Mr. Kissinger:

Sainteny approved the translation this morning before he left for Florida.

He asked that the copy of his notes and the translation be destroyed after you show them to the President. He has the original notes.

Tony Lake
I will try to meet with Mai Van Bo in the presence of Xuan Thuy and will give to him the letter destined for Ho, calling to his attention that this time I have the latitude to let him know that President Nixon has authorized me to give it to him. I will ask him to have this letter sent to Hanoi as rapidly and safely as possible. I will inform him of Mr. Kissinger's trip to Paris on August 4 and his desire to learn of Hanoi's reaction to the message of the President.

I will add that knowing President Nixon personally, I had already had a conversation with him on Vietnam in 1966 after my return from Hanoi.

In May and during these last few days, he has spoken with me with total sincerity.

I carried away from these conversations the conviction that President Nixon sincerely wishes to put an end to this war and that he is prepared to discuss it with good will with the highest responsible authorities of the government of Hanoi on the condition that he would find on their part the same real desire to reach a conclusion.

But he will not allow himself to be snared by the tactic of drawing out the negotiations in the hope that American public opinion,
having become weary, would finish by accepting an unconditional withdrawal -- a trap into which he will not fall under any circumstances.

He has decided to hope for a positive outcome from the conversations at Paris by November 1, and he is prepared to show good will by some humanitarian gestures which Mr. Kissinger will be prepared to discuss in detail. But if, however, by this date -- the anniversary of the bombing halt -- no valid solution has been reached, he will regretfully find himself obliged to have recourse to measures of great consequence and force. When he talks of solution, he does not mean gestures like the release of a few prisoners but steps indicating an imminent end of the war.

Regardless of public opinion or opposition, Mr. Nixon is determined to bring this war to an early conclusion. He totally rejects continued talking and fighting. If this diplomatic approach fails, he will resort to any means necessary.