to—I will definitely go to Latin America before the meeting of the OAS [Organization of American States] here in May. So I will definitely go in April. Given the various pressures that exist right now in Washington, I am not in a position to announce the exact date. But we will determine that within the next few days. But it is definite that I will go in April.

I am planning to visit Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Chile, and Venezuela. And I plan to visit other Latin American countries later this year.

Q: Mr. Secretary, if the Geneva peace conference ends in a stalemate—as everybody seems to think it will—how great will the danger of another war in the Middle East be? And in that connection, do you expect Egypt and Syria to allow United Nations troops to remain in the buffer zone between them and Israel?

A: Let me take this in two parts. The longer there is a stalemate in the Middle East, the greater the danger of war becomes. The danger of war can best be reduced in the Middle East if all of the parties see a prospect of peace somewhere down the road and some plausible means of attaining it. And this is why we pursued the previous approach.

When the United States goes to Geneva, it will not go there with the attitude that it will end in a stalemate, but rather with the attitude of seeing whether this forum can now be turned into an arena for constructive progress. And therefore the United States will go there with a positive attitude, and it will ask all parties concerned to go there with a similar attitude, keeping in mind the needs and requirements of everybody.

Was there another part to your question?

Q: What do you expect Egypt and Syria to do about the United Nations troops in the buffer zone between them and Israel?

A: Well, we believe that the United Nations Emergency Force in Egypt and the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force in Syria were essential components of the disengagement agreements. We hope that the mandates of both of these will be renewed as a contribution to peace and stability in the Middle East and to permit the process of negotiations to go forward in a tranquil atmosphere.

Q: Inasmuch as we deal with every Communist country in the world—with the exception of Cuba—today, why would we, to use your words, be destroying South Viet-Nam if it became Communist?

A: Well, on that theory we can give up all of our alliances because we would not be destroying any ally if it were overrun by a Communist country. It is not a question of our not dealing with Communist countries; it is a question of countries that obviously have a desire to defend themselves being prevented from defending themselves by an American decision to withhold supplies. And therefore we would be destroying those people who have resisted, whom we have encouraged to resist, by such an action.

Now, I think it is interesting also to point out that, after all, the flood of refugees in Viet-Nam is going away from the Communist area of control. And even in Cambodia, under conditions that one would have to say are extraordinarily discouraging, somebody is still fighting around Phnom Penh. So that we are here in a position where the United States is forcing people to surrender by withholding supplies.

Q: Mr. Secretary, Egypt, according to a senior American official, was willing to sign a pledge not to have recourse to force in the Middle East, that force was not the way to resolve the conflict in the Middle East, to refrain from military and paramilitary activities, and to allow Israel the right to renew any agreement at the expiration of its 1-year term. In your view, did those concessions by Egypt satisfy the military side of nonbelligerency?

A: Well, the issue of nonbelligerency is a complicated legal position, because nonbelligerency is an international status which you cannot approach simply in components. I don't think any useful purpose is served for me to give an assessment of





the various negotiating positions. Both sides made a serious effort, and they did not succeed in bridging their differences.

*Q: Mr. Secretary, what is the impact on the world oil situation, and is the United States prepared to go ahead with the consumer-producer conference? Is that about to take place? Would you discuss also the impact of King Faisal's [of Saudi Arabia] assassination on that situation?*

*A: Of course, it is commonly believed that tensions in the Middle East do not particularly help the world oil situation. The United States has taken the position that it would conduct its negotiations in the Middle East independent of any oil pressures. And American policy will not let itself be affected by oil pressures. We do not see any developing at this moment.*

We believe that the consumer-producer conference is being conducted in the interests of both sides for the common benefit, for the interest of a developing and thriving world economy, which is in the interest of producers as well as consumers, and should not be tied to the situation in the Middle East. Therefore, we are proceeding with our preparations for the consumer-producer conference, and progress is being made in that direction, and we find it essentially on schedule.

King Faisal ruled a country of extraordinary importance to the energy picture of the world. And also due to his extraordinary personality he had a major influence on all of the Arab countries, being one of the few Arab leaders with a major influence on both the moderates and the radical elements in the Arab world. King Faisal was an element for moderation in the negotiations between Israel and the Arab countries. And he was a friend of the United States. His great personal prestige will be missed, even though we are convinced that the basic policies of Saudi Arabia are going to continue.

*Q: Mr. Secretary, I would like to follow up on that question about the "light-at-the-end-of-the-tunnel" that was raised here earlier by Mr. Koppel. It seemed to me that your answer to that question really was that you did, given a 3-year program in South Viet-Nam, see another light at the end of that tunnel. And I think the real question that is involved here is whether the Administration is perceiving reality. I think you have a problem with the public in this country. We have given 50,000 men; we have given \$150 billion—and it has not saved South Viet-Nam. You are asking people now to*

*believe that if you get 3 more years of help, you, Henry Kissinger, believe it can be saved. Now, I would like to know if that is not telling people that you see a light at the end of the tunnel.*

*A: I am saying that if you do not give enough, then you are bringing about consequences very similar to what we are now seeing. Since May last year, South Viet-Nam has received only ammunition and fuel. It has received almost no spare parts and no modern equipment. Under those conditions, the demoralization of an army is inevitable. And therefore, some of the consequences we now see are not surprising.*

I am saying that, as a people, we should not destroy our allies and that once we start on that course, it will have very serious consequences for us in the world.

I have stated that it would be better if we did it on an annual basis. Given the enormous divisions that have arisen in this country, for the sake of avoiding these divisions we are prepared to go the other route. It is not our first choice. The better course is to do it by determining each year what is necessary. And in the nature of things, there are many situations around the world in which the necessity of assistance depends on the degree of outside pressure. And if we cannot control the outside pressure, then our cutting off assistance means turning these countries over to their enemies.

*Q: Mr. Secretary, could you give us your assessment of the events in Portugal, what U.S. policy is toward Portugal, and whether it might have to change?*

*A: Portugal, of course, is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and has had close and friendly relationships with the United States. What seems to be happening in Portugal now is that the Armed Forces Movement, which is substantially dominated by officers of leftist tendencies, has now appointed a new cabinet in which Communists and parties closely associated with the Communists have many of the chief portfolios. This was an evolution that was not unforeseeable over recent months, and it will, of course, raise questions for the United States in relationship to its NATO policy and to its policy with Portugal.*

With respect to NATO, this is a matter to be discussed with all of our allies, and we are in close contact with them.

With respect to Portugal, the United States has a tradition of friendly relations with Portugal, and it does not intend to take the initiative in

breaking these friendly relations. However, we are disquieted by an evolution in which there is a danger that the democratic process may become a sham and in which parties are getting into dominant position whose interests we would not have thought were necessarily friendly to the United States.

*Q: Mr. Secretary, you said earlier that in 1973, when the Viet-Nam peace accords were negotiated, there was no doubt about continuing U.S. military and economic assistance. What assurances did you have then, in '73, that the Congress would continue this assistance?*

*A: We had no assurances. If you review now the nature of our domestic debate—say, from 1969 to 1973—it was essentially that American involvement in Viet-Nam should be terminated but that the Vietnamese should be given an opportunity to defend themselves; and the entire pressure of the domestic debate was on the withdrawal—at least, insofar as I became conscious of it—was on the withdrawal of American participation.*

We stated, on the date that the agreement was signed [January 27, 1973], if you read my press conference of that day, that economic and military aid would continue. And none of this was ever challenged in '73 and '74.

In fact, the debate started this year over appropriating a sum of money that had already been authorized by the Congress; so a question of principle could not possibly have been involved because the authorization was approved last year with very little division. There were no assurances, but it seemed to us inherent in the whole posture that we had taken that this would continue.

*Q: If I could follow up on that, did you give at that time the South Vietnamese Government assurances that this aid would continue?*

*A: We told the South Vietnamese Government, not a commitment of the United States that aid would continue, but that, in our judgment, if the South Vietnamese cooperated in permitting us to withdraw our forces and, therefore, to reclaim our prisoners, that in our judgment the Congress would then vote the aid that would be necessary to sustain Viet-Nam economically and militarily. It was not given as an American commitment. We're not talking here of a legal American commitment; we are talking here of a moral commitment.*

*Q: Mr. Secretary, do you think there will be another Middle East war?*

*A: I think there is always a danger of a Middle*

East war as long as the parties have such irreconcilable differences. We do not believe a Middle East war is inevitable. We believe a Middle East war would involve the greatest dangers to all of the countries concerned, as well as serious dangers of great power involvement. And, therefore, the United States will work with determination and with confidence to avoid a war and to use its influence to promote a movement toward peace.

*Q: Mr. Secretary, sir, did you look at the record of the assassin of King Faisal? I'm sure you must have. And did you find, when he was in the United States, any input or anything that might have contributed to this action?*

*A: Frankly, I have not looked at the detailed—I have just seen a brief summary of the record of the assassin, but I'm absolutely confident that nobody in the United States had anything to do with such an action because we considered King Faisal a good friend of the United States.*

*Q: Mr. Secretary, why is there such a presumption in this country at this moment, in newspaper articles, in the meaning—in the interpretation—of the reassessment of Mideast policy that Israel, somehow, was at fault for the breakdown of the talks and should somehow be punished by reduction in aid or some other manner?*

*A: Well, I cannot answer why people make certain assumptions. Many of you were on the plane with me, and you know how I attempted to explain the situation. The Administration has made no assessment of blame, nor will it serve any useful purpose to engage in that now.*

Secondly, punishment of a friend cannot be the purpose of a national policy. We now face a new situation. No useful purpose is served by conducting it in a fit of pique or by encouraging even greater tensions in the area. We will make an assessment of the American national interest in relation to our long-term commitments, as well as the necessity of preserving the peace; and our policy will be based entirely on this. And in no sense is any consideration given to punishing any particular country.

*Q: Mr. Secretary, in that connection, going back to the step-by-step approach once again, since you started this approach, there was an agreement between Egypt and Israel in January of '74, an agreement between Syria and Israel in May of '74, an enhancement of the American diplomatic position in the Middle East, and one setback. In light of the balance on the pluses and minuses, why so*



*radical and dramatic a change, a need for a major reassessment of policy? Why not continue along the old way, recognizing that there was one setback but a lot of pluses?*

A: We, obviously, believe that there were large pluses. As I made clear before we went on this trip, it seemed to us that in any event, even if another step had succeeded, a reassembling of the Geneva conference was the most likely next step, because we believed that the Geneva conference would then have taken place under easier circumstances than will now be the case.

We have made the assessment that the step-by-step approach, as it has been conducted up to now, is not likely to be able to be continued. And, therefore, we have to assess where we go from here, under conditions in which some of the presuppositions are no longer valid. And I don't consider anything particularly dramatic about assessing American policy when it finds itself in a new situation.

*Q: Mr. Secretary, you have used the word "suspension" to describe the talks, and yet you said that the step-by-step approach is ended. Now, you just said it's not likely to be able to continue. Is there any chance whatsoever that the negotiations between Israel and Egypt on an interim settlement—that is, another step—can be revived?*

A: My impression, from Egyptian public statements, is that this is extremely unlikely. Should, however, the parties request us, against our expectations, to undertake it, we would be prepared to do it. But we are making no effort to urge the parties to do so. We stand ready if there should be any such request.

*Q: A question was being raised yesterday after your briefing to Congressmen on the Hill as*

*to who made that decision that the step-by-step approach is now finished. Was it your personal decision? Was it a decision of the parties? Could you tell us about how that decision was reached?*

A: The Egyptian Foreign Minister [Ismail Fahmi] announced, on the evening that he announced the suspension of the talks, that the step-by-step approach was now finished and that Egypt would return to Geneva. This is how the decision was reached.

The United States will do whatever it can, and whatever the parties agree to, to promote peace in the Middle East; and if the parties should request us to do it, we would be willing to entertain it.

*Q: Mr. Secretary, would it, in your view, enhance the prospects to go to Geneva if the United States would move beyond the role of intermediary and take a publicly stated position on the substantive issues being negotiated there?*

A: Well, we have generally refrained from taking a position of our own because we felt that when the peace and security of countries is concerned that they have to make their fundamental decisions. On the few occasions when the issues between them had narrowed sufficiently, the United States took a position.

Now whether in the evolution of the negotiations—at Geneva or elsewhere—a moment will come when the United States should take a position of its own, that remains to be determined. We have not yet made this decision.

*Q: Mr. Secretary, thank you very much.*

[Carried live by ABC, CBS, and NBC radio and television networks and by Mutual Broadcasting System.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

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March 27, 1975

SPARKMAN LETTER

Q. What is the President's reaction to Senator Sparkman's letter suggesting that the U. S. reconvene the signatories to the Paris accords?

A. The President has sent General Weyand to Vietnam to review the entire situation there and report directly to him. I think any comment on Senator Sparkman's letter would be premature.



STATEMENT RELEASED BY GENERAL HAIG

BRUSSELS, April 10 - 2:00 a.m.

"The report that General Haig had admitted that the United States had secret understandings with South Vietnamese President Thieu in 1973 when President Thieu agreed to sign the Paris peace accords is not true. On Thursday, March 27, General Haig addressed a joint gathering of two service schools in Washington, D. C. During his presentation, he made no reference whatsoever to secret agreements with President Thieu. His presentation was fully consistent with the White House statement issued on April 9."





THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Ron:

Attached is a copy of the letter from Senator Sparkman to the President requesting any documents relating to possible commitments between the US and South Vietnam. We have not released the text, but we have acknowledged receiving it about noon Friday.

JWH 4-12-75



4-11

JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA., CHAIRMAN

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# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

PAT M. HOLT, CHIEF OF STAFF  
ARTHUR M. KUHL, CHIEF CLERK

April 10, 1975

Dear Mr. President:

As you know, there is much public interest about whether there are any secret understandings by the United States relative to the 1973 Vietnam Cease-fire Agreement.

In explaining the agreement at a press conference on January 24, 1973, Dr. Kissinger said: "There are no secret understandings." However, on Wednesday the White House issued a statement saying that there were "confidential exchanges between the Nixon Administration and President Thieu" at the time of the Paris agreement relative to both how the United States would react to a major violation of the agreement and about future economic and military assistance.

On a number of occasions members of the Committee on Foreign Relations have questioned Executive Branch witnesses about the agreement and related matters. For example, Secretary of State Rogers told the Committee on February 21, 1973, that the agreement would not "impose any further obligations on the United States." On May 8, Secretary of Defense Richardson, when questioned about whether there were any commitments "if the cease-fire accord in Vietnam should collapse," replied: "No."

In order to insure that there is no misunderstanding about any U. S. undertakings relative to the agreement, I believe that all of the pertinent documents should be made available to the Committee on Foreign Relations which has the responsibility for legislative oversight in matters relating to international agreements. I would appreciate your furnishing the Committee with the text of all understandings, undertakings or similar

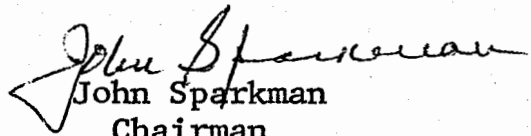


statements made by President Nixon, Dr. Kissinger, or other U. S. officials relative to the cease-fire agreement or subsequent conferences concerning that agreement.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation on this important matter.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

  
John Sparkman  
Chairman

The President  
The White House



March 20, 1975

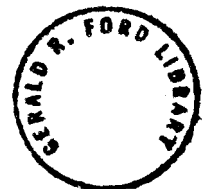
VIETNAM

SECRETARY KISSINGER ON PARIS AGREEMENT

Q. It is reported that Henry Kissinger said he would not have negotiated the Paris Agreement if he had known that full U.S. assistance and support would not be forthcoming. Does he regret the U.S. actions and participation in the peace effort?

A. GUIDANCE: The Secretary was negotiating for the United States in good faith and with full confidence that the signatories would adhere to the letter and spirit of the Agreement. There have been numerous and blatant violations of this Agreement by the North Vietnamese. They have ignored the repeated overtures of the South Vietnamese for a return of the negotiating table. Without a promise of negotiations or peace the South Vietnamese have looked to the U.S. for support. They now fear that support is not forthcoming as implied by their attempts to conserve ammunition and fuel and fall back to maintain their defenses. Until the North Vietnamese are willing to return to the negotiating table, the Administration believes we must support the South Vietnamese, and we should begin by providing them with with the \$300 Million the President has requested.

*Treaty - Get US troops, POW's out.*



4/21/75

DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT'S  
AND SECRETARY KISSINGER'S STATEMENTS ON VIETNAM

Q: In recent statements, you said that you didn't think we can blame the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China "for supplying replacement war material to North Vietnam while unfortunately, the United States did not carry out its commitment" to supply its ally South Vietnam. Secretary Kissinger, in a decidedly more ominous tone said "we shall not forget who supplied the arms which the North Vietnamese used to make a mockery of its signature on the Paris Accords." Can you explain the apparent discrepancies in these statements? Which more adequately portrays the Administration's attitude?

A: The two statements are not at all incompatible. We hold the Soviets and Chinese responsible for supplying assistance to an area of instability where equipment is likely to be used for involvement in aggressive actions.

Secondly, both Secretary Kissinger and I have discussed America's responsibilities in reducing assistance to our ally while the Soviets and Chinese maintained full support for theirs. In other words we believe that by American action we could have prevented the consequences of North Vietnamese aggression.



4/21/75

RECONVENING THE PARIS CONFERENCE

Q: Why have we not called for a resumption of the Paris Conference on Vietnam? Would we support reconvening of such a conference?

A: We have twice in the last few months sent notes to all the members of the Paris Conference, asking them to use their influence to persuade the North Vietnamese to stop their attacks. We have also tried other diplomatic efforts.

None of the results of these efforts have given us any confidence that reconvening the Paris Conference would produce any positive results.

We should not forget that there is already an agreement for a settlement in Vietnam. We and the South Vietnamese complied with the terms of that agreement. We pulled out our forces and the South Vietnamese offered political negotiations.

