

The original documents are located in Box 39, folder “Vietnamese War - Secret Peace Talks (Mr. S. File), (9), 7/1/71 - 1/25/73” of the National Security Adviser, Henry Kissinger and Brent Scowcroft West Wing Office Files, 1969 - 1977 at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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→ HAK files

JEAN SAINTENY
5 RUE POMEREU
PARIS XVI
TÉL. KLÉBER 77-23

5 Juillet 1971

Cher Ami

Je suis désolé d'être absent de France au moment où vous passez à Paris. C'est bien entendu avec beaucoup de plaisir que je vous aurais rencontré si vous en aviez eu la possibilité.

Dans le cas où vous auriez à nouveau besoin de mon domicile pour vos entretiens, demandez simplement au Général Walters de téléphoner à ma secrétaire, (Mme Clément, en qui vous pouvez avoir la plus grande confiance) qui fera le nécessaire pour que l'appartement - dont tout le monde connaît le chemin - soit à votre disposition.

Bonne chance !

fidèlement votre

Jean



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DISPATCH LETTER
ACTION

~~FILE~~
ACTION

August 17, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: HENRY A. KISSINGER
FROM: WINSTON LORD *W*
SUBJECT: Sainteny Inquiry on Helicopter Deal with the Chinese

At Tab 2 is the package enclosing Sainteny's latest inquiry on the helicopter deal with the Chinese. On my memo you indicated that you wanted a letter to Sainteny which indicates that the deal will take a long time. Such a letter is attached at Tab 1.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the letter at Tab 1.

Win - Check with Alexis Johnson when this stands

8/19 - VRTT will call get 3



CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
NSC Memo, 11/24/93, State Dept
By *W* 12/20/99

26

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

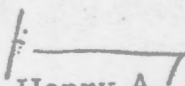
August 18, 1971

Dear Jean,

Thank you for your recent letter on the initiatives with the Chinese. It is especially gratifying to get words of encouragement from one who has shared sensitive diplomatic endeavors.

I understand your concerns on the helicopter business and have been looking into it, as you know. Unfortunately, I cannot hold out prospects that there will be prompt action, but be assured that I have your views very much in mind and will keep you posted on any new developments.

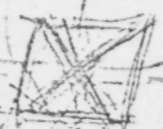
Warm regards,


Henry A. Kissinger

Monsieur J. Sainteny
204, Rue De Rivoli, 1er
Paris



20



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

UAT remembers

... HHC us much

at time Trident problem,

decided O'll

that out of way

FM Sclera → UAS

checking



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~THIRD~~
~~WHLG~~

2d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ACTION

August 2, 1971

D

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DR. KISSINGER

FROM:

WINSTON LORD *WHLG*

SUBJECT:

Further Sainteny Inquiry on Helicopter Deal with the Chinese

Attached at Tab A is a letter from Sainteny which you have already seen. It congratulates you on the Chinese operation and uses the occasion to press you again on the proposed French deal with the Chinese on helicopters. You raised this with Alexis Johnson a few weeks ago, and I believe he said that it would take some time. Background material on this is attached at Tab B.

Unless you want to drag this out, it would seem to make little sense to respond to Sainteny until you have checked with Alexis Johnson again. Thus I will prepare a letter for your signature based on what he tells you about the status of the case. (You will recall from Tab B that the French need State Department approval of the deal and that Schumann raised this with Rogers in early June.)

RECOMMENDATION:

That you call Alexis Johnson to check the status of this deal and then give me guidance for a letter to Sainteny.

Approve _____

If not, Lord should prepare a letter to Sainteny which:

Is a holding action _____

Indicates that the deal will take a long time HK.



DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
NSC Memo, 11/24/98, State Dept. C
By LL 12/20/99

JEAN SAINTENY

24
204, RUE DE RIVOLI, 1^{ER}

Cher Henry,

Toutes mes félicitations pour la brillante opération que vous avez su mener de main de maître. Souhaitons qu'elle connaisse les suites qu'elle mérite. Pour moi, je reste persuadé que vous êtes sur la bonne voie, même si elle doit être jalonnée de quelques déceptions..

Je vous remercie de votre lettre du 6 Juillet, relative à l'accord que nous souhaitons obtenir de votre Gouvernement au sujet de la vente à la Chine de matériels aéronautiques.

Je comprends bien que vous avez quelques "autres menus problèmes" dans l'esprit, mais nous serions heureux que votre gouvernement réponde au nôtre à ce sujet le plus rapidement possible. Les Chinois nous pressent de leur faire des offres précises, et je persiste à penser qu'il n'y a que des avantages à leur donner satisfaction sur ce point, qui, en définitive, reste de peu d'importance.

fidèlement votre

Jean

docteur Henry KISSINGER
the White House
WASHINGTON



Wok Chua
28

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

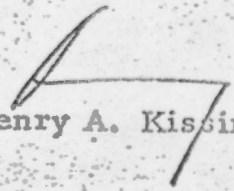
July 3, 1971

Dear Jean:

Just a brief note to thank you for your letters of June 11 and 14 and to let you know that I am looking into the subject you raised.

It was good to see you a few weeks ago. I will keep in touch on this and other matters.

Warm regards,


Henry A. Kissinger

Monsieur J. Sainteny
Le President
Office General De L'Air
33 Champs-Elysees
Paris



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

June 22, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: HENRY A. KISSINGER
FROM: WINSTON LORD
SUBJECT: Sainteny Inquiry on Aircraft Deal
with the Chinese

Attached at Tab A is the Sainteny letter to you following up your May 25 luncheon conversation by requesting your help in getting approved American licenses for a French aircraft deal with the Chinese.

[I] showed this letter to you over the weekend and you said that you wished to take this up with Alexis Johnson. Rather than writing him a memorandum, I suggest you call him and inquire the status of the case. The French company needs State Department approval for United Aircraft International licensing arrangements. Sainteny's letter points out that Foreign Minister Schumann raised this subject with Secretary Rogers in Paris on June 6. Sainteny also re-emphasizes that our government's agreement would be welcome and could have excellent impact.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you call Alexis Johnson on this subject.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 1.4
NSC Memo, 11/24/92, S. 1.4
By let, NARA 12/24/99

OFFICE GÉNÉRAL DE L'AIR

33, CHAMPS-ÉLYSÉES

PARIS

TÉL. 225.37 23+

LE PRÉSIDENT

24
Le 14 Juin 1971

Monsieur Henry KISSINGER
White House
WASHINGTON
(U.S.A.)

Cher Monsieur,

Pour compléter les informations
que vous apportait ma lettre du 11 juin,
je vous indique que Monsieur
Maurice SCHUMMAN a adressé, le 7 juin,
à Monsieur William ROGERS, une lettre
confirmant leur conversation du 6 juin.

*fidèlement
votre*

J. S. INTENY

1044-PDG
JS/RDB



OFFICE GÉNÉRAL DE L'AIR

39. CHAMPS-ÉLYSÉES

PARIS. 8^e

TÉL 225.37-23 +

LE PRÉSIDENT

24
Le 11 Juin 1971

Monsieur Henry KISSINGER
White House
WASHINGTON

(U.S.A)

Cher Ami,

Faisant suite à l'entretien que nous avons eu à ce sujet, au cours de notre déjeuner du 25 mai, voici le double de la lettre adressée par la Société Nationale Industrielle AEROSPATIALE à UNITED AIRCRAFT INTERNATIONAL.

La démarche du gouvernement français auprès de votre n'a pas, en définitive, été faite par lettre comme je le pensais mais verbalement par Monsieur Maurice SCHUMANN auprès de Monsieur William ROGERS au cours de l'entretien qu'ils eurent à Paris le 6 Juin dans la soirée.

Je vous redis combien je pense que l'accord de votre gouvernement sur ce point serait bien accueilli et pourrait être susceptible d'avoir les meilleurs effets.

fidèlement votre

[Signature]
SAINTENY

P.J.: 1

-PDG
/RDB



Copies :

United Aircraft Paris
attention M. Siobert

French Aerospace Corporation
Bureau de Washington
attention du Gl. Dawalt

OGA

UNITED AIRCRAFT INTERNATIONAL
EAST HARTFORD
Connecticut 06 103
U.S.A.

Doubles :

PDG

DG

IG

DC

DCT

DH

DH/A

H/VE/P

H/VE (4)

H/VE - No. 12.952-JR/rg

May 10, 1971

For the attention of Mr. R. F. Thompson

(Legal Department)

Subject : SA 321 Super Frelon and SA 330 Puma helicopters - China.

Dear Sirs,

Reference is made to the United/Sud-Aviation Cross Licence Agreement dated February 17, 1961 covering the Super Frelon as well as to the Licence Agreement dated June 23, 1966 covering the Sikorsky patents included in the SA 330 PUMA.

Both these Agreements provide that the US Department of State's consent is required for any extension of non-exclusive sales rights under United-owned patents to countries regarded as being under Communist control.

Now, as a result of contacts taken more than two years ago, our Companies have received specific requests for quotation from the Government of the People's Republic of China in connection with the above two aircraft.

We have been requested by the French Government, who attaches particular importance to the materialization of these supply projects, to clarify the Super Frelon and Puma situation with respect to the contractual and legal obligations liable to impose restrictions on the sales of these machines.



to UNITED AIRCRAFT INTERNATIONAL

May 10, 1971

In order to enable us to inform our own Government and, if applicable, to open negotiations, we ask you to kindly approach your Department of State and let us know their position.

We would like to point out that we are absolutely not contemplating to grant any sub-licence in China or allow there any resale right in any third country. As expressly requested by our Government, the supply would not include any weapons system or other equipment still in the course of development.

The Super Frelon and the Puma were awarded the civil type certificate on October 20, 1967 and October 12, 1970 respectively and have both been series-produced for several years.

Looking forward to hearing from you, we are,

Very truly yours,

J. REBUFFEL



2k

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1971 AUG 27 17 44

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HCE208

PAGE 01 STATE 143173

22
ORIGIN E-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-14 EA-11 CIAE-00 COM-08 DODE-00 INR-06
NSAE-00 RSC-01 TRSE-00 AEC-11 TRSY-11 AID-20 MC-02
L-03 PM-06 (CCO-00, NSCE-00,) R

60050
DRAFTED BY: E/ITP/EWT -JRTARTIER
COMM/BIC - MR. DUGGER
APPROVED BY: E- MR. TREZISE
COMMERCE/BIC - MR. ABRAHAMSON
DOD/OSE- DR. MOUNTAIN
EUR/FCX - MR. BEIGEL
EA/ACA - MR. BROWN
EA/ACA - MR. METSON
E/OA - MR. ORTMAN (SUBST)
E/ITP - MR. CRONK

SENT TO SAN CLEMENTE

032229

R 060008Z JUL 71
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY PARIS
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
USMISSION OECD PARIS
CINCPAC POLAD



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 143173

EXCON

REF: A) PARIS 1068; B) PARIS A-84; JAN. 23, 1971
C) STATE 20241; D) PARIS A-194 FEB. 20, 1971

SUBJECT: AIRCRAFT SALES TO PRC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
State Dept. Guidelines
By lit, NARA, Date 12/2/09

1. SCHUMANN WROTE SECY JUNE 7 CONCERNING INTEREST OF SNIAS IN
SELLING SA 330 HELICOPTERS AND CARAVELLE AIRCRAFT TO COMMUNIST

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 STATE 143173

CHINA. SECY'S INTERIM REPLY OF JUNE 23 PROMISED PROMPT REVIEW OF BOTH CASES. AMBASSADOR LUCET AGAIN RAISED WITH SECY JULY 19 AND SECY PROMISED TO LOOK INTO MATTER.

2. CIVIL TRANSPORTS - YOU MAY INFORM SNIAS THAT SALE TO PRC OF NEW OR USED CARAVELLES AND OF NEW FREGATE (NORD 262) TUROBO-PROPS MENTIONED REF D, MANUFACTURED USING US-ORIGIN PARTS AND COMPONENTS, IS LIKELY TO BE APPROVED INSOFAR AS THOSE PARTS AND COMPONENTS NOT REQUIRING APPROVAL IN COCOM ARE CONCERNED, IF END USE OF AIRCRAFT FOR CIVIL PURPOSES IS ESTABLISHED. AS TO ANY ITEMS OF EQUIPMENT THAT MAY REQUIRE COCOM APPROVAL, WE MUST RESERVE OUR POSITION UNTIL FURTHER INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE ON EQUIPMENT SPECIFIED BY PRC AND INTENDED END-USE. HOWEVER, WE ARE WILLING TO CONSIDER COCOM EXCEPTION FOR EQUIPMENT ESSENTIAL TO SAFETY OF CIVIL AIRCRAFT IN SCHEDULED OPERATIONS OR CIVIL COMMERCIAL USE. (FYI: ON LIST OF US ORIGIN EQUIPMENT FURNISHED WITH REF D, ONLY TRANSPONDER AND POSSIBLY HF AND VHF RADIOS ARE SUBJECT TO COCOM APPROVAL. IN VIEW OF MORE ADVANCED EQUIPMENT SPECIFIED TO BRITISH BY PRC FOR TRIDENTS, WE FORESEE THAT VARIOUS ITEMS OF US OR FOREIGN ORIGIN EQUIPMENT REQUIRING COCOM APPROVAL MAY BE SPECIFIED BY PRC IN COURSE OF SNIAS NEGOTIATIONS.)

3. HELICOPTERS - UNITED AIRCRAFT, PARENT OF SIKORSKY, WROTE COMMERCE SEEKING AUTHORITY TO AMEND LICENSE AGREEMENT WITH SNIAS TO PERMIT SALE OF SA 321 AND SA 330 HELICOPTERS TO PRC. SA 321 "SUPER FRELON" IS LARGE HELICOPTER CARRYING UP TO 37 PERSONS OR UP TO 9,000 POUNDS. SA 321 IS ALSO USED BY FRENCH FOR ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE. THERE ARE THREE MILITARY AND TWO COMMERCIAL VERSIONS SOME OF WHICH ARE SEALED TO PERMIT WATER LANDINGS. SIKORSKY DESIGNED MAIN AND TAIL ROTOR BLADES AND ASSEMBLIES AND CERTAIN OTHER AREAS. SA-321 IS UNDER COCOM EMBARGO.

5. SINCE CIVILIAN AND MILITARY VERSIONS OF HELICOPTERS ARE SIMILAR AND THEY MIGHT MAKE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO MILITARY POTENTIAL OF PRC, USG NOT WILLING TO APPROVE EXPORT OF TECHNOLOGY FOR EITHER SA-330 OR SA-321. ON BASIS OF INFO NEW AVAILABLE, WE WOULD OPPOSE IN COCOM SALE OF SA-321 EVEN WITHOUT US TECHNOLOGY.

6. WE PLAN TO INFORM FRENCH EMBASSY AND UNITED AIRCRAFT OF

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 03 STATE 143173

FOREGOING ON AUGUST SIXTH.

7. FYI ON JULY 16, WE INFORMED UK WE WERE LIFTING OUR OBJECTION IN COCOM TO SALE TO PRC OF SIX TRIDENT AIRCRAFT EQUIPPED WITH EMBARGOED COMMUNICATION AND NAVIGATION EQUIPMENT IN VIEW OF STRONG CIRCUMSTANTIAL CASE OF INTENDED CIVIL USE PRESENTED BY THE UK. SEE STATE 131243 TO OECD. FRENCH MAY BE SEEKING TO MARKET CARAVELLES IN COMPETITION WITH OR IN ADDITION TO PRIDENTS.

GP-3
ROGERS



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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 143173

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DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
State Dept. Guidelines
By 12/20/99, NARA, Date

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GP-3
ROGERS



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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File upstairs



34

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

~~SECRET~~

March 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: HENRY A. KISSINGER

FROM: *WHL* WINSTON LORD *W*

SUBJECT: *Tab B* Letter from Sainteny

Attached at Tab B is a letter to you from Sainteny which was relayed by General Walters and which you wanted acknowledged.

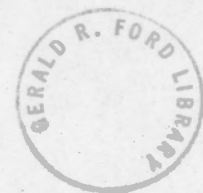
I don't have the full background on Mr. Wiel; apparently you called Mrs. Sainteny in February about his efforts to line up Tran Van Huu as an intermediary on Vietnam negotiations.

Given Wiel's ploy of using you and Sainteny's names, and for other reasons, I assume you don't wish to pursue this track despite Sainteny's mildly positive noises.

Accordingly, at Tab A is an acknowledgment to Sainteny for your signature. We used to send notes to Sainteny from you over Smyser's signature. I suggest you sign Tab A, and I will then forward it with a cover note from me.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign Tab A.



~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
NSC Memo, 11/24/98, State Dept. Guidelines
By *WHL*, NARA, Date *12/20/99*

30



Mr. J. Rose
3d

3600 Rittenhouse Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20015

March 13, 1972

Dear Mr. Sainteny:

Our mutual friend has asked me to pass on his enclosed letter to you.

Please accept my own best wishes as well.

Sincerely,

W

Winston Lord

Mr. Jean Sainteny
204, Rue de Rivoli
Paris, France



WL:ms:3/13/1972

32

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

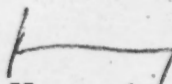
March 11, 1972

Dear Jean,

Thank you for your February 8 letter which was somewhat delayed in getting to me. I agree with your observation that Mr. Wiel has used a classic means of getting attention. Although his intentions may be good, I don't see merit in any further pursuit of his suggestions at this time.

It was good to hear from you. My best to Claude.

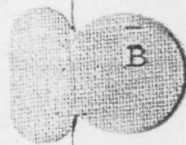
With Warm Regards,


Henry A. Kissinger

Mr. Jean Sainteny
204, Rue de Rivoli
Paris, France



38





HAK.

25 Feb 1972.

Dear Al.

Sainteny sent me this letter for delivery to Dr. Kissinger can you get it into his hands.

See the best

Dieu

~~THU HAK~~

Wing - Acknowledged

Lord



8 Février 1972

3h

Suite à votre conversation téléphonique avec Claude (8/2)

Cher Ami,

Je n'ai pas été surpris de votre réponse concernant Gaston WIEL. L'homme ne me paraît pas malhonnête et ses intentions sont sans doute pures, mais pour se faire recevoir et écouter, il a eu recours au moyen classique qui consiste à dire à l'un qu'il est l'ami de l'autre et inversement.

Il a d'ailleurs usé du même procédé avec le Président TRAN VAN HUU. Ce dernier se déclare totalement étranger à la note qui vous a été remise par WIEL comme résumant la position de l'ancien Premier Ministre du Sud Vietnam.

Ce que je me dois de souligner, puisque j'ai l'occasion de le faire, c'est que ce vieil homme (que je connais depuis 40 ans) est respecté et fréquemment consulté par les uns (Hanof et G.R.P.) comme par les autres (Saigon), sans qu'il me soit possible de savoir s'il est réellement écouté.

Il reste possible que TRAN VAN HUU, sage et pacifiste, puisse avoir effectivement un rôle de médiateur. Il me paraît intéressant de vous signaler un point de vue qui revient souvent dans ses propos.

- A son avis, seul un gouvernement composé de Cochinchinois serait capable de ramener la paix dans le Sud, les Nord-Vietnamiens réfugiés dans le Sud restant, de l'avis de beaucoup, les responsables des positions irréductibles qui s'opposent à un rapprochement pacifique.

Voici les réflexions que je pensais bon de vous adresser, puisque j'ai aujourd'hui le plaisir de vous envoyer cette lettre... avec

Mes très amicaux et fidèles sentiments

Monsieur Henry KISSINGER
The White House
WASHINGTON D.C.



34

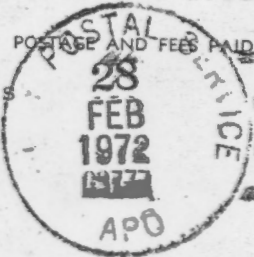
Monsieur Henry KISSINGER

The White House

WASHINGTON D.C.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

Major General Vernon A. Walters
Defense Attache
American Embassy
APO New York 09777
OFFICIAL BUSINESS



Brigadier General Alexander Haig
Deputy Special Asst to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20501



DA LABEL 18
1 APR 59

PREVIOUS EDITIONS OF THIS LABEL ARE OBSOLETE.
AGL (1) 2-62-1M-87601

40



Monsieur Winston Lord
3600 Rittehouse Street N.W.

Washington D.C. 20015

U.S.A



PAR AVION



Paris le 8 Mai 1972

46
Cher Henry -

Si vous devez venir prochainement à Paris comme on le dit, je crois qu'il ne serait pas sans intérêt que vous ayez un entretien avec T.V.DON qui vient d'arriver de Saigon, à moins qu'il ne se rende à Washington, dans le cas où vous préféreriez cette solution.

Si vous désirez le rencontrer à Paris, faites-moi prévenir comme d'habitude.

f. De la Tour

Monsieur Henry KISSINGER
The White House
WASHINGTON D.C.



40



Monsieur Henry KISSINGER
The White House
WASHINGTON D.C.
U.S.A



5/11

Al - Eyt ✓

WAK has
the original - he
wants to get
these notes ASAP.

W



56

ACTION

SECRET/SENSITIVE

May 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: HENRY A. KISSINGER

FROM: WINSTON LORD

SUBJECT: Letter from Sainteny

Attached at Tab B is a May 8 letter (i. e., before the President's speech) from Sainteny, which arrived at my house yesterday with a cover note asking me to get it to you as soon as possible.

Sainteny says that it would be of interest for you to meet with Tran Van Don, who has just arrived in Paris from Saigon. He suggests that you either see Don if you come soon to Paris, in which case you should forewarn Sainteny, or see Don here in Washington.

I assume this is precisely not the time for us to be fooling around with Don, or anyone else. Accordingly, at Tab A is a letter from you to Sainteny thanking him for his note and saying that such a meeting would serve no useful purpose at this time. If you sign this I will forward it to Sainteny per our usual custom.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the attached letter at Tab A.

WL:ms:5/11/72



SECRET/SENSITIVE

DECLASSIFIED
 E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
 NSC Memo, 11/24/98, State Dept. Guidelines
 By lit, NARA, Date 12/20/99

50

Dear Jean,

Thank you for your letter of May 8. I appreciate your writing to me, but I believe the suggestion contained in your note would serve no useful purpose at this time.

It was good to hear from you, and I hope all goes well.

Warm regards,

Henry A. Kissinger

Monsieur J. Sainteny
204, Rue De Rivoli, 1^{er}
Paris

HAK:WL:ms:5/11/72



50

Paris le 8 Mai 1972

COPIE

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*fidèlement
J. F. Kennedy*

Monsieur Henry KISSINGER
The White House
WASHINGTON D.C.



Sainteny (Captain)
60

ACTION

SECRET/SENSITIVE

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SECRET/SENSITIVE

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65

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Warm regards,

Henry A. Kissinger

Monsieur J. Sainteny
264, Rue De Rivoli, 1^{er}
Paris

HAK:WL:ms:5/11/72



60

Paris le 8 Mai 1972

COPIE

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Si vous devez venir prochainement à Paris comme on le dit, je crois qu'il ne serait pas sans intérêt que vous ayiez un entretien avec T.V.DON qui vient d'arriver de Saïgon, à moins qu'il ne se rende à Washington, dans le cas où vous préféreriez cette solution.

Si vous désirez le rencontrer à Paris, faites-moi prévenir comme d'habitude.

*fidèlement
Tite*

Monsieur Henry KISSINGER
The White House
WASHINGTON D.C.



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

SECRET / SENSITIVE

May 11, 1972

Handwritten scribbles and initials, possibly "July 16" and "H.A.K."

re - ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR:

HENRY A. KISSINGER

FROM:

WINSTON LORD *W*

SUBJECT:

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LETTER AT TAB A redone per J



Put in ground that I have no present plan to go to Paris

SECRET / SENSITIVE

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
NSC Memo, 11/24/98, State Dept. Guidelines
By Lix, NARA, Date 12/20/99

76

A



70
MAY 15 1972

Dear Jean,

Thank you for your letter of May 8. With regard to the suggestion in your note, I have no present plans to go to Paris.

It was good to hear from you, and I hope all goes well.

Warm regards,

/s/
Henry A. Kissinger

Monsieur J. Sainteny
204, Rue De Rivoli, 1^{er}
Paris

HAK;Neh:5/13/72



7d

B



Paris le 8 Mai 1972

COPIE

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Si vous devez venir prochainement à Paris comme on le dit, je crois qu'il ne serait pas sans intérêt que vous ayez un entretien avec T.V.DON qui vient d'arriver de Saïgon, à moins qu'il ne se rende à Washington, dans le cas où vous préféreriez cette solution.

Si vous désirez le rencontrer à Paris, faites-moi prévenir comme d'habitude.

Richard Nixon

Monsieur Henry KISSINGER
The White House
WASHINGTON D.C.

80
7. LETTER FROM JEAN SAINTENY. TEXT FOLLOW

JEAN SAINTENY

204 RUE DE RIVOLI 1ER

LE 29 DECEMBRE 1972

CHER HENRY,

N'AYANT PAS EU L'OCCASION DE M'ENTRETENIR AVEC VOUS AVANT VOTRE DEPART, J'IGNORE LES VRAIES RAISONS DE LA RUPTURE DES NEGOCIATIONS, A UN MOMENT OU TOUT PERMETTAIT DE PENSER QUE VOUS TOUCHIEZ ENFIN AU BUT. MAIS, QUELLES QU'ELLES SOIENT, JE NE PEUX M'EMPECHER DE VOUS DIRE MON EMOTION ET MEME MA REPROBATION DEVANT LA REPRISE INTENSIFIEE DES BOMBARDEMENTS SUR HANOI ET HAIPHONG. AU RESTE, CE SERAIT MANQUER A LA CONFIANCE ET A L'AMITIE QUE DE VOUS LES CACHER.

IGNOREZ-VOUS QUE LA "DEMOCRATIE" NORD-VIETNAMIENNE N'EST PAS LA DEMOCRATIE AMERICAINE? IGNOREZ-VOUS QUE LA NOTION D'"OPINION PUBLIQUE" N'Y EXISTE PAS ET QUE, MEME SOUS LA TERREUR DES BOMBES, CE MALHEUREUX PEUPLE NE POURRA IMPOSER LA PAIX A SON GOUVERNEMENT? CAR, SI C'EST LA LE CALCUL QUI VOUS A CONDUIT A RECOURIR A NOUVEAU A DES BOMBARDEMENTS (ET AUSSI MASSIFS !) ALORS, VOUS N'AVEZ PAS COMPRIS...

JE VOUS REDIS CE QUE JE VOUS AVAIS INDIQUE CHEZ MOI LORS DE NOTRE DERNIERE CONVERSATION ; UNE ISSUE POSSIBLE ET DURABLE DE CE CONFLIT DOIT ETRE RECHERCHEE EN DEHORS DES DEUX MINORITES QUI, JUSQU'A CE JOUR, ONT SEULES ETE PRISES EN CONSIDERATION, COMMUNISTES ET EXTREMEDROITE.



ENTRE LA DICTATURE DE THIEU ET LE MARXISME DU FRONT,
IL EXISTE EN PUISSANCE UNE MAJORITE CONSIDERABLE, COMPOSEE DE CEUX
QUE L'ON NOMME NEUTRALISTES OU ATTENTISTES, ET QUE CERTAINS GROUPEMENT
SOUS LE NOM DE "TROISIEME FORCE". DES RENSEIGNEMENTS SERIEUX
M'INDIQUENT QUE 80 PERCENT DE LA POPULATION SUDISTE SERAIT PRETE A
ACCEPTER CETTE SOLUTION DE RECHANGE : BOUDDHISTES, CAODAISTES,
CERTAINS CATHOLIQUES, SECTES, UNE GROSSE MAJORITE DE LA MOYENNE
BOURGEOISIE ET DE LA POPULATION RURALE. TOUS CES ELEMENTS SONT
PRETS A SE RALLIER A UN GOUVERNEMENT REELLEMENT DEMOCRATIQUE,
COMPOSE D'HOMMES N'AYANT ETE ENGAGES NI TROP A DROITE NI TROP A
GAUCHE, ET CAPABLES DE NEMER A BIEN LA RECONCILIATION A LAQUELLE
TOUT LE MONDE ASPIRE. SEULS, CES HOMMES POURRAIENT TENDRE LA MAIN
A CERTAINS ELEMENTS DU FRONT ET LES RALLIER, SANS PARAITRE SUSPECTS
AUX YEUX DES NATIONALISTES.

THIEU AFFIRME QUE CETTE TROISIEME FORCE N'EXISTE PAS.
CE FAISANT, IL NIE UNE REALITE AVEUGLANTE. MAIS COMMENT POURRAIT-IL
LA RECONNAITRE SANS RENIER SA PROPRE POLITIQUE, LUI QUI A EMPRISONNE
TANT D'HOMMES (ET DE FEMMES) SUSCEPTIBLES DE RENFORCER CETTE
TROISIEME FORCE ? CE SERAIT EGALEMENT AVOUER SA PROPRE IMPUISSANCE
A SURMONTER LES PROBLEMES AUXQUELS IL SE TROUVE CONFRONTE...

J'AJOUTE QUE CE GOUVERNEMENT NEUTRALISTE ET DE RECONCILIATION
NE MENACANT PLUS LES HOMMES DU FRONT, HANOI SE TROUVERAIT DE CE
FAIT PRIVE DE SON PRINCIPAL PRETEXTE A MAINTENIR DES UNITES AU SUD.



JE VOUS LE REPETE, CHER HENRY, LA EST SANS DOUTE LA SOLUTION.
ELLE N'EST PAS, EN TOUT CAS, DANS L'ANEANTISSEMENT DE TOUT CE
QUI VIT AU NORD DU 20 DEGREES PARALLELE. LE PRESIDENT DOIT SE
SOUVENIR QUE JE LUI AI DEJA DIT CELA EN JUILLET 1966 LORSQUE,
RENTRANT MOI-MEME D'HANOI NOUS AVONS POUR LA PREMIERE FOIS PARLE
DU VIETNAM.

TOUS MES VOEUX D'HEUREUSE ANNEE...PUISSE LE DEBUT DE 1973
NOUS APPORTER LA FIN DE CETTE HORRIBLE GUERRE.

FIDELEMENT ET TRISTEMENT VOTERE

JEAN

900



86
- THE WHITE HOUSE

SIGNATURE MUST BE SECURED

TO: His Excellency DATE 1/24/73.....

Tran Kim Phuong
2251 R St., N. W. NUMBER W-304.....

Time Rec'd.....

RECEIVED BY... Mrs. TRONG.....

DELIVERED BY... James R. [Signature].....

RETURN RECEIPT TO.....

RETURN THIS RECEIPT IMMEDIATELY TO

Office of Henry A. Kissinger
The White House

REGISTRY NO.

W-304

UNCLASSIFIED DESCRIPTION
(Serial No., File No., Subject)

letter

DATE

1/24/73

INCLOSURES

ADDRESSEE

His Excellency Tran Kim Phuong
2251 R Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

NOTE.—This sheet to be retained in Originator's suspense file until receipt has been signed and returned; then this sheet should be destroyed.

TITLE

CLASSIFIED MATERIAL RECEIPT



16-70498-1 GPO

*to the Chron 90
Sainteny file*

January 25, 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR: HENRY A. KISSINGER
FROM: WINSTON LORD
SUBJECT: Letter from Sainteny

At Tab B is a December 29 letter from Sainteny which you have read and just reached me. You will recall that he attacks the December bombing and presses his thesis that the 3rd force in South Vietnam holds the key.

At Tab A for your signature is a response to Sainteny which is cool about his letter, but warm about your past association.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the letter at Tab A.



qb

Dear Jean:

Thank you for your December 29, 1972 letter in which you expressed yourself with your usual candor at a sombre time. You will understand that I take exception to some of your comments, but now that we have at last achieved peace I happily refrain from debate.

This week has brought a deeply satisfying conclusion to a long ordeal. As I look back on the years of negotiations, I recall with warmth our collaboration and the judicious role you always played.

I look forward to seeing you again soon.

Warm regards,

Henry A. Kissinger

Mr. Jean Sainteny
204, Rue De Rivoli, 1er
Paris, France



JEAN SAINTENY

(Allen Stern) - This was
unread to H in Paris last trip
What to do with it now?

204, RUE DE RIVOLI. 11th

le 29 Décembre 1972

JP

90

sent to Paris

Cher Henry,

N'ayant pas eu l'occasion de m'entretenir avec vous avant votre départ, j'ignore les vraies raisons de la rupture des négociations, à un moment où tout permettait de penser que vous touchiez enfin au but. Mais, quelles qu'elles soient, je ne peux m'empêcher de vous dire mon émotion et même ma réprobation devant la reprise intensifiée des bombardements sur Hanoi et Haiphong. Au reste, ce serait manquer à la confiance et à l'amitié que de vous les cacher.

Ignorez-vous que la "démocratie" nord-vietnamienne n'est pas la démocratie américaine ? Ignorez-vous que la notion d'"opinion publique" n'y existe pas et que, même sous la terreur des bombes, ce malheureux peuple ne pourra imposer la paix à son gouvernement ? Car, si c'est là le calcul qui vous a conduit à recourir à nouveau à des bombardements (et aussi massifs !) alors, vous n'avez pas compris...

Je vous redis ce que je vous avais indiqué chez moi lors de notre dernière conversation ; une issue possible de ce conflit doit être recherchée en dehors des deux minorités qui, jusqu'à ce jour, ont seules été prises en considération, communistes et extrême-droite.

Entre la dictature de Thieu et le marxisme du Front, il existe en puissance une majorité considérable, composée de ceux que l'on nomme neutralistes ou attentistes, et que certains groupent sous le nom de "troisième force". Des renseignements sérieux

.. /

Surabbe



m'indiquent que 80 % de la population sudiste serait prête à accepter cette solution de rechange : bouddhistes, caodaïstes, certains catholiques, sectes, une grosse majorité de la moyenne bourgeoisie et de la population rurale. Tous ces éléments sont prêts à se rallier à un gouvernement réellement démocratique, composé d'hommes n'ayant été engagés ni trop à droite ni trop à gauche, et capables de mener à bien la réconciliation à laquelle tout le monde aspire. Seuls, ces hommes pourraient tendre la main à certains éléments du Front et les rallier, sans paraître suspects aux yeux des nationalistes.

Thieu affirme que cette troisième force n'existe pas. Ce faisant, il nie une réalité aveuglante. Mais comment pourrait-il la reconnaître sans renier sa propre politique, lui qui a emprisonné tant d'hommes (et de femmes) susceptibles de renforcer cette troisième force ? Ce serait également avouer sa propre impuissance à surmonter les problèmes auxquels il se trouve confronté...

J'ajoute que ce gouvernement neutraliste et de réconciliation ne menaçant plus les hommes du Front, Hanôï se trouverait de ce fait privé de son principal prétexte à maintenir des unités au sud.

Je vous le répète, Cher Henry, là est sans doute la solution. Elle n'est pas, en tout cas, dans l'anéantissement de tout ce qui vit au nord du 20° parallèle. Le Président doit se souvenir que je lui ai déjà dit cela en Juillet 1966 lorsque, rentrant moi-même d'Hanoï nous avons pour la première fois parlé du Vietnam.

Tous mes vœux d'heureuse année...puisse le début de 1973 nous apporter la fin de cette horrible guerre.

fidèlement et... Tridiehan Vott



Jean