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3/24/75

Message for PRC Foreign Minister Ch'iao Kuan-hua:

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Mr. Foreign Minister:

I am writing to you to inform you that we are deeply concerned and disturbed by the recent military actions of the North Vietnamese authorities. Their total lack of restraint can only indicate a purposeful decision to throw aside the Paris agreements on Vietnam.

Beginning on March 10, 1975, North Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam launched attacks against a number of military bases and district and provincial capitals of the Republic of Vietnam.

North Vietnam has also sent elements of three of its reserve divisions directly into South Vietnam across the Demilitarized Zone.

In blatant violation of the Act of Paris, North Vietnamese forces have captured five provinces previously controlled by the Government of the Republic of Vietnam and clearly under the control of that Government at the time of the cease-fire. In doing this, they have destroyed thousands of homes and made refugees of hundreds of thousands of people.

They have openly admitted, in the January issue of their Party journal Hoc Tap, that they are conducting these attacks and are pursuing a policy of military escalation. Our intelligence reveals

that the North Vietnamese plan to continue these acts of aggression, including attacks on the ancient capital of Hue and on Tay Ninh Province near Saigon.

The recent blatant attacks by North Vietnamese forces, led by tanks and anti-aircraft weapons supplied by outside powers, one of which has hegemonistic ambitions toward the Asian region, represent a complete abrogation of the Paris Agreement of which you are a signatory. These developments are now returning the Indochina war to the level of a major international issue. As these attacks occurred immediately after the visit to Hanoi of a military delegation from your country, the most serious questions are raised about the willingness of outside powers to urge restraint on the authorities in Hanoi.

As tension in this area rises (as the situation in Indochina becomes more grave), and in circumstances which make clear to the American people the failure of restraint on the part of the North Vietnamese (on the Communist side), our efforts to work toward a stabilization of Asia and to oppose hegemony cannot but be seriously complicated. This is all the more disturbing in view of our continuing intention and efforts to normalize relations between our two countries on the basis of the Shanghai Communique.

Now we have intelligence indications that the North Vietnamese plan to escalate further. This cannot be allowed to happen. The North Vietnamese must be counseled to halt their aggression, to engage in

no further escalation, and to return to the cease-fire.

Message for Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko

Dear Mr. Foreign Minister:

I am writing to express very frankly my deep concern over the recent actions of the North Vietnamese authorities.

Beginning on March 10, 1975, North Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam launched attacks against a number of military bases and district and provincial capitals of the Republic of Vietnam.

North Vietnam has also sent three of its reserve divisions directly into South Vietnam across the Demilitarized Zone.

In blatant violation of the Act of Paris, of which you are a signatory, North Vietnamese forces have captured five provinces previously controlled by the Government of the Republic of Vietnam and clearly under the control of that Government at the time of the cease-fire. In doing this, they have destroyed tens of thousands of homes and made refugees of hundreds of thousands of people.

The North Vietnamese have openly admitted, in the January issue of their Party journal, that they are conducting these attacks and are pursuing a policy of military escalation. Our information has revealed that the North Vietnamese plan to continue these aggressive acts, including attacks on the ancient capital of Hue and on Tay Ninh Province near Saigon.

The recent blatant attacks by North Vietnamese forces led by tanks and anti-aircraft weapons, including equipment supplied by the Soviet Union, represent an abrogation of the Paris Agreement. They return the Indochina war to the level of a major international issue. As these attacks occurred immediately after the visit of Deputy Foreign Minister Firubin to Hanoi, it can only be assumed that the Soviet Union was aware of and acceded to the decisions involved. Therefore, your Government must share a major responsibility for what is happening now in South Vietnam as well as for the broader implications.

I hardly need say that such a role by your country is clearly contrary to the spirit of the Joint Communiqué of July 3, 1974, and to Point Three of the Basic Principles of Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, which states the special responsibility of our countries to do everything in their power so that conflicts or situations will not arise which would serve to increase international tensions. Disregard for these documents governing our relations is a matter of profound concern.

Now we have intelligence indications that the North Vietnamese plan to escalate further. This cannot be allowed to happen. The North Vietnamese must be counseled to halt their aggression, to engage in no further escalation, and to return to the cease-fire.

Message to Special Advisor Le Duc Tho

Mr. Special Advisor:

I am shocked and outraged at the attacks of your forces <sup>in</sup> ~~throughout~~ South Vietnam and across the demilitarized zone. This is blatant aggression of the most overt kind. It represents an abrogation by force of the Paris Agreements.

If you continue and intensify these attacks, you will preclude any further discussion of the implementation of the political provisions of the Paris Agreements. You must bear full responsibility for this and for all consequences. You must not underestimate the reaction of the United States nor the impact of your actions here and all over the world.