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ON-FILE NSC RELEASE  
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

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TO WINSTON LORD FOR MR. KISSINGER  
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TO HAK 21

OCTOBER 17, 1972

TO: HENRY A. KISSINGER

TOHAK 21

FROM: GENERAL HAIG

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HAKTO 4. YOU MAY BE RIGHT IN PARAGRAPH ONE, BUT OUR FRIEND WAS COCKSURE. I WILL PROCEED WITH SHOWING ROGERS CHAPTER 4 FROM TAB A OF BOOK WITH THE CHANGES YOU OUTLINED IN PARAGRAPH 9(G).

REFERENCE PARAGRAPH 3--THERE WILL BE ABSOLUTELY NO ACTION TAKEN ON INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION UNTIL YOU SO DIRECT. I DO NOT ACCEPT STATE'S VIEW THAT TEN DAYS WILL BE REQUIRED ON THIS ITEM. HOWEVER, YOU SHOULD BE AWARE THAT THREE OF FOUR DAYS WILL PROBABLY BE ESSENTIAL. UNDER OUR OPTION B, I RECOGNIZE THAT ONE MORE ROUND IS LIKELY.

REFERENCE PARAGRAPH 4--OUR LEADER IS ADAMANT ABOUT NEXT LEG NOT REPEAT NOT TAKING PLACE UNLESS A FIRM AGREEMENT WITH FULL SUPPORT BY THIEU IS ASSURED. HE RAISED THIS IN MEETING WITH ME ABOUT AN HOUR AGO AND I CONFIRMED THAT THIS WAS YOUR VIEW AS WELL. IF THERE IS ANY MODIFICATION ON THIS, PLEASE ADVISE ME HOW BEST TO PROCEED WITH LEADER. LEADER ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCE COULD THERE BE A TERMINATION OF BOMBING UNLESS IT WAS DIRECTLY LINKED TO AND IN SEQUENCE OF ANNOUNCEMENT OF FINAL AGREEMENT. LEADER WAS SO STRONG ON THIS THAT HE WANTED TO SEND YOU SEPARATE MESSAGE ON THIS EFFECT AND I TOLD HIM IT WAS NECESSARY. MY OWN VIEW IS THAT SENSE OF URGENCY IN HANOI IS RELATED MORE TO HIGH POINT IN SOUTH THAN TO NORTH'S ABILITY TO ABSORB FURTHER BOMBING, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY INSTITUTED. GIVEN OUR LEADER'S ATTITUDE, GIVEN THE FACT THAT TERMINATION OR HALT TO BOMBING WILL BE EXTREMELY CONTROVERSIAL IF NOT FOLLOWED UP IMMEDIATELY BY SETTLEMENT, LEADER BELIEVES IT COULD SERIOUSLY EFFECT ELECTION, AND GIVEN FINALLY FACT THAT BOMBING SERVES AS AN INCENTIVE FOR THE OTHER SIDE TO MAKE MAXIMUM EFFORT TO RESOLVE REMAINING ISSUES, I THINK WE MUST CONTINUE BOMBING UNTIL ULTIMATE AGREEMENT CCEPTABLE TO BOTH THIEU AND HANOI HAS BEEN ARRIVED AT. YOUR ADD-ON TRIP AND THE BOMBING HALT IN CONNECTION WITH IT WAS AGREED TO IN CONTEXT OF AN IMMEDIATE FINAL SETTLEMENT. HANOI SHOULD BE TOLD THAT OUR LEADER IS ADAMANT ON THIS ISSUE.

END OF PAGE ONE

REFERENCE PARAGRAPH 5--I AM SURE AFTER READING PARAGRAPH 4, ROGERS WILL ON ONE HAND BE DELIGHTED AND ON THE OTHER REMAIN TOTALLY UNRULY ABOUT GETTING HIS MACHINE IN GEAR AND HIS ROLE DELINEATED. THIS WILL TAKE SOME STRONG DISCIPLINE HERE WHICH I HOPE YOU WILL REINFORCE BY RATIONALE IN YOUR NEXT MESSAGE. I WILL, OF COURSE, SPEAK AGAIN TO JOHNSON ABOUT THE PROBLEM. I ALREADY HAD A TESTY DISCUSSION TODAY ON THIS SUBJECT.  
WARM REGARDS.

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