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Summary of Mr. Kissinger--Le Duc Tho Paris
Peace Talks

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Message #1 From: ^{PARIS} ~~Saigon~~ To: ^{SAIGON} ~~Paris~~ 20 November 1972

Initial interview by South Vietnamese negotiator, Pham Dang Lam, with Henry Kissinger. Kissinger reported that he will raise all of the South Vietnamese objections to the draft treaty, but cautions South Vietnam that he holds little hope of obtaining all that South Vietnam asks on two key points: 1) the withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops, and 2) the changing of the composition of the National Council for Concord and Reconciliation.

Message #2 From: Saigon To: Paris 20 November 1972

Saigon reiterates conditions it will insist on:

1. North Vietnamese Troop Withdrawal
2. Makeup of National Committee on Reconciliation and Concord
3. Makeup of International Conference
4. Respect for DMZ

Saigon also thought "the false air of optimism the U.S. Government is building up" should be dissipated.

Message #3 From: Paris To: Saigon 20 November 1972

Kissinger informs the South Vietnamese that he had given Le Duc Tho the list of 69 modifications to the draft treaty. Le Duc Tho will respond to modifications at next meeting, but Kissinger cautions South Vietnamese to begin to plan for compromise.

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Message #4 From: Saigon To: Paris 21 November 1972

Saigon instructs representatives in Paris to "squeeze the most news out of Kissinger", to intensify deep backgrounders to press and friendly circles stressing Nixon Doctrine, and POWs exchange as bargaining issue.

Message #5 From: Paris To: Saigon 22 November 1972

General Haig briefed South Vietnamese that the North Vietnamese had rejected practically all of the requests for modification. General points demanded by the North Vietnamese:

1. Withdrawal of the U.S. and allied troops in addition to foreign civilians under contract to companies working under auspices of armed forces.

2. Establishment of the National Council within 15 days after signing, elections within 5 months, and the resignation of President Thieu two months before election.

Haig stated that Washington had report SVN "stalling for time" and warned against disastrous consequences if negotiations break down because of SVN actions.

Message #6 From: Paris To: Saigon 22 November 1972

Forwarding of texts of new articles proposed by North Vietnam. No comments on South Vietnamese reactions.

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Message #7 From: Saigon To: Paris 22 November 1972

Message contained instructions to Paris Delegation calling for condemnation of North Viet Nam's position and intransigence. Message also indicates that SVN cannot consider other points of contention (DMZ, used up war material, etc.) until their two basic principles, "namely the North Vietnam troops and the National Council of Council and Concord" are being resolved.

Message #8 From: Saigon To: Paris 22 November 1972

Responding to the North Vietnam proposals for change in Articles, Saigon states that South Vietnam cannot consider these points until the two basic problems are solved: 1) the withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops and, 2) a change in the composition and function of the National Council.

Message #9 From: Saigon To: Paris 20 November 1972

Message contains SVN assessment of proposed NVN changes. SVN remains firm on NVN troop withdrawal, and National Council of Reconciliation & Concord. SVN also considers the linking of the release of POWs to the release of political prisoners an internal affair to be solved by the two SVN parties. Additional subjects covered in the message concern the DMZ, a reference to three Indochinese states, the wording of the preamble, insistence that the U.S. - GVN relationship be a separate agreement, the SVN version of the ICCS & protocol commissions.

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Message #10 From: Paris To: Saigon 18 November 1972

Paris requests essential points contained in President Nixon's letter to President Thieu.

Message #11 From: Saigon To: Paris 19 November 1972

Paris informed that the letter from President Nixon to President Thieu did not contain anything new concerning the U.S. position.

Message #12 From: Paris To: Saigon 22 November

Kissinger informs South Vietnamese that at the session for 22 November he plans to return to the question of North Vietnamese troop withdrawals. Acknowledging South Vietnamese reservations about a new U.S. proposal on the DMZ, Kissinger agreed to withhold presenting it until a formulation is forwarded from Saigon.

Message #13 From: Saigon To: Paris 23 November 1972

Reports that Professor Nguyen Tien Nhung arrived in Paris to confer with Ambassador Pham Dang Lam and General Tran Van Don.

Message #14 From: Paris To: Saigon 23 November 1972

SVN negotiator reports on 22 November session with Mr. Kissinger. Mr. Kissinger asked SVN negotiator if instructions had been received from SAIGON to which the SVN negotiator gave the tenor of their earlier position. Mr. Kissinger, according to the SVN negotiator launched an attack against an organized press and radio campaign presently being carried on in Saigon aimed at the U.S. Government and him (Mr. Kissinger) personally. Mr. Kissinger, according to the message, went on to take issue with SVN "Maneuver to gain time" SVN foot dragging, lack in Paris of SVN individual with "power to make quick decisions on the spot," and his obligation "to negotiate according to my (Mr. Kissinger) best judgment." Mr. Kissinger indicated that NVN was already reviewing the Draft Protocol and

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The SVN negotiator reported his impression that the U.S. and NVN will reach an agreement which will be a little better than the present draft but which would not correspond to SVN desires.

Saigon asks that Kissinger be informed that as long as the two main problems are not solved--North Vietnamese withdrawal and the formation of the National Council--it is not useful to enter into the details of the other points. Saigon also requests that Kissinger be queried as to whether the North Vietnamese have rejected the South Vietnamese proposal for a "two phased" withdrawal of all foreign troops and a demobilization of the ARVN and NLF forces.

Denies reports that Radio Saigon has launched a personal attack on Kissinger. Radio Saigon was only reviewing the press reports of the negotiations.

Paris forwards a recapitulation of the four Kissinger--
Le Duc Tho meetings, listing proposed changes to the draft accords.

Paris advises Saigon that Le Duc Tho through Kissinger had responded negatively to two points, one of which concerned "on the basis of one-for-one and return to their native places."

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Message #19 From: Paris To: Saigon 24 November 1972

Kissinger informs South Vietnam that, contrary to his expectations, North Vietnam made no important concessions at the 23 November meeting and throughout all four meetings he has been able to obtain only a few modifications.

Because Le Duc Tho implied North Vietnam would make no further concessions, Kissinger stated that there are three options open to South Vietnam:

1. We maintain our position in full, thus risking a breakdown in negotiations.
2. Be content with what has been obtained thus far on the condition that North Vietnam concedes on a few additional points, namely, demobilization on a one-for-one basis, and a change in the wording for the establishment of the National Council.
3. Accept the agreement in its present form with the condition that South Vietnam will free political prisoners in exchange for a de facto withdrawal of North Vietnamese units in Military Region 1.

Kissinger expressed his preference for the second option and that continued support for SVN by the U.S. Government, Congress and public is more important to South Vietnam than satisfaction concerning clauses in the agreement.

Message #20 From: Paris To: Saigon 24 November 1972

The Paris Delegation advised Saigon that they were continuing to refuse the communist demand for release of political detainees at the same time as the release of POWs.

Message #21 From: Saigon To: Paris 24 November 1972

Saigon asked Paris to immediately respond to an earlier Saigon message.

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TO WHITE HOUSE
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AVS, KUS, AVN, ACB, ALA, CJA, BIN, FORP-Y, MILG-H/B, O, D.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEACE NEGOTIATOR REPORTS KISSINGER INTERVIEW
XXCC

FR PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION: 20 NOV 72 0300Z

PHAM DANG LAM

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE: FLASH 25/PDVN/TM

((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

HOANG DUC NHA; ((AND)) FOREIGN MINISTRY

NGUYEN XUAN PHONG ((1)) AND I HAD A PRELIMINARY INTERVIEW WITH ((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER IMMEDIATELY ((C VAL FOLLOWING)) HIS ARRIVAL THIS EVENING AT 2300 HOURS. THE INTERVIEW TOOK PLACE AT THE RESIDENCE OF THE U.S. AMBASSADOR, WHERE KISSINGER AND HIS PARTY ARE BEING HOUSED. KISSINGER TOLD ME THAT HE HAS RECEIVED THE RECENT DOCUMENTS GIVEN TO AMBASSADOR ((ELLSWORTH)) BUNKER BY OUR GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING THE DRAFT AGREEMENT ALTERED BY US. I ASKED HIM WHETHER, DURING THE COURSE OF CONVERSATIONS WITH LE DUC THO, HE WILL PRESENT ALL THE POINTS RAISED BY US. KISSINGER REPLIED THAT HE WILL USE ALL OF OUR ARGUMENTS. HE HAS LITTLE HOPE OF OBTAINING ALL THAT WE ASK ((B VAL ON THE)) TWO KEY POINTS; NAMELY, THE WITHDRAWAL OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS AND THE CNCR ((NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CONCORD AND RECONCILIATION)), BUT HE BELIEVES THAT HE CAN EXTRACT ((B VAL FROM THE NORTH)) VIETNAMESE SOMETHING MUCH BETTER THAN THE PRESENT DRAFT AGREEMENT. ON THE QUESTION OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS, IN THE EVENT OF ((B VAL UNSATISFACTORY)) RESULTS, THE U.S. WILL MAKE A STATEMENT REAFFIRMING THAT NORTH VIETNAM HAS NO RIGHT TO SEND ITS TROOPS TO SOUTH VIETNAM. KISSINGER RECOGNIZES THAT WE WILL HAVE TO FIGHT TO CHASE OUT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE BUT THAT IN THIS WAY THE AGREEMENT COULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS RECOGNIZING THE RIGHT OF NORTH VIETNAM TO INTERVENE IN THE SOUTH. ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CNCR, KISSINGER WILL ASK FOR A FORMULA REPLACING THE THREE EQUAL COMPONENTS BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VARIOUS POLITICAL TRENDS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. HE WILL BE DEFINITE ((ON THE POINT)) THAT THE CNCR WILL HAVE AS ITS PRINCIPAL RESPONSIBILITY THE ORGANIZING OF ELECTIONS -- AS WELL AS ON A FEW LOOSE ENDS; NAMELY, ((C VAL PROVIDING FOR)) THE APPLICATION OF THE AGREEMENT FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD AND DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES. KISSINGER WILL TRY TO SUPPRESS THE PHRASE CONCERNING THE POSITIONING OF COMMITTEES AT ALL LEVELS, AND IN CASE OF FAILURE, TO SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FORMER FORMULA A MORE VAGUE ONE; FOR EXAMPLE, AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CNCR, THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE ((B VAL PARTIES)) WILL DISCUSS THE CONDITIONS OF ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTION. ON THE QUESTION OF DETAILS, HE AGREED TO TURN CHAPTER I, ARTICLE I TO CHAPTER IV AS WE PROPOSED, SHOULD THE NORTH VIETNAMESE REFUSE, ARTICLE I WILL BE MODIFIED IN THE SENSE THAT IT WILL ENUNCIATE THE PRINCIPLE OF RESPECT FOR INDEPENDENCE, UNITY AND SOVEREIGNTY BY EVERYONE AND NOT ONLY BY THE U.S. ARTICLE IX D WILL LIKEWISE BE MODIFIED IN THE SAME MANNER. WITH REGARD TO THE ICCS, KISSINGER FEELS THAT IT IS TOO LATE TO CHANGE THE COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNMENTS

INVOLVED ((IN VIEW OF THEIR)) ALREADY HAVING BEEN CONTACTED. ON

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. ACCORDING TO KISSINGER, LON NOL
REPORTEDLY DOES NOT INTEND TO PARTICIPATE SO AS NOT TO BRING UP
THE CASE OF ((EXILED PRINCE NORODOM)) SIHANOUK. AS FOR SOUVANNA
PHOUMA, HE REPORTEDLY DOES NOT LIKE TO ((I WD G)) HIS PRESENT
SITUATION THAT IT SOUNDS AS THOUGH THE 1962 GENEVA ACCORDS IS TO
BE BROUGHT AGAIN BEFORE ANOTHER CONFERENCE. CONCERNING THE
PARTICIPATION OF JAPAN, KISSINGER REVEALED THAT HANOI DEMANDS THE
PRESENCE OF INDIA ((C VAL WITH)) THE CANDIDACY OF JAPAN. IF WE WANT
JAPAN TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CONFERENCE, WE MUST ALSO ADMIT INDIA.
KISSINGER WISHES TO KNOW IMMEDIATELY THE OPINION OF OUR GOVERNMENT.
ON THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT GIVEN ((US)) BY
KISSINGER ON 19 OCTOBER AND THE TEXT BROUGHT BY ((THE U.S. DEPUTY
NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR, GENERAL ALEXANDER M.)) HAIG, KISSINGER
POINTED OUT THAT THE LATTER IS UP TO DATE. THE KISSINGER DRAFT WAS
MODIFIED ON CERTAIN POINTS AFTER AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH NORTH
VIETNAM. KISSINGER PROMISED TO RESTORE THE FORMER WORDING CONCERN-
ING THE REPLACEMENT OF WAR MATERIAL DESTROYED, DAMAGED, WORN OUT,
AND USED UP. IT WAS ALSO AGREED THAT IMMEDIATELY AFTER EACH
SESSION KISSINGER OR A MEMBER OF HIS DELEGATION WILL GIVE US AN
ACCOUNT ((OF WHAT TRANSPIRED)). AMBASSADOR VUONG VAN BAC HAS
ALREADY ARRIVED. TRAN KIM PHUONG IS EXPECTED MONDAY.
((1)) DEPUTY SOUTH VIETNAMESE NEGOTIATOR AT THE PARIS PEACE TALKS,
ACCORDING TO PRESS OF 8 SEP 72.

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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AVS,AVN,KUS,ALA,ACB/FORP,MILG/B,O.

SAIGON REITERATES POINTS OF CONTENTION IN PEACE PLAN TO PEACE TALKS DELEGATION

XXCC
FR SAIGON: HOANG DUC NHA
((SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO
THE PRESIDENT)) 20 NOV 72
TO PARIS: DELEGATION -- 2711/PTT/BT/TM

TOP SECRET.

IN VIEW OF YOUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, I WOULD LIKE TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE FOLLOWING POINTS WHICH WE ARE GOING TO HOLD ON TO.

1. ON NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOP WITHDRAWAL. WE TAKE CARE OF IT BY FIRST ASKING FOR WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. FORCES AS WELL AS ALL OTHER NON-SOUTH VIETNAMESE FORCES AND SECOND BY THE DEMOBILIZATION AND SENDING BACK THEIR NATIVE PLACES(SIC). THIS SECOND APPROACH WOULD TAKE CARE OF NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY ELEMENTS INCORPORATED IN VIET CONG UNITS.

2. THE DMZ AS STIPULATED IN ARTICLE 24 OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENT SHOULD BE RESPECTED BY ALL PARTIES.

3. ON THE CNRC ((NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD)) WE FIRMLY OBJECT TO THE THREE EQUAL COMPONENTS AND MAKE SURE THAT IT HAS NO GOVERNMENTAL FUNCTIONS. WE MAY AGREE TO A FIFTY-FIFTY COMPOSITION.

4. ON THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WE HAVE DROPPED JAPAN BUT INSISTED ON KEEPING CAMBODIA AND LAOS. ALSO WE WANT THE CONFERENCE TO BE CONVENED ONLY AFTER CEASE-FIRE AND TROOP WITHDRAWAL IN LAOS AND CAMBODIA ALSO. OTHERWISE IT WOULD BE THE OFFICIALIZATION OF THE PRG ((PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT)).

5. I THINK KISSINGER IS TRYING TO COAX THE GVN ((GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM)) INTO ACCEPTING NORTH VIETNAMESE DEMANDS. I THINK YOU SHOULD DISSIPATE THE FALSE AIR OF OPTIMISM THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IS BUILDING UP.

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH
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SOUTH VIETNAMESE NEGOTIATORS REPORT FIRST KISSINGER BRIEFING

XXCC

FR PARIS: SOUTHVIETNAMESE DELEGATION,
(AMBASSADOR) PHAM DANG LAM
20 NOV 72 2120H

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENCY; ((PRESIDENTIAL
ADSSISTANT)) HOANG DUC NHA
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS -- 26/PDVN/TM

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DEFISSY

WITH AMBASSADOR PHUONG BAC AND NGUYEN XUAN PHONG, WE MET TODAY WITH (DR. HENRY A.) KISSINGER AT 1830 HOURS. KISSINGER INFORMED US THAT HIS MEETING WITH LE DUC THO LASTED FROM 1030 HOURS TO 1600 HOURS. LE DUC THO OPENED THE SESSION WITH A LONG STATEMENT IN WHICH HE ACCUSED THE UNITED STATES OF HAVING BROKEN ITS PROMISE TO SIGN THE AGREEMENT ON 31 OCTOBER. KISSINGER RESPONDED BY RECALLING THAT IT HAD BEEN CLEARLY SPECIFIED THAT EVERYTHING WHICH WAS AGREED TO BETWEEN HIM AND LE DUC THO WAS TO BE REFERRED TO SAIGON. AT THE RESUMPTION OF THE SESSION ((IN THE)) AFTERNOON, LE DUC THO ASKED KISSINGER WHAT CHANGES OUR SIDE DESIRED TO MAKE TO THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT. KISSINGER THEN GAVE A LISTING OF THE SIXTY - NINE MODIFICATIONS WHICH WE HAVE REQUESTED, THE LIST WHICH WAS GIVEN ((TO GENERAL HAIG)) BY ((U.S. AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH)) BUNKER AT SAIGON. LE DUC THO TOOK NOTE ((OF OUR LIST)) WITH SARCASTIC COMMENT ON THE SO-CALLED TECHNICAL NATURE OF THESE MODIFICATIONS. IN HIS TURN LE DUC THO ASKED KISSINGER HOW THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES IN LAOS AND CAMBODIA COULD COINCIDE WITH A CEASEFIRE IN SOUTH VIETNAM. "WITH SIMULTANEOUS STATEMENTS ((ANNOUNCING A CEASEFIRE)) BY BOTH SIDES", ANSWERED KISSINGER. LE DUC THO ALSO POSED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONTROL COMMISSIONS AND ABOUT THE MANNER IN WHICH THE U.S. ENVISIONED THE REPATRIATION OF THE POW'S. ON THE FIRST POINT, KISSINGER INSISTED UPON THE NECESSITY FOR SIGNING OF DIFFERENT PROTOCOLS AT THE SAME TIME AS THE ((SIGNING OF)) THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT. DURING THE BREAK BETWEEN SESSIONS, KISSINGER BROUGHT TO LE DUC THO'S ATTENTION THE PRIME IMPORTANCE WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OF ((THE REPUBLIC)) OF VIETNAM ATTACHED TO THE QUESTION OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE SATISFACTORY SETTLEMENT OF THIS QUESTION WOULD FACILITATE THE SOLUTION OF OTHER PROBLEMS. LE DUC THO LET IT BE UNDERSTOOD THAT IF WE RAISED THIS QUESTION HE WOULD AGAIN OPEN THAT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. WE MADE THE OBSERVATION THAT THESE WERE TWO DIFFERENT PROBLEMS. IN ANY CASE, ((SHOULD)) HANOI COMMIT ITSELF TO WITHDRAWING ALL THEIR TROOPS, THE LIBERATION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS COULD BE EXAMINED.

PARTICULARLY REGARDING THE WITHDRAWAL OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS AND THE CNCR ((NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CONCORD AND RECONCILIATION)) HERE ARE THE MODIFICATIONS PROPOSED BY KISSINGER:

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FM DIR NSA

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH
XXMMENP02F0072326
3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

SOUTH VIETNAMESE NEGOTIATIONS REPORT FIRST KISSINGER BRIEFING

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THIS FORM FOR INTERNAL AGENCY USE ONLY

ON THE QUESTION OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS, KISSINGER PROPOSED TWO FORMULATIONS AT THE SAME TIME, NAMELY:

1. THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FORCES -- U.S., ALLIED, AND NON-SOUTH VIETNAMESE; ((AND))

2. A DEMOBILISATION OF TROOPS ON A ONE-FOR-ONE BASIS AND RETURNING THEM TO THEIR PLACE OF BIRTH.

MOREOVER, THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE ARMED FORCES OF EACH COUNTRY MUST REMAIN WITHIN THEIR NATIONAL FRONTIERS WAS ALSO PROPOSED IN THE CHAPTER ((REFERRING TO)) LAOS AND CAMBODIA. ACCORDING TO KISSINGER THE COMMUNIST SIDE WOULD BE OBLIGED TO ACCEPT AT LEAST ONE OF THESE THREE FORMULAS.

CONCERNING THE CNCR, THE MODIFICATIONS PROPOSED HAVE BEEN ((BUT)) TREATED ((AS FOLLOWS)):

1. THE DESIGNATION IN VIETNAMESE -- WHICH BECOMES "ADMINISTRATIVE ORGAN" RATHER THAN "GOVERNING APPARATUS."

2. THE COMPOSITION -- TO REPLACE THE THREE COMPONENTS BY REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL POLITICAL INCLINATIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

3. THE FUNCTION-- IT WILL BE SPECIFIED THAT THE CNCR WILL HAVE AS ITS PRINCIPAL TASK THE ORGANIZING OF ELECTIONS, ((AND)) IN ADDITION, THE PROMOTION OF THE APPLICATION OF THE AGREEMENT FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD AND DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES ((INCLUDING A REFERENCE TO MAINTAINING THE CEASEFIRE AND THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE)).

MOREOVER, KISSINGER PROPOSED PURELY AND SIMPLY THE PHRASE RELATIVE TO THE INSTALLATION OF THE COMMITTEES AT LOWER LEVELS.

IN CASE OF A REFUSAL BY NORTH VIETNAM, HE WILL THEN PROPOSE OUR FORMULA, NAMELY ((THAT)) AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CNCR, THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES WILL DISCUSS THE DETAILS OF THE ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTION OF THE CNCR.

KISSINGER LET US KNOW THAT THE ONLY MODIFICATION ASKED BY US WHICH HE DID NOT PRESENT TO LE DUC THO ((WAS THAT)) CONCERNING THE ICCS FOR THE REASON ALREADY MENTIONED IN OUR CABLE YESTERDAY.

KISSINGER ASSURED US THAT WE CAN COUNT ON INDONESIA. KISSINGER WILL MEET WITH ((INDONESIAN PRESIDENT)) SUHARTO IN BRUSSELS ON WEDNESDAY MORNING AND WILL TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO PRESS INDONESIA TO INSTALL AN EMBASSY IN SAIGON AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

I LET KISSINGER KNOW THAT WE ARE NO LONGER INSISTING ON THE CANDIDACY OF JAPAN AS A MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE BUT THAT WE STILL INSIST ON THE PARTICIPATION BY CAMBODIA AND LAOS. KISSINGER REPEATED THAT NEITHER LON NOL NOR SOUVANNA PHOUMA WISHED TO PARTICIPATE IN IT. HE AGAIN ASKED UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES HOW WE PLAN TO HAVE THESE TWO COUNTRIES PARTICIPATE.

TOMORROW AFTERNOON LE DUC THO WILL GIVE HIS RESPONSE TO THE SIXTY-NINE REQUESTS FOR MODIFICATIONS. KISSINGER AGAIN CAUTIONED US AGAINST THE ILLUSION THAT THE COMMUNIST SIDE WILL ACCEPT ALL OR MOST OF THESE MODIFICATIONS. KISSINGER ASKED US TO PLAN RIGHT NOW ON COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS. IN ANY CASE HE NEEDS TO KNOW THE ANSWER OF OUR GOVERNMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE REACTIONS OF LE DUC THO WILL HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO US. IN THE MEANTIME

KISSINGER ASKED US TO COMMUNICATE TO HIM BEFORE WEDNESDAY A MEMORANDUM BY OUR GOVERNMENT ON THE DRAFT PROTOCOLS ((REGARDING)) ICCS AND THE JOINT MILITARY COMMISSIONS, WHICH HE PROMISED TO DELIVER TO LE DUC THO ON ((WEDNESDAY)) AT THE LATEST.

XXHH

820

#3702

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

CLASSIFIED

NNNN

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~
~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

(4)

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

PZCZCEXC923

ZZ [] #3025 3261500

ZNY MMNSH

Z 211455Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) ENGLISH

XXMMENP01F0072326

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

AVS,AVN,KUS/FORP/B,D.

SAIGON GIVES INSTRUCTIONS TO REPRESENTATIVES IN PARIS CONCERNING KISSINGER-TWO TALKS

XXCC

FR SAIGON: HOANG DUC NHA ((SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT)) 21 NOV 72 1830
TO PARIS: DELEGATION -- 3300/PTI/BI/TM

TOP SECRET.

REFERENCE YOUR CABLE NR. 026/PDVN((1)). I HAVE WELL UNDERSTOOD CONTENT OF FIRST MEETING. ANYWAY WE CANNOT GIVE IMMEDIATE ANSWERS TO WHAT U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS REQUESTED. ON THE CONTRARY WE SHOULD INSIST HARD ON OUR CRUCIAL POINTS. HANOI AND U.S. GOVERNMENT ARE TRYING TO GET OUT ON THE SPOT APPROVAL. I THINK THAT YOURSELF, SPECIAL ASSISTANT ((NGUYEN PHU)) DUC((2)), AMBASSADORS ((TRAN KIM)) PHUONG((3)) AND ((VUONG VAN)) BAC((4)) SHOULD SQUEEZE THE MOST NEWS OUT OF KISSINGER AFTER EACH MEETING SO THAT WE AT HOME HAVE ALL THE DATA TO WORK WITH. ((C VAL TODAY)) PLAY THE GAME REAL COOL. AS FOR DEEP BACKGROUNDERS((SIC)) TO PRESS OR FRIENDLY CIRCLES SUGGEST:

1. INTENSIFY THEM.
 2. DRIVE HARD ON MERIT OF NIXON DOCTRINE NOW ESPECIALLY IN THE LIGHT OF THIS AGREEMENT. HIT ON CENTRAL POINT NAMELY, ARE THE LIVES OF FIVE HUNDRED POW'S WORTH THE RISK OF SACRIFICING SEVENTEEN MILLION AND A HALF SOUTH VIETNAMESE?
 3. ON QUESTION WHETHER U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL BE ABLE TO GET BACK ITS POW'S SUGGEST YOU THROW OUT HYPOTHESIS ACCORDING TO WHICH GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM MIGHT BE WILLING TO EXCHANGE ALL ITS NORTH VIETNAMESE POW'S NAMELY THIRTY EIGHT THOUSAND AGAINST FIVE HUNDRED AMERICAN POW'S. BEST REGARDS.
- ((1)) SUBMITTED FOR SERIES CHECK ON 20 NOV 72.
((2)) SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ACCORDING TO COLLATERAL 3 JUL 71. TO ARRIVE IN PARIS WEDNESDAY MORNING, 22 NOV ACCORDING TO 3/00/DOLL-VND/T551-72, 201945Z NOV 72.
((3)) SOUTH VIETNAMESE AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON ACCORDING TO 3/00/VND/T54-72 271501Z JUN 72.
((4)) SOUTH VIETNAMESE AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN, ACCORDING TO COLLATERAL OF 10 JUL 72.

TI 21 NOV 72 1223Z

XXHH

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

#4

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CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

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-HEET

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ZEM

CIVILIANS UNDER CONTRACT WITH COMPANIES WORKING UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE ARMED FORCES (ACCORDING TO HAIG, 35 COMPANIES WILL BE AFFECTED).

CLASSIFIED 2. UNDER THE CNCR ((NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CONCORD AND RECONCILIATION)), THEY REJECTED ALL MODIFICATIONS RELATING TO THE APPELLATION (IN VIETNAMESE AS WELL AS IN ENGLISH), THE COMPOSITION, AND THE FUNCTION (EXCEPT FOR THE REFERENCE TO MAINTAINING THE CEASEFIRE AND PRESERVING THE PEACE), AND MAINTAINED THE LOWER-LEVEL COMMITTEES. MOREOVER, THEY DEMANDED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CNCR WITHIN 15 DAYS, ELECTIONS WITHIN 5 MONTHS, AND, ((MOST)) NOTEWORTHY, THE RESIGNATION OF PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) 2 MONTHS BEFORE THE ELECTIONS. IN ADDITION, THEY MAINTAINED THE TERM GENERAL ELECTIONS AND THE CLAUSE "FROM THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE CEASEFIRE TO THE FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT" INSTEAD OF "TO THE COMPLETION OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS," AS PROPOSED BEFORE.

CLASSIFIED 3. ON THE SUBJECT OF THE DMZ, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE REFUSED ANY REFERENCE TO ARTICLE XXIV OF THE GENEVA ACCORDS AND PROPOSED INSTEAD THE FOLLOWING NEW WORDING, WHICH REPLACES THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF ARTICLE X: "AS STIPULATED BY THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS ON VIETNAM, THE MILITARY DEMARCATION LINE BETWEEN THE TWO ZONES AT THE 17TH PARALLEL IS ONLY PROVISIONAL AND NOT A POLITICAL OR TERRITORIAL BOUNDARY. PENDING REUNIFICATION, SOUTH AND NORTH VIETNAM SHALL RESPECT THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE AND ((C VAL DECIDE)) THE MODALITIES FOR THE MOVEMENT ACROSS THE PROVISIONAL MILITARY DEMARCATION LINE."

CLASSIFIED CONCERNING POW'S, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ARE NOW TYING THE LIBERATION OF U.S. PRISONERS TO A SIMULTANEOUS RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, AS LE DUC THO GAVE KISSINGER TO UNDERSTAND YESTERDAY DURING THE BREAK.

CLASSIFIED ON THE OTHER POINTS, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ARE ALSO MAINTAINING THE ORIGINAL TEXT. THUS, THEY REFUSE TO RESTORE THE WORDS "USED UP" WITH RESPECT TO THE REPLACEMENT ((OF WAR)) MATERIEL, WITHOUT GIVING ANY EXPLANATION. THEY REFUSED TO OMIT THE WORD "THREE" FROM THE PHRASE "THREE INDOCHINESE COUNTRIES." ACCORDING TO HAIG THEY DO NOT, NONETHELESS, SEEM TO INSIST ON MAINTAINING THIS TERM.

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CLASSIFIED ON CHAPTER I, ARTICLE I, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE REFUSED TO CHANGE PLACES AND AGREED ONLY TO THE MODIFICATION SAYING THAT THE INDEPENDENCE, UNITY, ((AND)) SOVEREIGNTY OF VIETNAM WILL BE RESPECTED BY ALL COUNTRIES AND NOT SOLELY BY THE U.S.

CLASSIFIED CONCERNING THE PREAMBLE, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE DEMAND THAT THE FOUR SIGNATORY PARTIES BE DESIGNATED PARTICULARLY AS IN THE INITIAL TEXT. IN ADDITION THEY REFUSE TO HAVE U.S.- DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM RELATIONS MADE THE OBJECT OF A SEPARATE BILATERAL AGREEMENT.

CLASSIFIED FINALLY, THEY WOULD NOT AGREE TO SIGN THE PROTOCOLS AT THE SAME TIME AS THE AGREEMENT, SEEING IT AS A MANEUVER BY THE U.S. TO DELAY THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT.

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FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

ZEM

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH/ENGLISH

3/00/DOLL-VND/T-72

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD WILL
ORGANIZE FREE AND DEMOCRATIC GENERAL ELECTIONS PROVIDED FOR
IN ARTICLE XI.B AND DECIDE THE PROCEDURES AND MODALITIES OF
THESE ELECTIONS. THE INSTITUTIONS FOR WHICH THE GENERAL ELECTIONS
ARE TO BE HELD WILL BE AGREED UPON THROUGH CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN
THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES. THE GENERAL ELECTIONS WILL BE
HELD WITHIN FIVE MONTHS OF THE CEASE-FIRE. TWO MONTHS BEFORE THE
GENERAL ELECTIONS MR. NGUYEN VAN THIEU WILL RESIGN. THE NATIONAL
COUNCIL OF RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD WILL ALSO DECIDE THE
PROCEDURES AND MODALITIES OF SUCH LOCAL ELECTIONS AS THE TWO
SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES AGREE UPON.

"ARTICLE XIII. THE QUESTION OF VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES IN SOUTH
VIETNAM SHALL BE SETTLED BY THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES IN
A SPIRIT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD, EQUALITY, AND
MUTUAL RESPECT, WITHOUT FOREIGN INTERFERENCE, IN ACCORDANCE
WITH THE POSTWAR SITUATION. AMONG THE QUESTIONS TO BE DISCUSSED
BY THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES ARE STEPS TO REDUCE THE
EFFECTIVES OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE TWO PARTIES AND TO
DEMOBILIZE THE TROOPS BEING REDUCED.

"ARTICLE XIV. SOUTH VIETNAM WILL PURSUE A FOREIGN POLICY OF PEACE
AND INDEPENDENCE, RESPECT THE MILITARY PROVISIONS OF THE 1954
GENEVA AGREEMENTS ON VIETNAM, WHICH PROHIBIT THE JOINING OF ANY
MILITARY ALLIANCE OR MILITARY BLOC OR THE MAINTENANCE BY FOREIGN
POWERS OF MILITARY BASES, TROOPS, MILITARY ADVISERS AND MILITARY
PERSONNEL ON ITS TERRITORY; IT WILL MAINTAIN RELATIONS WITH ALL

TI 22 NOV 72 05 15Z

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Q #0667

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PP [REDACTED]
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WCOMP ALFA

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AS #0001

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A995ZCZCKAA995DDF300

PP [REDACTED]
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ZNY MMNSH

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U S GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1972-460-250
CLASSIFIED WORKS

PRB 900 6.

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

RELEASED FOR TRANSMISSION

NOV 22 10 12

ZZ [REDACTED]
 DE [REDACTED] #0666 3270901
 ZNY MMNSH
 Z 220900Z NOV 72 ZYH
 FM DIRNSA
 TO WHITE HOUSE
 ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ SECTION ONE OF TWO
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 VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH/ENGLISH

3/00/DOLL-VND/T-72

SOUTH VIETNAMESE FORWARD TEXTS OF NEW ARTICLES PROPOSED BY
 LE DUC THO IN PARIS

FR: PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR)) PHAM
 DANG LAM -- 22 NOV 72 0300

TO: SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))
 HOANG DUC NHA; AND FOREIGN MINISTRY FLASH 28/PDVN/TM
 PURSUANT TO OUR TELEGRAM NUMBER 27/PDVN/TM OF 22 NOVEMBER 1972:
 ((1)) ((B. VAL HERE ARE)) THE TEXTS OF THE NEW ARTICLES VIII AND
 IX PROPOSED BY LE DUC THO. THE FORMER ARTICLE IX BECOMES THE
 NEW ARTICLES IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, AND IV IN THE NORTH
 VIETNAMESE DRAFT.

"CHAPTER III. CAPTURED AND DETAINED PERSONNEL OF THE PARTIES.
 "ARTICLE VIII.A. THE RETURN OF MILITARY AS WELL AS CIVILIAN
 PERSONNEL CAPTURED AND DETAINED IN VIETNAM SHALL BE CARRIED OUT
 SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH AND COMPLETED ON THE SAME DAY AS THE TROOP
 WITHDRAWAL MENTIONED ((C VAL IN)) ARTICLE V. THE PARTIES SHALL
 EXCHANGE COMPLETE LISTS OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED CAPTURED AND
 DETAINED PERSONNEL ON THE DAY OF THE SIGNING OF THIS AGREEMENT.
 "B. THE PARTIES SHALL HELP EACH OTHER TO GET INFORMATION ABOUT
 THOSE MILITARY AS WELL AS CIVILIAN PERSONNEL OF THE PARTIES
 MISSING IN ACTION TO DETERMINE THE LOCATION AND TAKE CARE OF THE
 GRAVES OF THE DEAD SO AS TO FACILITATE THE EXHUMATION AND
 REPATRIATION OF THE REMAINS AND TO TAKE SUCH OTHER MEASURES AS
 MAY BE REQUIRED TO GET INFORMATION ABOUT THOSE STILL CONSIDERED
 MISSING IN ACTION.

"CHAPTER IV. THE EXERCISE OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S
 RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

"ARTICLE IX. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF
 VIETNAM AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S.A. UNDERTAKE TO RESPECT
 THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES FOR THE EXERCISE OF THE SOUTH VIET-
 NAMESE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

"A. THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION
 IS SACRED ((AND)) INALIENABLE AND SHALL BE RESPECTED BY ALL
 COUNTRIES.

"B. THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE SHALL DECIDE THEMSELVES THE
 POLITICAL FUTURE OF SOUTH VIETNAM THROUGH GENUINELY FREE AND
 DEMOCRATIC GENERAL ELECTIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION.

"C. THE UNITED STATES DECLARES THAT IT RESPECTS THE SOUTH VIET-
 NAMESE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION; IT IS NOT COMMITTED
 TO ANY POLITICAL TENDENCY OR TO ANY PERSONALITY IN SOUTH VIETNAM
 AND IT DOES NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE A PRO-AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN
 SAIGON.

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#6

"ARTICLE X. THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES UNDERTAKE TO RESPECT THE CEASEFIRE AND MAINTAIN PEACE IN SOUTH VIETNAM, SETTLE ALL MATTERS OF CONTENTION THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, AND AVOID ALL ARMED CONFLICT.

"ARTICLE XI. IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CEASE-FIRE, THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES WILL ACHIEVE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD AND ((XMD)) HATRED AND ENMITY, PROHIBIT ALL ACTS OF REPRISAL AND DISCRIMINATION AGAINST INDIVIDUALS OR ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE COLLABORATED WITH ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER; ENSURE THE DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE, PERSONAL FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, FREEDOM OF MEETING, FREEDOM OF ORGANIZATION, FREEDOM OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, FREEDOM OF BELIEF, FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE, FREEDOM OF WORK, RIGHT TO PROPERTY OWNERSHIP, AND RIGHT TO FREE ENTERPRISE.

"ARTICLE XII. IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CEASEFIRE, THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES SHALL HOLD CONSULTATIONS IN A SPIRIT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD, EQUALITY, MUTUAL RESPECT, AND MUTUAL NON-ELIMINATION TO SET UP AN ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE, CALLED THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD, OF THREE EQUAL SEGMENTS. THE COUNCIL SHALL OPERATE ON THE PRINCIPLE OF UNANIMITY. AFTER THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD HAS ASSUMED ITS FUNCTIONS, COUNCILS AT A LOWER LEVELS WILL BE FORMED. THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES SHALL FORM THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD WITHIN 15 DAYS AND SIGN AN AGREEMENT ON INTERNAL MATTERS OF SOUTH VIETNAM AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, NOT LATER THAN 3 MONTHS AFTER THE CEASEFIRE COMES INTO EFFECT, IN KEEPING WITH THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S ASPIRATIONS FOR PEACE, INDEPENDENCE, AND DEMOCRACY.

"G. THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD HAS THE TASK OF PROMOTING THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES' IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SIGNED AGREEMENTS, ACHIEVEMENT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD, AND ENSURING DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES.

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DE #0667 3270901

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH/ENGLISH
3/00/DOLL-VND/T-72

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD WILL ORGANIZE FREE AND DEMOCRATIC GENERAL ELECTIONS PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE XI.B AND DECIDE THE PROCEDURES AND MODALITIES OF THESE ELECTIONS. THE INSTITUTIONS FOR WHICH THE GENERAL ELECTIONS ARE TO BE HELD WILL BE AGREED UPON THROUGH CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES. THE GENERAL ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD WITHIN FIVE MONTHS OF THE CEASE-FIRE. TWO MONTHS BEFORE THE GENERAL ELECTIONS MR. NGUYEN VAN THIEU WILL RESIGN. THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD WILL ALSO DECIDE THE PROCEDURES AND MODALITIES OF SUCH LOCAL ELECTIONS AS THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES AGREE UPON.

"ARTICLE XIII. THE QUESTION OF VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES IN SOUTH VIETNAM SHALL BE SETTLED BY THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES IN A SPIRIT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD, EQUALITY, AND MUTUAL RESPECT, WITHOUT FOREIGN INTERFERENCE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE POSTWAR SITUATION. AMONG THE QUESTIONS TO BE DISCUSSED BY THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES ARE STEPS TO REDUCE THE EFFECTIVES OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE TWO PARTIES AND TO DEMOBILIZE THE TROOPS BEING REDUCED.

"ARTICLE XIV. SOUTH VIETNAM WILL PURSUE A FOREIGN POLICY OF PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE, RESPECT THE MILITARY PROVISIONS OF THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS ON VIETNAM, WHICH PROHIBIT THE JOINING OF ANY MILITARY ALLIANCE OR MILITARY BLOC OR THE MAINTENANCE BY FOREIGN POWERS OF MILITARY BASES, TROOPS, MILITARY ADVISERS AND MILITARY PERSONNEL ON ITS TERRITORY; IT WILL MAINTAIN RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS, ACCEPT ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL AID FROM ANY COUNTRY, WITH NO POLITICAL CONDITIONS ATTACHED. THE ACCEPTANCE OF MILITARY AID BY SOUTH VIETNAM IN THE FUTURE SHALL COME UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT SET UP AFTER THE GENERAL ELECTIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM DESCRIBED ON ARTICLE IX B."

((1)) 3/00/DOLL-VND/T-72, IN PROCESS; MESSAGE REPORTS BRIEFING BY GENERAL ALEXANDER M. HAIG ADVISING AMBASSADOR LAM OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND ROUND OF TALKS BETWEEN DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER AND LE DUC THO.

TI 22 NOV 72 0515Z

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#0667

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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DE #8252 3271640

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FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FO SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

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THE USE OF THIS COMPARTMENTED ITEM IN A TOP SECRET CODEWORD

PUBLICATION, THE PRECISE COMINT SOURCE OR TARGET (WHICHEVER

IS SENSITIVE) SHOULD BE CONCEALED TO THE MAXIMUM DEGREE POSSIBLE

AND NO REFERENCE SHOULD BE MADE TO THE NSA DELTA REFERENCE SERIAL.

IN ALL OTHER CASES, THIS MATERIAL MUST BE MAINTAINED UNDER DELTA

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DOLL-VND. PLEASE ADVISE IF ANY LIMITATIONS OVER AND ABOVE

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) ENGLISH

XXMMENP01FOO 72327

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

AVS,AVN,KUS/FORP/.

SAIGON INSTRUCTS ITS SPECIAL TASK FORCE IN PARIS CONCERNING

PROPOSED MODIFICATIONS TO DRAFT PEACE PROPOSAL

XXCC

FR SAIGON: ((PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;

PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

HOANG DUC NHA 22 NOV 72 - -

TO PARIS: ((SOUTH VIETNAMESE

DELEGATION)) IMMEDIATE 2738/PTT/BI/TM

TOP SECRET.

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

#7

CLASSIFIED

YOU THAT I HAVE WELL RECEIVED AND UNDERSTOOD THEIR CONTENT. AFTER REPORTING TO PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) AND NSC ((THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL)), I CONVEY TO YOUR TASK FORCE THE FOLLOWING DECISIONS:

CLASSIFIED

1. WE TAKE NOTE OF NORTH VIETNAM'S REJECTION OF OUR PROPOSED MODIFICATIONS. THIS SHOWS THE STRONG INTRANSIGENCE OF NORTH VIETNAM IN THE FACE OF OUR GOODWILL.

CLASSIFIED

2. THE GVN ((GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM)) REALIZES THAT NORTH VIETNAM HAS NOT SHOWN ANY GOODWILL IN CONSIDERING OUR MODIFICATIONS IN THE PRINCIPLES AS WELL AS IN THE DETAILS. CONSEQUENTLY, WE BELIEVE THAT AS LONG AS THE TWO BASIC PRINCIPLES, NAMELY THE NORTH VIETNAM TROOPS AND THE CNRC ((NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CONCORD AND RECONCILIATION)), WHICH WE HAVE SUGGESTED ARE NOT BEING RESOLVED, AND AS LONG AS NORTH VIETNAM IGNORES OUR POINTS AND MAINTAINS THEIRS, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM TO CONSIDER THE OTHER POINTS WHICH NORTH VIETNAM HAS JUST PROPOSED. IN OTHER WORDS, IF NORTH VIETNAM MAINTAINS ((ITS)) INTRANSIGENCE, THEN WE CANNOT SOLVE THE WHOLE PROBLEM.

CLASSIFIED

ONLY WHEN THEY SOLVE OUR TWO BASIC PROBLEMS CAN WE SEE SOME HOPE FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF OTHER POINTS; NAMELY THE QUESTION OF THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE, REFERENCE TO "USED UP" ((WAR MATERIALS)), AND LOCATION OF CHAPTER ONE. ALSO, THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY AND REASON TO GO INTO THE DETAILS WHEN THE BASIC PRINCIPLES ARE NOT BEING RESOLVED.

CLASSIFIED

3. PLEASE COMMUNICATE THOSE VIEWS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT SIDE.

CLASSIFIED

4. I TAKE THIS OCCASION TO STRESS AGAIN THAT AS THE TASK FORCE OVER THERE, YOU ((ARE TO)) REPORT BACK HOME YOUR ASSESSMENTS AND PROPOSITIONS REGARDING POINTS WE CAN CONSIDER FOR MODIFICATIONS, OF COURSE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE BASIC PRINCIPLES ARE MET. AT HOME NSC WILL ALSO ASSESS AND CONSIDER MODIFICATION ((OF THE)) OTHER POINTS I MENTIONED PREVIOUSLY. I WOULD THEN FLY OVER THERE TO BRING LATEST INSTRUCTIONS. BUT I STRESS HERE THAT I WILL COME ONLY WHEN NORTH VIETNAM SHOWS GOODWILL AND RESOLVES OUT TWO MAIN PRINCIPLES. BEST REGARDS

((1)) BOTH MESSAGES WERE SUBMITTED FOR SERIES CHECK 22 NOV 72.

XXHH

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#8252

*****AAG7KAA0077C7CKA0007DFA782

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U.S.C.,
MENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

CLASSIFIED

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

8.

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

ZCZCEXC046

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ZNY MMNSH

Z 221635Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FO SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

WARNING: THE COMINT CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNUSUALLY SENSITIVE. IF A USIB MEMBER (OR HIS SPECIALLY DESIGNATED DEPUTY) APPROVES THE USE OF THIS COMPARTMENTED ITEM IN A TOP SECRET CODEWORD PUBLICATION, THE PRECISE COMINT SOURCE OR TARGET (WHICHEVER IS SENSITIVE) SHOULD BE CONCEALED TO THE MAXIMUM DEGREE POSSIBLE AND NO REFERENCE SHOULD BE MADE TO THE NSA DELTA REFERENCE SERIAL. IN ALL OTHER CASES, THIS MATERIAL MUST BE MAINTAINED UNDER DELTA SECURITY CONTROLS.

TRANSMITTED HERewith IS A SOUTH VIETNAMESE DIPLOMATIC MESSAGE. NORMAL DISTRIBUTION FOR THIS MESSAGE IS IN THE DELTA SUBSERIES DOLL-VND. PLEASE ADVISE IF ANY LIMITATIONS OVER AND ABOVE EXISTING DELTA RESTRICTIONS ARE REQUIRED. THIS MESSAGE WAS TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) ENGLISH

XXMMENP01FO072327

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

AVS,AVN,KUS/FORP/.

SAIGON INSTRUCTS ITS SPECIAL TASK FORCE IN PARIS CONCERNING PROPOSED MODIFICATIONS TO DRAFT PEACE PROPOSAL

XXCC

FR SAIGON: ((PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;
PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

HOANG DUC NHA 22 NOV 72 - -

TO PARIS: ((SOUTH VIETNAMESE
DELEGATION)) IMMEDIATE 2738/PTT/BI/TM

CLASSIFIED

CLASSIFIED

CLASSIFIED

REFERENCE YOUR CABLES 27 AND 28/PDVN.((1)) I WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT I HAVE WELL RECEIVED AND UNDERSTOOD THEIR CONTENT. AFTER REPORTING TO PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) AND NSC ((THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL)), I CONVEY TO YOUR TASK FORCE THE FOLLOWING DECISIONS:

1. WE TAKE NOTE OF NORTH VIETNAM'S REJECTION OF OUR PROPOSED MODIFICATIONS. THIS SHOWS THE STRONG INTRANSIGENCEANCE OF NORTH VIETNAM IN THE FACE OF OUR GOODWILL.

2. THE GVN ((GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM)) REALIZES THAT NORTH VIETNAM HAS NOT SHOWN ANY GOODWILL IN CONSIDERING OUR MODIFICATIONS IN THE PRINCIPLES AS WELL AS IN THE DETAILS. CONSEQUENTLY, WE BELIEVE THAT AS LONG AS THE TWO BASIC PRINCIPLES, NAMELY THE NORTH VIETNAM TROOPS AND THE CNRC ((NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CONCORD AND RECONCILIATION)), WHICH WE HAVE SUGGESTED ARE NOT BEING RESOLVED, AND AS LONG AS NORTH VIETNAM IGNORES OUR POINTS AND MAINTAINS THEIRS, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM TO CONSIDER THE OTHER POINTS WHICH NORTH VIETNAM HAS JUST PROPOSED. IN OTHER WORDS, IF NORTH VIETNAM MAINTAINS ((ITS)) INTRANSIGENCEANCE, THEN WE CANNOT SOLVE THE WHOLE PROBLEM. ONLY WHEN THEY SOLVE OUR TWO BASIC PROBLEMS CAN WE SEE SOME HOPE FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF OTHER POINTS; NAMELY THE QUESTION OF THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE, REFERENCE TO "USED UP" ((WAR MATERIALS)), AND LOCATION OF CHAPTER ONE. ALSO, THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY AND REASON TO GO INTO THE DETAILS WHEN THE BASIC PRINCIPLES ARE NOT BEING RESOLVED.

3. PLEASE COMMUNICATE THOSE VIEWS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT SIDE.

4. I TAKE THIS OCCASION TO STRESS AGAIN THAT AS THE TASK FORCE OVER THERE, YOU ((ARE TO)) REPORT BACK HOME YOUR ASSESSMENTS AND PROPOSITIONS REGARDING POINTS WE CAN CONSIDER FOR MODIFICATIONS, OF COURSE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE BASIC PRINCIPLES ARE MET. AT HOME NSC WILL ALSO ASSESS AND CONSIDER MODIFICATION ((OF THE)) OTHER POINTS I MENTIONED PREVIOUSLY. I WOULD THEN FLY OVER THERE TO BRING LATEST INSTRUCTIONS. BUT I STRESS HERE THAT I WILL COME ONLY WHEN NORTH VIETNAM SHOWS GOODWILL AND RESOLVES OUT TWO MAIN PRINCIPLES. BEST REGARDS.

((1)) BOTH MESSAGES WERE SUBMITTED FOR SERIES CHECK 22 NOV 72.

XXHH

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#8252

#8

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CLASSIFIED BY 3811

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972

in the meaning of the Espionage Laws, Title 18, U.S.C., an unauthorized person is prohibited by law

SE ONLY

~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

NNNN

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

ZCZCEXC048

ZZ [] #8581/8295 3271829

ZNY MMNSH

Z 221825Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

SECTION ONE OF TWO

EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

WARNING: THE COMINT CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNUSUALLY SENSITIVE. IF A USIB MEMBER (OR HIS SPECIALLY DESIGNATED DEPUTY) APPROVES THE USE OF THIS COMPARTMENTED ITEM IN A TOP SECRET CODEWORD PUBLICATION, THE PRECISE COMINT SOURCE OR TARGET (WHICHEVER IS SENSITIVE) SHOULD BE CONCEALED TO THE MAXIMUM DEGREE POSSIBLE AND NO REFERENCE SHOULD BE MADE TO THE NSA DELTA REFERENCE SERIAL. IN ALL OTHER CASES, THIS MATERIAL MUST BE MAINTAINED UNDER DELTA SECURITY CONTROLS.

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) ENGLISH

KXMMENP01F0072327

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

AVS, AVN, KUS/FORP/.

SAIGON MAKES INITIAL ASSESSMENT OF PROPOSED NORTH VIETNAMESE CHANGES TO DRAFT PEACE PROPOSAL

XXCC

FR SAIGON: OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT;
((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

HOANG DUC NHA 22 NOV 72 2200

TO PARIS: AMBASSADOR PHAM DANG LAM IMMEDIATE 3308/PTT/BI/TM

TOP SECRET

REFERENCE YOUR CABLES 27 AND 28/PDVN. ((1)) I WISH TO CONVEY TO YOU OUR PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT ON THE CHANGES PROPOSED BY NORTH VIETNAM:

1. WE REMAIN FIRM ON THE PROBLEMS OF NORTH VIETNAM TROOP WITHDRAWAL AND THE CNRC ((COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD)). AS I HAVE INDICATED IN MY TELEGRAMS 3275, DATED 19 NOVEMBER, ((2)) AND 2711, DATED 20 NOVEMBER, ((3)) WE TAKE CARE OF NORTH VIETNAM TROOPS BY FIRST THE WITHDRAWAL OF NVA AS NON-SOUTH VIETNAMESE FORCES AND SECOND BY DEMOBILIZATIONS AND SENDING ((TROOPS)) BACK TO THEIR NATIVE PLACES. WE INSIST ON ADMINISTRATIVE ORGAN IN CHARGE OF ELECTIONS FOR THE CNRC AND NOT THE NCNRC ((NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD)). WE DELETE THE REFERENCE TO THREE EQUAL SEGMENTS. WE ALSO DELETE THE REFERENCE TO THE ENSURING OF DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES, PERSONAL FREEDOM, ETC. BECAUSE WE VIEW THAT, IN CASE OF AN AGREEMENT, WE ARE STILL ENTITLED TO GOVERN OUR COUNTRY WITH OUR EXISTING LAWS. WE DELETE GENERAL AND REPLACE IT BY NATIONWIDE. WE DO NOT AGREE ON A TIME FRAME FOR THOSE ELECTIONS.

2. AS FOR THE NORTH VIETNAM DEMAND TO LINK THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS OF WAR TO POLITICAL PRISONERS, WE VIEW THIS AS OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND ((WE BELIEVE)) THAT THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES WILL SOLVE THIS QUESTION BETWEEN THEMSELVES.

#9

3. ON THE QUESTION OF THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE, WE HAD PROPOSED ALMOST THE SAME WORDING BUT WE INSIST ON CHANGING ITS PLACE. NORTH VIETNAM WANTED IT TO BE PUT BACK IN THE ORIGINAL PLACE BECAUSE THEY CONSIDER THAT ONLY THE U.S. AND THE DRV ((DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM)) ((WILL)) SIGN THIS AGREEMENT. WE INSIST ON THE WORD PERMANENT BEFORE POLITICAL. HOWEVER, WE MIGHT CONSIDER THE REST OF THE STATEMENT.

4. WE ARE FIRM ON DELETING THE REFERENCE TO THREE INDOCHINESE STATES.

5. ON THE PREAMBLE, WE MAINTAIN OUR WORDING, NAMELY, THE PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON VIETNAM.

6. WE MAINTAIN THAT THE CHAPTER RELATING TO U.S.-DRV RELATIONS SHOULD BE A SEPARATE AGREEMENT WHICH THE GVN ((GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM)) MIGHT ACKNOWLEDGE.

7. THE PRECEDING ARE JUST OUR PRELIMINARY REACTIONS CONCERNING THE PROPOSED CHANGES BY NORTH VIETNAM. AS INDICATED IN MY TELEGRAM 2738((4)) WE SHOULD NOT ENGAGE IN THE WORKING OUT OF DETAILS WHEN OUR BASIC POINTS ARE NOT RESOLVED. IN OTHER WORDS, WE CANNOT AS OF NOW ANSWER THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE U.S. AS TO KNOWING WHAT POINTS WE ARE GOING TO STICK TO, WHAT POINTS WE MIGHT COMPROMISE, AND WHAT POINTS WE MIGHT DROP. AS YOU HAVE RIGHTLY POINTED OUT TO ((GEN. ALEXANDER M.)) HAIG, WE ARE NOT TRYING TO STALL FOR TIME; RATHER, NORTH VIETNAM IS BEING EXTREMELY INTRANSIGENT. FROM YOUR WORKING SESSIONS WITH US AT HOME, YOU AND THE TASK FORCE OVER THERE CAN ANSWER THE U.S. SIDE ON OUR BASIC POINTS. HOWEVER, IN THE MEANTIME CABLE BACK YOUR PROPOSED MODIFICATIONS ON POINTS YOU DEEM CAN BE CHANGED.

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#8582/8295 3271829

ZNY MMNSH

Z 221825Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MC MANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

FINAL SECTION OF TWO

EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) ENGLISH

XXMMENP02F0072327

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

AVS, AVN, KUS/FORP/.

SAIGON MAKES INITIAL ASSESSMENT OF PROPOSED SAIGON NORTH VIETNAMESE CHANGES TO DRAFT PEACE PROPOSAL

XXCC

8. ON THE ICCS AND PROTOCOL COMMISSIONS, OUR TECHNICAL STAFF IS STILL WORKING ON OUR OWN VERSIONS WHICH, WHEN COMPLETED, WILL BE FORWARDED TO YOU AS WELL AS TO THE U.S.

9. NGUYEN PHU DUC((5)) WILL BE BRINGING YOU THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT AS REVISED BY THE GVN AND WILL POINT OUT CLEARLY OUR CHANGES AND THE REASONS FOR THOSE CHANGES.

((1)) BOTH ITEMS WERE SUBMITTED FOR SERIES CHECK ON 22 NOV 72.

((2)) AN UNPUBLISHED MESSAGE, AVAILABLE IF REQUIRED, IN WHICH SAIGON INFORMED PARIS THAT A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT NIXON TO PRESIDENT THIEU DID NOT CONTAIN ANYTHING NEW AND WAS ESSENTIALLY WHAT GENERAL HAIG TOLD THIEU.

((3)) SUBMITTED FOR SERIES CHECK 20 NOV 72.

((4)) SUBMITTED FOR SERIES CHECK 22 NOV 72.

((5)) SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT, SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE IN PARIS ON THE EVENING OF 22 NOV 72, ACCORDING TO 3/00/VND/T98-72, IN PROCESS.

TI 22 NOV 72 1516Z

XXHH

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#8582

~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

NNNN

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

RELEASED FOR TRANSMISSION
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FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

TRANSMITTED HERewith IS A SOUTH VIETNAMESE DIPLOMATIC
MESSAGE. PLEASE ADVISE IF ANY LIMITATIONS ON DISTRIBUTION ARE
REQUIRED. THIS MESSAGE WAS TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.
SOUTH VIETNAMESE NEGOTIATOR IN PARIS REQUESTS TEXT OF

NIXON LETTER TO SAIGON AND RESPONSE

FR PARIS: DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR)) PHAM DANG LAM 18 NOV 72 1725

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; SPEDAL

ASSISTANT HOANG DUC NHA ROUTINE 32/PDVN/TM

PLEASE CABLE US THE ESSENTIAL POINTS OF THE RECENT LETTER ((FROM U.
S. PRESIDENT))

NIXON DELIVERED BY ((AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH)) BUNKER ON WEDNESDAY AND OUR

RESPONSE TO THIS LETTER.

TI 18 NOV 72 1623Z

120

#0655

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CLASSIFIED

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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Z 22220Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIR NSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMDRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) CIPHER ((ENGLISH))

XXMMENP01F0072327

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

AVS,AVN,KUS/FORP/.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE COMMENTS ON PRESIDENT NIXON'S LETTER TO THIEU

XXCC

FR SAIGON: OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT;

((PRESIDENTIAL SSISTANT)) HOANG

DUC NHA 19 NOV 72

TO PARIS: AMBASSADOR PHAM DANG LAM IMMEDIATE --

REFERENCE YOUR C BLE 22/PDVN/TM.((1)) I WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT NIXON'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) DID NOT CONTAIN ANYTHING NEW. IT IS ESSENTIALLY WHAT HAIG TOLD PRESIDENT ((THIEU)). IN OTHER WORDS U.S. GOVERNMENT MAINTAINS ITS POSITION ON THE PRINCIPAL POINTS NAMELY THE TROOPS WITHDRAWAL AND THE CNRC ((NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CONCORD ND RECONCILIATION)) WITH THREE EQUAL COMPONENTS. WE HAVE SENT U.S. GOVERNMENT MEMO DATED NOVEMBER EIGHTEEN IN WHICH WE OUTLINE OUR POSITION AND WE HAVE ALSO GIVEN U.S. GOVERNMENT OUR VERSION OF DRAFT AGREEMENT. IT IS BASICALLY WHAT ((THE)) TASK FORCE HAD WRITTEN ON OCTOBER 26 PLUS SOME MINOR CHANGES. A SPECIAL EMISSARY WILL BE BRINGING YOU THOSE DOCUMENTS MONDAY. I HAVE TO STAY HERE TO HOLD THE FORT.

BEST REGARDS.

((1)) IN PROCESS OF PUBLICATION.

TI 19 NOV 72 0406Z

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CLASSIFIED

CLASSIFIED

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CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

U S GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1972-460-250

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ZNY MMNSH

Z 230148Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE/ (ATTN: MR. D. MC MANIS) (FOR A SERIES CHECK.)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

TRANSMITTED HERewith IS A SOUTH VIETNAMESE DIPLOMATIC MESSAGE. PLEASE ADVISE IF ANY LIMITATIONS ON DISTRIBUTION ARE REQUIRED. THIS MESSAGE WAS TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) / FRENCH

SOUTH VIETNAMESE AMBASSADOR IN PARIS REPORTS ON FIRST OF TWO 22
NOVEMBER MEETINGS WITH MR. KISSINGER

PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR)) PHAM CANG

DTG 22 NOV 72 2400

#12

SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((SPECIAL ASSISTANT))

NHA; AND FOREIGN MINISTRY

TOP SECRET.

WE HAD TWO MEETINGS TODAY WITH ((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER, AT 1245 HOURS AND AT 1945

HOURS RESPECTIVELY. BEFORE ((C VAL AND)) AFTER HIS MEETING WITH LE DUC THO.

DURING THE FIRST MEETING KISSINGER INFORMED US OF WHAT HE PLANS TO DO AT TODAY'S SESSION

WITH LE DUC THO: HE IS RETURNING TO THE QUESTION OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOP WITHDRAWALS AND

HOPES TO OBTAIN AN AGREEMENT ON TWO OF THE THREE FORMULATIONS PROPOSED.

HE WILL REJECT THE NEW NORTH VIETNAMESE WORDING IN ARTICLE VIII,

WHICH LINKS THE LIBERATION

OF POW'S TO THE

FREEING OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. ON THE CNCR ((COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD))

HE HAS RESIGNED HIMSELF TO THE FORMER ENGLISH TERM "ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE," FOR

WHICH THE VIETNAMESE TRANSLATION WILL BE "CON CAAU HANH CHANH."

CONCERNING THE COMPOSITION

OF THE CNCR, HE WILL TRY AGAIN ((WITH THE)) FORMULA: "REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL PLITICAL

TENDENCIES IN SOUTH VIETNAM, WHOSE MEMBERS SHALL BE CHOSEN EQUALLY BY THE TWO PARTIES."

IN AS MUCH AS THE COMMUNISTS REFUSE TO OMIT THE PHRASE RELATING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF

LOWER LEVEL COMMITTEES, HE WILL PROPOSE REPLACING

THIS PHRASE WITH: "AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT

OF THE CNCR, THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES WILL DISCUSS DETAILS OF ORGANIZATION AND

FUNCTION OF THIS ORGANIZATION." IN ADDITION, HE SHOWED US A NEW FORMULA

CONCERNING THE DMZ

((DEMILITARIZED ZONE)), WHICH HE INTENDS TO SUBMIT TO LE DUC THO.

AS WE MADE RESERVATIONS ON

THIS FORMULA, HE AGREED TO POSTPONE ((PRESENTATION)) WHILE WAITING

FOR US TO GIVE HIM OUR

FORMULATION. CONCERNING "GENERAL ELECTIONS", KISSINGER RECALLED THAT THE

NORTH

VIETNAMESE REJECTED THE TERM "NATIONAL" UNDER THE PRETEXT THAT

THIS WORD CONVEYED THE IDEA

OF THE AREA RATHER THAN THE NATURE OF THE ELECTIONS. ACCORDING TO

LE DUC THO, PROVINCIAL

ELECTIONS ORGANIZED ((C VAL OVER)) ALL ((1 WD G)) TERRITORY COULD BE

CALLED "NATIONAL

ELECTIONS." TO AVOID THE TERM "GENERAL ELECTIONS," WE COULD SPEAK OF

"ELECTIONS FOR

NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS." HOWEVER, KISSINGER FEELS THAT THIS FORMULA

BRINGS TO MIND MORE

((THE IDEA OF)) CONSTITUANT ELECTIONS AND THAT, AFTER ALL, IT WOULD BE BETTER TO OPT FOR THE TERM "GENERAL ELECTIONS."

BEFORE FINISHING, KISSINGER INSISTED ON HIS NEED TO KNOW AS

SOON AS POSSIBLE AND IN

GOOD TIME, OUR GOVERNMENT'S COMMENTS ON THE NORTH VIETNAMESE

RESPONSES AND AGAINST THE U.S. PROPOSALS.

A TELEGRAM ON THE SECOND MEETING WITH KISSINGER WILL FOLLOW. WE CALL YOUR ATTENTION

PARTICULARLY TO THE TENOR OF OUR SECOND MEETING WITH KISSINGER.

TI 22 NOV 72 2300Z

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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ZZ [REDACTED] #0656 3280333

ZNY MMNSH

Z 230333Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE/ (ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROL ITEM~~

3/00/VND/T

-72

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VIETNAMESE

ENGLISH

(SOUTH)

SOUTH VIETNAMESE PROFESSOR REPORTEDLY ARRIVES IN PARIS

FROM THE U.S.

FR SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

DTC 23 NOV 72 1020H

HOANG DUC NHA

ORIG PREC FLASH

TO PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; AMBASSADOR PHAM DANG LAM

ORIG SERIAL 2739/PTT/B

I UNDERSTAND THAT PROFESSOR NGUYEN TIEN NHUNG HAS ARRIVED FROM THE U.S.A. TO SEE YOU

AND GENERAL ((TRAN VAN)) DON. PLEASE TELL HIM TO COMMUNICATE WITH ME VIA CODED CABLE OR SPECIAL COURIER. BEST REGARDS.

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RELEASED FOR TRANSMISSION

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR. D. MCANIS/FOR A SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET URBAN DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ SECTION ONE OF TWO
TRANSMITTED HERewith IS A DELTA CONTROLLED MESSAGE. PLEASE
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ARE REQUIRED. THIS MESSAGE WAS TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE
ONLY.

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

3/00/DOLL-VND/T-72

SOUTH VIETNAMESE NEGOTIATOR REPORTS ON SECOND 22 NOVEMBER
MEETING WITH MR. KISSINGER IN PARIS

FR: PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR)) PHAM DANG
LAM 23 NOV 72 0100

TO: SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT)) HOANG
DUC NHA; AND FOREIGN MINISTRY IMMEDIATE 30/PDVN/TM

TOP SECRET.

KISSINGER BEGAN BY ASKING US WHETHER WE HAD RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS
FROM SAIGON. WE THEN INFORMED HIM OF THE TENOR OF YOUR MESSAGE
NUMBER 2738 PTT/BI/TM OF 22 NOVEMBER.

WE STRESSED THAT IN VIEW OF THE INTRANSIGENCE AND TOTAL ABSENCE
OF GOODWILL ((ON THE PART OF THE)) COMMUNIST SIDE, WE FEEL THAT
WE MUST HOLD TO OUR POSITION ON THE TWO KEY PROBLEMS. THESE TWO
PROBLEMS MUST BE RESOLVED (C VAL BEFORE) WE ARE ABLE TO APPROACH
THE OTHERS.

((THIS EVOKED)) A COMPLETELY UNEXPECTED REACTION ON THE PART OF
KISSINGER, WHO LAUNCHED INTO A VIOLENT ATTACK AGAINST WHAT HE
CALLED AN ORGANIZED PRESS AND RADIO CAMPAIGN PRESENTLY BEING
CARRIED ON IN SAIGON AIMED AT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND HIM
PERSONALLY, AS WELL AS AGAINST OUR STRATEGY IN THE MATTER OF
NEGOTIATIONS. THIS STRATEGY IS BASED, ((ACCORDING TO)) HIM, ON
TWO FALSE POSTULATES, NAMELY: "FIRST, PRESIDENT NIXON DOES NOT
MEAN WHAT HE SAYS AND, SECOND, HIS EMISSARY (KISSINGER) MISREPRE-
SENTS HIS VIEWS.

HE ALLUDED TO THE SENDING OF SPECIAL ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU DUC TO
WASHINGTON. KISSINGER BELIEVES THAT OUR GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO
MANEUVER TO GAIN TIME, A MANEUVER WHICH HE TERMED SUICIDAL.

HE REPROACHED OUR GOVERNMENT'S NON-COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE AND
CITED AS AN EXAMPLE THE FACT THAT THE PROTOCOLS WERE COMMUNICATED
TO OUR GOVERNMENT BY ((THE U.S. DEPUTY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR,
GENERAL ALEXANDER M.)) HAIG, MORE THAN 2 WEEKS AGO AND THAT WE
HAVE NOT YET MADE KNOWN OUR POINT OF VIEW.

HE ALSO STRESSED THE FACT THAT ((EITHER)) WE DO NOT WANT TO OR
WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO GIVE HIM THE POINTS OF COMPROMISE OR TO
INDICATE TO HIM WHAT IS ESSENTIAL FOR US AND WHAT IS NOT ((ESSENTIAL))
AMONG THE 69 REQUESTS FOR MODIFICATIONS, IN ORDER TO ALLOW HIM
TO CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS.

ACCORDING TO HIM, SAIGON SENDS THREE AMBASSADORS JUST TO
SUPERVISE WHEN IT REALLY NEEDS SOMEONE WITH THE POWER TO MAKE
QUICK DECISIONS ON THE SPOT. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, HE
WARNED US THAT HE WILL BE OBLIGED TO GO AHEAD AND NEGOTIATE
"ACCORDING TO MY BEST JUDGMENT." HE INFORMED ((US)) THAT HE
RECEIVED PRECISE INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRESIDENT NIXON ON THIS
SUBJECT.

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AT THE MEETING THIS AFTERNOON HE ALREADY SUBMITTED TO NORTH VIETNAM THE DRAFT PROTOCOL AS A WORKING DOCUMENT. THE RESULT, ACCORDING TO HIM, WILL BE THAT WE WILL FIND OURSELVES FACED WITH A FAIT ACCOMPLI AS ((WE DID)) 6 WEEKS AGO. THIS TIME WE WILL NOT HAVE ANY VALID REASON TO ACCUSE THE U.S. OF NEGOTIATING WITHOUT CONSULTING US.

ACCORDING TO KISSINGER, TWO CASES COULD ARISE: EITHER LE DUC THO WILL MAINTAIN HIS TOTAL REFUSAL TO MODIFY THE DRAFT AGREEMENT, OR, WHAT IS MORE PROBABLE, HE WILL END UP, AS ON 8 OCTOBER, MAKING (B VAL CONCESSIONS). IN THE FIRST CASE, SAIGON WILL HAVE GAINED A TACTICAL VICTORY BY SUCCEEDING IN IMPEDING THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT, BUT THE EFFECT OF THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS WILL NOT BE SLOW IN REVEALING ITSELF AS DISASTROUS WHEN CONGRESS RECONVENES THE FIRST OF NEXT JANUARY. IN THE SECOND CASE THE U.S. WILL HAVE NO OTHER CHOICE BUT TO ACCEPT THE COMPROMISE SOLUTION, EVEN IF THIS SOLUTION IS NOT SATISFACTORY TO US. IT WILL THEN BE TOO LATE FOR US TO STOP THE COURSE OF EVENTS. IN SHORT, KISSINGER IS LETTING US CHOOSE WHETHER TO COOPERATE WITH HIM BY MAKING OUR POINTS OF VIEW KNOWN DURING THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS OR TO RISK HAVING TO ACCEPT A FAIT ACCOMPLI. HE CONSIDERS AN OPEN CONFRONTATION BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND SAIGON AS INEVITABLE IF THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE CARRIED OUT WITHOUT OUR COLLABORATION.

AFTER KISSINGER HAD FINISHED HIS LENGTHY OUTBURST, WE EXPRESSED OUR SURPRISE ON THE SUBJECT OF HIS REACTION AND REMINDED HIM THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT ((OF SOUTH)) VIETNAM HAS NEVER BEEN QUESTIONED, AND THAT WE ARE HERE TO COOPERATE.

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR. D. MC MANIS/FOR A SERIES CHECK)
 ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ FINAL SECTION OF TWO
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 ONLY.

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH
 3/00/DOLL-VND/T-72

WE INFORMED KISSINGER THAT WE CONSIDER AS UNFAIR THE UNFOUNDED
 ATTACKS AGAINST OUR GOVERNMENT; INDEED, ((THERE IS)) NOTHING
 ((WHICH)) PERMITS ((HIM)) TO ASSERT THAT OUR GOVERNMENT IS
 TRYING TO BUY TIME. ALSO, AT NO TIME DID WE CALL INTO QUESTION
 THE WORDS OF PRESIDENT NIXON OR THOUGHT THAT KISSINGER HAD
 EXCEEDED NIXON'S INSTRUCTIONS. THE FACT IS THAT THE KEY
 PROBLEMS ARE SO VITAL TO US THAT WE ARE OBLIGED TO HOLD
 FIRMLY TO OUR POSITION ON THEM.

WE REMINDED HIM ALSO THAT IN RECENT WEEKS WE HAVE SUBMITTED TO
 THE U.S. GOVERNMENT MANY MEMORANDA CONTAINING ALTERNATIVES ON
 VARIOUS PROBLEMS. THAT IN ITSELF IS SUFFICIENT PROOF OF OUR
 DESIRE TO COOPERATE.

KISSINGER REPLIED BY SAYING THAT THE POSITIONS EXPOSED IN THESE
 MEMORANDA ARE MAXIMUM POSITIONS, ON WHICH WE CANNOT HOPE TO
 OBTAIN COMPLETE SATISFACTION. HE REPEATED THAT HE NEEDS TO KNOW
 NOW JUST HOW FAR WE CAN GO IN THE WAY OF COMPROMISE ON EACH
 IMPORTANT QUESTION AND THE LESS IMPORTANT POINTS, WHICH COULD
 ((B VAL FINALLY)) BE ABANDONED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A PACKAGE
 DEAL.

WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT DESPITE THE APPARENT INTRANSIGENCE
 ((B VAL OF LE DUC THO)), THE U.S. AND NORTH VIETNAM WILL REACH AN
 AGREEMENT WHICH WILL BE A LITTLE BETTER THAN THE PRESENT DRAFT,
 BUT WHICH WOULD NOT CORRESPOND WITH WHAT WE DESIRE, WHETHER WE
 LIKE IT OR NOT. KISSINGER'S ACCUSATIONS AND WARNINGS, WHICH WE HAVE
 NOTED, ((B VAL WERE)) INTENDED TO JUSTIFY ACTIONS OF THE U.S. IN
 SUCH AN EVENTUALITY. TO AVOID FURNISHING SUCH A PRETEXT, WE
 SUGGEST:

1. CENTERING OUR PROPAGANDA AGAINST COMMUNIST INTRANSIGENCE.
2. DROPPING THE LESS IMPORTANT POINTS IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO HOLD
 TO THE TWO KEY QUESTIONS. THESE INCLUDE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE
 COMPOSITION OF THE ICCS; PARTICIPATION BY CAMBODIA AND LAOS
 IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE; THE FORMULA FOR "COMPLETION OF
 THE POLITICAL PROCESS;" ARTICLE VII, ((ON THE)) RELATIONSHIP
 ((BETWEEN THE)) U.S. AND THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM;
 ARTICLES XVI AND XVII; AND EVEN THE DESIGNATION OF PARTIES IN
 THE PREAMBLE.

ON OTHER POINTS: CONCERNING, FOR EXAMPLE, THE TERM "GENERAL
 ELECTIONS," WE FEEL THAT WE CAN ACCEPT THE WORD "GENERAL"
 IF WE OBTAIN SATISFACTION ON THE CNCR, IT BEING WELL UNDERSTOOD
 THAT WE REJECT ALL OTHER COMMUNIST DEMANDS CONCERNING THE RESIG-
 NATION OF PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) AT A SET TIME BEFORE THE ELECTIONS,
 ETC.; OR, FOR EXAMPLE, THE QUESTION OF THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL
 PRISONERS WHICH WE CAN TIE ((1 WD G)) AGREEMENT BY NORTH VIET-
 NAM TO WITHDRAW ALL NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS.

WE HOPE TO RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

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~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

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TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

SECTION ONE OF TWO

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

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3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

SAIGON INSTRUCTS PARIS NEGOTIATORS REGARDING KISSINGER-THO MEETINGS

XXCC

FR ((SAIGON:)) PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;

((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

HOANG DUC NHA 23 NOV 72 1900

TO PARIS: ((DELEGATION)); AMBASSADOR

PHAM DANG LAM IMMEDIATE 2749/PTT/BI/TM

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CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

U.S. GOVERNMENT

TOP SECRET.

PURSUANT TO YOUR CABLE 30/PDVN OF 22 NOVEMBER:

1. THE GOVERNMENT ((OF SOUTH)) VIETNAM REAFFIRMS AND ASKS YOU TO COMMUNICATE TO ((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER OUR POSITION ON NEGOTIATIONS IN PROGRESS. AS LONG AS THE TWO FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS-- NAMELY, THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS AND THE FORMATION OF THE CNCR -- ARE NOT RESOLVED, WE FEEL THAT IT IS NOT USEFUL TO ENTER INTO THE DETAILS OF THE OTHER POINTS. HANOI'S INTRANSIGENCE HAS PUT US IN A DEAD END SITUATION. PLEASE TELL KISSINGER PLAINLY THAT WE ASK HIM TO DISCUSS WITH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE THE TWO FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS ON WHICH WE HAVE EXPRESSED OUR DISTINCT POSITION IN OUR RECENT MEMORANDUM GIVEN TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ON 18 NOVEMBER LAST AND THAT WE DEMAND AN ANSWER FROM HANOI ((1 WD G)) (B VAL ON THE TWO) KEY POINTS. ONCE THESE TWO POINTS ARE RESOLVED, IT WILL MORE USEFUL TO DISCUSS THE OTHER POINTS, SUCH AS THE STATUS OF THE DMZ ((DEMILITARIZED ZONE)), THE WORDING OF ARTICLE I, ETC. IF HANOI CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN THAT NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS HAVE THE RIGHT TO REMAIN IN THE SOUTH, ON THE ONE HAND, AND IF THEY CONTINUE TO KEEP ((THE WORDING)) "COW CAU CHINH QUYEN", ((1)) THE THREE EQUAL COMPONENTS, ETC., ON THE OTHER, THEN THE GOVERNMENT ((OF SOUTH)) VIETNAM WILL NOT BE ABLE TO PUT FORTH ANY MORE INITIATIVES. ON THIS POINT, PLEASE ASK KISSINGER EXPLICITLY WHETHER NORTH VIETNAM HAS (B VAL CONSENTED) OR NOT TO ABANDON THE REFERENCE TO THE THREE EQUAL COMPONENTS.

2. PLEASE ASK KISSINGER ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) AND ((AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH)) BUNKER ON 19 NOVEMBER. IN THIS CONVERSATION PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) ADVANCED THE FOLLOWING IDEA AND ASKED THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO EXPLORE THIS IDEA WITH NORTH VIETNAM. IN A FIRST PHASE BETWEEN NORTH VIETNAM AND SOUTH VIETNAM AND BETWEEN THE COMMUNISTS AND THE ALLIES, THE U.S. AND ALLIED FORCES (B VAL WILL BE) OBLIGED TO WITHDRAW FROM SOUTH VIETNAM WITHIN 60 DAYS, ((AND)) THE NORTH VIETNAMESE FORCES WILL ALSO WITHDRAW COMPLETELY FROM SOUTH VIETNAM WITHIN THE SAME TIME FRAME, WHILE THE FARVN ((ARMED FORCES OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM)) WOULD DEMOBILIZE ITS MANPOWER BY THE SAME NUMBER AS THE TOTAL NUMBER OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS ALREADY WITHDRAWN. IN A SECOND PHASE -- I.E. THE PHASE BETWEEN FARVN AND NLF ((NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT)) TROOPS -- THE FARVN AND NLF TROOPS WILL, GRADUALLY AND WITH THE AGREEMENT OF THE PARTIES, REDUCE THEIR MANPOWER, DEMOBILIZE THE TROOPS THUS REDUCED, AND RETURN THEM TO THEIR PLACE OF BIRTH. THIS REDUCTION AND DEMOBILIZATION WILL BE SIMULTANEOUS AND EQUAL ((IN APPLICATION)) FOR THE GOVERNMENT ((OF SOUTH)) VIETNAM AND THE NLF. PLEASE ASK KISSINGER WHETHER HE HAS INFORMED THE NORTH VIETNAMESE OF OUR IDEA. IF SO, WHAT IS THEIR RESPONSE?

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

FINAL SECTION OF TWO

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH
XXMMENP01F0072328
3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

SAIGON INSTRUCTS PARIS NEGOTIATORS REGARDING KISSINGER-THO MEETINGS

XXCC

3. NIXON HAS SENT A LETTER TO PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) IN THE SAME TONE THAT KISSINGER EMPLOYED WITH YOU. PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) IS GOING TO ANSWER ((THE LETTER)) AND I WILL SEND YOU THE MAIN POINTS ((OF THAT)) RESPONSE.

4. PLEASE COMMUNICATE WITH KISSINGER IMMEDIATELY AFTER RECEIVING THIS TELEGRAM, ACCORDING TO THE INSTRUCTIONS IN PARAGRAPHS 1 AND 2. PLEASE CABLE ME THE RESULTS IMMEDIATELY. ((1)) VIETNAMESE FOR "GOVERNING STRUCTURE."

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

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TO WHITEHOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES C)

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

3/00/VND/T -72

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH --

4 SOUTH VIETNAMESE DENY MEDIA ATTACKS AGAINST KISSINGER

4 SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SECRETARY)) #16

HOANG DUC NHA 24 NOV 72 1020H

TO WASHINGTON: SOUTH VIETNAMESE EMBASSY IMMEDIATE 05757/PTT/BI

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HOANG DUC NHA 24 NOV 72 1820H

TO WASHINGTON: SOUTH VIETNAMESE EMBASSY IMMEDIATE 5757/PTT/BT.

PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE UPI ((UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL)) DISPATCH
ORIGINATED FROM SAIGON ACCORDING TO WHICH RADIO SAIGON HAS PERSONALLY

ATTACKED ((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER, WE WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT

NO SUCH THING HAS TAKEN PLACE. RADIO SAIGON WAS ONLY REVIEWING

THE PRESS VERNACULAR PERTAINING TO NEWS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS,

AND THIS SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS AN ATTACK BY RADIO SAIGON.

PLEASE CLARIFY THIS POINT WITH YOUR COUNTERPARTS.

THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION WILL TAKE STEPS AGAINST UPI FOR DELIBER-
ATELY RELEASING BIASED NEWS.

REGARDS.

TI 24 NOV 72 0222Z

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TO WHITEHOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMAHIS FOR A SERIES C)

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

SECTION ONE OF TWO

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH, ENGLISH --

4
KISSINGER RECAPITULATES LE DUO TWO MEETINGS FOR SOUTH

VIETNAMESE

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#17

FR. PARIS, SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION: ((AMBASSADOR))

PHAM DANG LAN 23 NOV 72 2330Z

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE: ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

HOANG DUC NHA: AND FOREIGN MINISTRY IMMEDIATE 31/PDVN/TM

TOP SECRET.

HERE IS A RECAPITULATION OF THE RESULTS OF THE FOUR KISSINGER--
LE DUC THO MEETINGS, AS PRESENTED TO US AT THE BEGINNING OF OUR MEET-
ING TODAY, THURSDAY, WITH KISSINGER.

WE WILL DRAW YOUR ATTENTION IN PARTICULAR TO THE TENOR OF THIS
MEETING AS THE SUBJECT OF A FOLLOWING TELEGRAM.

WITH REFERENCE TO THE U. S. GOVERNMENT'S REVISED DRAFT
AGREEMENT DATED 14 NOVEMBER (DOCUMENT NO. 4):

1. THE COMMUNISTS REJECTED THE PREAMBLE PROPOSED BY THE U.S. AS
SPECIFIED IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT AND ARE NOW DEMANDING THE OLD
FORM: ((I.E.))

"THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S.A. AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF
VIETNAM AND THE GOVERNMENT ((OF THE)) DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM
AND THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF
SOUTH VIETNAM."

2. CHAPTER I, ARTICLE 1. THE NEW WORDING ACCEPTED BY NORTH

VIETNAM ((IS)): "ALL COUNTRIES SHALL RESPECT THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVER-
EIGNTY, ETC."

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11. NEW ARTICLE 13. THE FORMER ARTICLE 9.H. BECOMES ARTICLE 13.

12. NEW ARTICLE 14. THE FORMER ARTICLE 9.I. BECOMES ARTICLE 14. A

CHANGE WAS AGREED TO BY NORTH VIETNAM. THE WHOLE PHRASE ((FROM)) " I

WILL RESPECT THE MILITARY PROVISIONS ..." TO "... ON ITS TERRITORY"

HAS BEEN OMITTED. THE PHRASE FOLLOWING BECOMES: " I WILL BE PRE-

PARED TO MAINTAIN RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES IRRESPECTIVE

OF THEIR POLITICAL OR SOCIAL SYSTEMS ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL RESPECT

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TO WHITEHOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMAHON FOR A SERIES C)

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

FINAL SECTION OF TWO

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

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MESSAGE WAS TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

4 VIETNAMESE (OUTH) FRENCH, ENGLISH --

FOR SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE." THE REST ((REMAINS)) UNCHANGED.

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13. CHAPTER V. NEW ARTICLE 13. THE FORMER ARTICLE 10, ALTERED TO MAKE ALLOWANCE FOR OUR PROPOSALS AND NORTH VIETNAM'S COUNTERPROPOSALS, BECOMES THE NEW ARTICLE 13, THUSLY WORDED: "ARTICLE 13. THE REUNIFICATION OF VIETNAM SHALL BE CARRIED OUT STEP BY STEP THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS, ON THE BASIS OF DISCUSSIONS AND AGREEMENTS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM WITHOUT COERCION OR ANNEXATION BY EITHER PARTY AND WITHOUT FOREIGN INTERFERENCE. THE TIME FOR REUNIFICATION WILL BE AGREED UPON BY NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM. PENDING REUNIFICATION, THE MILITARY DEMARCATION LINE BETWEEN THE TWO

ZONES AT SEVENTH ((SIC)) PARALLEL IS ONLY PROVISIONAL AND NOT A POLITICAL OR TERRITORIAL BOUNDARY, AS PROVIDED IN PARAGRAPH 6 OF THE FINAL DECLARATION OF THE 1954 GENEVA CONFERENCE. SOUTH AND NORTH VIETNAM SHALL RESPECT THE DMZ ((DEMILITARIZED ZONE)) ON EITHER SIDE OF THE PROVISIONAL DEMARCATION LINE. SOUTH AND NORTH VIETNAM SHALL PROMPTLY START NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF NORMAL RELATIONS IN VARIOUS FIELDS. SOUTH AND NORTH VIETNAM ((B VAL SHALL)) NOT JOIN ANY MILITARY ALLIANCE OR MILITARY BLOC AND SHALL NOT ALLOW FOREIGN POWERS TO MAINTAIN MILITARY BASES, TROOPS, MILITARY ADVISERS, AND MILITARY PERSONNEL ON THEIR RESPECTIVE TERRITORIES, AS STIPULATED IN THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS ON VIETNAM."

4. CHAPTER VI. NEW ARTICLE 16, ALIAS FORMER ARTICLE 11, PARAGRAPH

A. HERE THE COMMUNISTS AGREED TO MENTION ONLY THE PARTIES PART-

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DESIGNATED PARTICULARLY THE FOUR SIGNATORIES, AS IN THE PREAMBLE.

15. NEW ARTICLE 17. THE FORMER ARTICLE 12 BECOMES THE NEW ARTICLE 17 WITHOUT CHANGE.

16. NEW ARTICLE 18, ALIAS FORMER ARTICLE 13. THE ONLY CHANGE IS

THE OMISSION OF THE WORD "GUARANTEE" FROM THE EXPRESSION

"INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE CONFERENCE" IN PARAGRAPHS B AND C. IN

PARAGRAPH E OF THE SAME ARTICLE, REPLACE "THE PRINCIPLE OF RESPECT

FOR SOVEREIGNTY" BY "RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGNTY

OF SOUTH VIETNAM" ON THE NORTH VIETNAMESE PROPOSAL. IN PARAGRAPH

H OF THE SAME ARTICLE, IN THE LAST PHRASE REPLACE "THE INTERNATIONAL

GUARANTEE CONFERENCE" WITH "THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE PROVIDED

FOR IN ARTICLE 19."

17. NEW ARTICLE 19, ALIAS FORMER ARTICLE 14. IN THE SECOND

PARAGRAPH, AFTER "THE U. S. A. AND THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

OF VIETNAM", ADD "ON BEHALF OF THE PARTIES PARTICIPATING

IN THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON VIETNAM, WILL PROPOSE, ETC."

18. CHAPTER VII, NEW ARTICLE 26, ALIAS FORMER ARTICLE 15. PARA-

GRAPH (C VAL A) ((WILL BE)) MODIFIED AS FOLLOWS: "THE PARTIES

PARTICIPATING IN THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON VIETNAM SHALL STRICTLY

RESPECT THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS ON

CAMBODIA AND THE 1962 GENEVA AGREEMENTS ON LAOS AND THE

CAMBODIAN AND LAO PEOPLE'S FUNDAMENTAL NATIONAL RIGHTS AS

RECOGNIZED THEREIN I. E., THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, UNITY,
AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE COUNTRIES. THEY SHALL RESPECT THE
NEUTRALITY OF CAMBODIA AND LAOS.

"THE PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON VIETNAM
UNDERTAKE TO (C VAL REFRAIN) FROM USING THE TERRITORY OF CAMBODIA
AND THE TERRITORY OF LAOS TO ENCROACH ON THE SOVEREIGNTY AND
SECURITY OF ONE ANOTHER AND OF OTHER COUNTRIES."

IN PARAGRAPH D OF THE SAME ARTICLE, THE WORD "THREE" IS
OMITTED FROM THE EXPRESSION "THE THREE INDOCHINESE COUNTRIES."

19. NEW ARTICLE 21. THE FORMER ARTICLES 16 AND 17 BECOME THE
NEW ARTICLES 21 AND 22, WITHOUT CHANGE.

20. CHAPTER IX. THE FORMER ARTICLE 18 BECOMES THE NEW ARTICLE

23. THE LAST PHRASE, "SUBSEQUENTLY A FRENCH TEXT WILL BE PREPARED
FOR REFERENCE," HAS BEEN OMITTED.

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18

~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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Z 241329 NOV 72

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMSRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

WARNING: THE COMINT CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNUSUALLY SENSITIVE.
IF A USIB MEMBER (OR HIS SPECIALLY DESIGNATED DEPUTY) APPROVES

THE USE OF THIS COMPARTMENTED ITEM IN A TOP SECRET CODEWORD PUBLICATION, THE PRECISE COMINT SOURCE OR TARGET (WHICHEVER IS SENSITIVE) SHOULD BE CONCEALED TO THE MAXIMUM DEGREE POSSIBLE AND NO REFERENCE SHOULD BE MADE TO THE NSA DELTA REFERENCE SERIAL. IN ALL OTHER CASES, THIS MATERIAL MUST BE MAINTAINED UNDER DELTA SECURITY CONTROLS.

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH, ENGLISH
XXMMENP01FO072329
3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

AMBASSADOR LAM IN PARIS RESPONDS TO QUERY BY PRESIDENT THIEU'S SPECIAL ASSISTANT

XXCC
FR PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE
DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR)) PHAM
DANG LAM 23 NOV 72 2400H
TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;
((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))
HOANG DUC NHA FLASH 33/PDVN/TM

TOP SECRET.

REFERENCE YOUR TELEGRAM NUMBER 2762/PTT/ST DATED 24 NOV 72.

WE PUT THAT QUESTION TO KISSINGER YESTERDAY ((AND)) HE RESPONDED THAT LE DUC THO HAD REJECTED IT ENTIRELY, AS ((HE DID)) THE SIMPLE FORMULA "ON THE BASIS ONE FOR ONE AND RETURN TO THEIR NATIVE PLACES."

TI 24 NOV 72 0943Z

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~~TOP SECRET INHERA~~

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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FM DIRNSA

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VIETNAMESES (SOUTH) FRENCH --

SOUTH VIETNAMESE REPORT TONE OF KISSINGER BRIEFING, FEW SIGNI-
FICANT NORTH VIETNAMESE CONCESSIONS IN DRAFT CHANGES

FR PARIS: DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR)) -- 24 NOV 72 0230Z

PHAM DANG LAM

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;

FLASH 32/PDVN?TM

((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

HOANG DUC NHA; ALSO SENT TO

FOREIGN MINISTRY

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TOP SECRET.

IN A TONE VERY GRAVE AND DIFFERENT FROM THAT WHICH HE EMPLOYED
YESTERDAY, ((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER INFORMED US THAT, CONTRARY
TO HIS EXPECTATIONS, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE MADE NO IMPORTANT
CONCESSIONS TODAY EXCEPT THOSE CONCERNING THE DMZ ((DEMILITARIZED
ZONE)) AND PROVISIONS ON CAMBODIA AND LAOS. HE RECOGNIZES THAT
AFTER FOUR MEETINGS WITH LE DUC THO, HE HAS BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN
ONLY A FEW MODIFICATIONS, ROUGHLY SPEAKING, ASIDE FROM THE NEW
WORDING ON THE DMZ, WHICH, WITHOUT BEING TOTALLY SATISFACTORY, IS
BETTER THAN THE FORMER TEXT, AND ON CAMBODIA AND LAOS, WHICH
MENTIONS EXPRESSLY THE OBLIGATIONS OF NORTH VIETNAM DERIVED
((FROM THE)) GENEVA AGREEMENTS OF 1954 AND 1962, THE OTHER SIGN-
IFICANT CHANGES CONCERN:

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1. ARTICLES 1 AND 9.C., WHICH NO LONGER REFER PARTICULARLY TO THE
U.S.

2. ARTICLE 7-- RESTORATION OF THE WORDS "DESTROYED" AND "USED UP",
REFERING TO THE REPLACEMENT OF WAR MATERIEL.

3. ARTICLE 12.B. THE FUNCTIONS OF THE CNCR ((COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL
RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD)) NO LONGER INCLUDE "MAINTENANCE OF
CEASEFIRE AND PRESERVATION OF PEACE."

4. ARTICLE 14. BETTER WORDING.

5. ARTICLE 20. NORTH VIETNAM AGREED TO OMIT THE WORD "THREE" FROM
"THREE INDOCHINESE COUNTRIES." KISSINGER INFORMED US THAT LE DUC
THO GAVE HIM TO UNDERSTAND THAT WE SHOULD NOT EXPECT ANY FURTHER
"CONCESSIONS" ON THE PART OF NORTH VIETNAM. KISSINGER URGENTLY
REQUESTED THAT WE EXPLAIN TO OUR GOVERNMENT THE EXTREMELY SERIOUS
SITUATION THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT ((OF SOUTH))
VIETNAM ARE IN BECAUSE OF THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS.

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THREE POSSIBILITIES ARE TO BE CONSIDERED, ACCORDING TO KISSINGER.

FIRST OPTION: WE MAINTAIN OUR POSITION IN FULL, THUS RISKING A
BREAKDOWN IN NEGOTIATIONS. IN THIS CASE THE WAR WILL CONTINUE WITH
THE PRESENT U.S. SUPPORT FOR 2 OR 3 MONTHS, AFTER WHICH WE CAN BE
CERTAIN THAT MILITARY ASSISTANCE COULD NO LONGER BE MAINTAINED.

SECOND OPTION: WE ARE SATISFIED WITH WHAT WE HAVE OBTAINED ON
CONDITION THAT NORTH VIETNAM GIVES ((US)) SATISFACTION ON A FEW
ADDITIONAL POINTS. KISSINGER THINKS THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO
REQUEST THE REINTRODUCTION OF THE FORMULA FOR DEMOBILIZATION
ON A ONE-FOR-ONE BASIS (BUT WITHOUT REFERENCE TO "RETURN TO THEIR

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ADDITIONAL POINTS. KISSINGER THINKS THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO REQUEST THE REINTRODUCTION OF THE FORMULA FOR DEMOBILIZATION ON A ONE-FOR-ONE BASIS (BUT WITHOUT REFERENCE TO "RETURN TO THEIR NATIVE PLACES," WHICH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE REJECT CATEGORICALLY), AS WELL AS ADDING THE TERM "EQUALLY APPOINTED BY THE TWO PARTIES" AFTER THE WORDS "THREE EQUAL SEGMENTS." IN ANY CASE, SHOULD THE NORTH VIETNAMESE REFUSAL LEAD TO A BREAKDOWN, WE WILL BE IN A BETTER POSTURE TO DENOUNCE THE COMMUNIST BAD FAITH AND INTRANSIG-

EANCE AND PROVE THAT THE COMMUNISTS DO NOT SINCERELY DESIRE PEACE ((C VAL BUT) ONLY ((DESIRE)) THE DEPARTURE OF THE U.S.

THIRD OPTION: WE ACCEPT THE AGREEMENT IN ITS PRESENT FORM, WITH AN UNDERSTANDING ACCORDING TO WHICH WE AGREE TO FREE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN EXCHANGE ((FOR THE)) DE FACTO WITHDRAWAL OF NORTH VIETNAMESE UNITS IN MR ((MILITARY REGION)) I WITHIN A FRAMEWORK CALLED THE "REDEPLOYMENT OF THE FORCES OF LIBERATION." IN THIS CASE, WE WILL DEMAND THE WITDRAWAL OF THE GREATEST POSSIBLE NUMBER OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS-- 100,000 FOR EXAMPLE. IF THE NORTH VEITNAMESE REFUSE SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING, THEY WILL BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY ((FOR THE)) BREAKDOWN ((IN NEGOTIATIONS)); WHILE IN THE FACE OF PUBLIC OPINION, WE WOULD AT LEAST HAVE MADE THE MAXIMUM PROOF OF OUR GOODWILL.

KISSINGER DOES NOT HIDE HIS PREFERENCE FOR THE SECOND OPTION FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

FIRST, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE A SOLID BASIS FOR CONTINUED ASSISTANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT ((OF SOUTH)) VIETNAM.

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 TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES CHECK)
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SECOND, FOR KISSINGER THE QUESTION OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS
 IS NOT A DECISIVE FACTOR; FOR EVEN IF THE QUESTION IS SETTLED ON
 PAPER, NORTH VIETNAM WILL STILL BE ABLE NOT TO CARRY OUT ((THE
 AGREEMENT)), AS IN THE CASE OF LAOS. ((WHAT IS)) ESSENTIAL IS
 THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IS DETERMINED TO REACT WITH EXTREME
 VIOLENCE AGAINST ANY VIOLATION ((OF THE)) AGREEMENT BY NORTH
 VIETNAM. KISSINGER, IN FACT, LED LE DUC THO TO UNDERSTAND
 CLEARLY THIS POINT ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

SHOULD WE TAKE THE SECOND OPTION, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL
 MAKE A UNILATERAL STATEMENT ON THE QUESTION OF NORTH VIETNAMESE
 TROOPS, FOR WHICH THE DRAFT ((TEXT)) FOLLOWS:

"THE QUESTION OF VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES IN SOUTH VIETNAM--
 "THE U.S., WITH THE CONCURRENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM,
 TAKES NOTE OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS MADE BY SPECIAL ADVISOR
 LE DUC THO IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH DR. KISSINGER:

"ONE FORCES IN SOUTH VIETNAM THAT HAVE COME FROM NORTH
 VIETNAM CONSIST OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE WHO REGROUPED IN NORTH
 VIETNAM PLUS NORTH VIETNAMESE WHO WENT SOUTH AS VOLUNTEERS AND
 ORGANIZED THEMSELVES INTO UNITS. (27 SEPTEMBER 1972)"

"THE REGULAR ARMY OF NORTH VIETNAM IS IN NORTH VIETNAM.
 (27 SEPTEMBER 1972)"

"NOT ONLY SHOULD MILITARY EFFECTIVES BE REDUCED, BUT THE
 SOLDIERS SHOULD BE DEMOBILIZED AND RETURNED TO THEIR NATIVE
 PLACE. (10 OCTOBER 1972)"

"WE PUT DOWN A PROVISION SAYING THAT THE WAY TO REUNIFY
 THE COUNTRY IS THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS AND STEP-BY-STEP RESTORATION
 THROUGH AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. THEN HOW CAN THERE BE A
 USE OF MILITARY MEANS BY ONE SIDE AGAINST THE OTHER SIDE?
 (27 SEPTEMBER 1972)"

"AFTER THE RESTORATION OF PEACE ((Q WD G)) THE ENFORCEMENT
 OF A CEASEFIRE ((C VAL IF THE)) TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES ARE
 BOUND BY A REAL SPIRIT OF PEACE AND WANT TO PRESERVE LASTING
 PEACE; THEN THIS QUESTION CAN BE RESOLVED EASILY. (27 SEPTEMBER 1972)"

"THE U.S., WITH THE CONCURRENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM,
 INTERPRETS THESE STATEMENTS AS MEANING THAT NORTH VIETNAM DOES
 NOT CLAIM THE RIGHT TO MAINTAIN ARMED FORCES IN SOUTH VIETNAM.
 AS FOR THE U.S. AND THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, ARTICLE 13 OF THE
 AGREEMENT, WITH REGARD TO DEMOBILISATION, AND ARTICLE 15, WITH
 REGARD TO THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE, MAKE CLEAR THAT NO OUTSIDE STATE
 HAS THE RIGHT TO MAINTAIN FORCES IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND NO PROVISION

IN THE AGREEMENT IMPLIES SUCH A RIGHT. THIS CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE ESSENTIAL PREMISES ON WHICH THIS AGREEMENT IS BASED."

MANY TIMES KISSINGER INSISTED ON THE FACT THAT CONTINUED SUPPORT BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, CONGRESS, AND ((PUBLIC)) OPINION IS MORE IMPORTANT FOR THE GOVERNMENT ((OF SOUTH)) VIETNAM THAN SATISFACTION CONCERNING CLAUSES IN THE AGREEMENT.

WE REMINDED ((HIM)) THAT IT IS THE NORTH VIETNAMESE INTRANSIGENCE WHICH IS THE CAUSE OF THE PRESENT SERIOUS SITUATION CONCERNING NEGOTIATIONS. KISSINGER STATED THAT HE HAS NO INTENTION OF BLAMING IT ON THE GOVERNMENT ((OF SOUTH)) VIETNAM, BUT THE FACT IS THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT ((OF SOUTH)) VIETNAM ((NOW)) FACE THE NECESSITY OF CHOOSING BETWEEN THESE THREE OPTIONS. WE ALSO STRESSED THAT IT IS MORE DIFFICULT NOW THAN IN OCTOBER TO ACCEPT AN AGREEMENT WHICH ALMOST THE SAME AS THE INITIAL DRAFT. IN EFFECT, ON THE ONE HAND, HANOI HAS ALREADY REVEALED THE TENOR OF THIS AGREEMENT, ((WHILE)) ON THE OTHER HAND, THE POPULATION OF SOUTH VIETNAM HAS MANIFESTED ITS UNANIMOUS OPPOSITION PRINCIPALLY AGAINST THE ABSENCE OF ANY MENTION RELATIVE TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS AND AGAINST THE DISGUISED COALITION FORMULA. WE RECALLED THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HIMSELF STATED THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL NEVER SIGN THE AGREEMENT AS LONG AS THE AMBIGUITIES SUBSIST AND THE VITAL QUESTIONS REMAIN UNRESOLVED, WHICH IS THE CASE WITH THE PRESENT DRAFT, FOLLOWING THE REFUSAL OF COMMUNISTS TO BRING IN THE NECESSARY CHANGES. KISSINGER STATED THAT HE UNDERSTANDS PERFECTLY OUR INTERNAL PROBLEMS, BUT THAT IT IS A MATTER OF CHOICE RENDERED ((VAL INESCAPABLE)) BY POLITICAL REALITIES IN THE U.S.

WE ASKED KISSINGER WHETHER THE CALENDAR GIVEN BY ((U.S. DEPUTY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER)) GENERAL ((ALEXANDER M.)) HAIG, DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO SAIGON, HAD BEEN SENT TO LE DUC THO. HE ANSWERED AFFIRMATIVELY. WE EXPRESSED OUR CONCERN AND POINTED OUT THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE PLAYED AND CONTINUE TO PLAY ON THE DEADLINE SET BY THE U.S. KISSINGER RETORTED BY CLAIMING THAT FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT THERE IS NO DEADLINE EXCEPT THAT OF NEXT 3 JANUARY FIRMLY SET BY NORTH VIETNAMESE.

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TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES CHECK)
IZEM

13/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

HE GAVE US AN APPOINTMENT FOR TOMORROW AT 1830 HOURS AND ASKED US TO BRING THE RESPONSE OF OUR GOVERNMENT ON THE THREE OPTIONS ENUMERATED ABOVE AS WELL AS ANY SUGGESTIONS OUR GOVERNMENT ((MAY HAVE)) FOR MEETING THIS SITUATION.

KISSINGER ADDED THAT, ACCORDING TO HIS SOURCES, HANOI IS MORE
 INTRANSIGENT AT THIS TIME BECAUSE IT IS SURE TO BE ABLE TO PLAY
 ON THE DEADLINE OF 3 JANUARY TO RENDER INEVITABLE A CONFRONTATION
 BETWEEN SAIGON AND WASHINGTON.

IN VIEW OF THE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCES OF ONE OR ANOTHER OF THE THREE OPTIONS LEFT TO US, WE SUGGEST REPLYING TO KISSINGER THAT BOTH THE U.S. AND ((SOUTH)) VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENTS WILL HAVE TO CONSULT EACH OTHER IN ORDER (B VAL TO ARRIVE) AT A COMMON POSITION IN THE FACE OF THIS NEW SITUATION. FOR THIS REASON, ANOTHER SERIES OF MEETINGS BETWEEN KISSINGER AND LE DUC THO MAKES IMPERATIVE THE TIME TO PERMIT CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND SAIGON. THESE CONSULTATIONS CAN BEGIN DURING THE FORTHCOMING VISIT OF SPECIAL ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU DUC IN WASHINGTON.

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TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMAHIS FOR A SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

3/00/VND/Y -72

SOUTH VIETNAMESE REFUSE TO RELEASE POLITICAL

PRISONERS AT SAME TIME AS POW'S

FR PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION;

((AMBASSADOR)) PHAM DANG LAM -- 24 NOV 72 1015H

4 SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

HOANG DUC NHA FLASH 506/PDVN/P

#20

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23 NOVEMBER.

WE WANT TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT ((WITH)) OPTION 2 WE
OF COURSE CONTINUE TO HOLD TO THE POSITION IN ARTICLE 8.C.1
THAT IS, TO REFUSE THE COMMUNIST DEMAND FOR RELEASE OF
POLITICAL DETAINEES AT THE SAME TIME AS ((THE RELEASE OF))

POW'S

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ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA (FOR WHITE HOUSE ONLY)~~

3/00/VND/T -72

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH --

PRESIDENT THIEU'S SPECIAL ASSISTANT REQUESTS ADDITIONAL

INFORMATION FROM AMBASSADOR LAM IN PARIS

4 SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL -- 24 NOV 72 1520H

ASSISTANT)) HOANG DUC NHA

TO PARIS: ((SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION)); FLASH 2762/PTT/BT

#21

#21

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AMBASSADOR PHAM DANG LAM

I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR CABLES NUMBERED 30 AND 31/PDVN TODAY.

I HAVE STILL NOT RECEIVED YOUR RESPONSE TO THE SECOND POINT

IN MY TELEGRAM 2749/PTT ((DATED)) 23 NOVEMBER. PLEASE CABLE

ME YOUR RESPONSE IMMEDIATELY. REGARDS.

T1 24 NOV 72 0735Z

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#51

SUMMARY OF KISSINGER - LE DUC THO
NEGOTIATIONS IN PARIS

~~TOP SECRET~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

24 November 1972

#22 To Paris from Saigon

Saigon reiterated its stand that the two key issues, withdrawal of NVN troops and the formation and prerogatives of the National Council of Concord and Reconciliation, remain unresolved and that these two points represented life or death for 17 million South Vietnamese. Until such time as agreement on these points was achieved, Saigon believed it could no longer make any initiatives, and that a strategic decision would have to be made since it affected the survival of the South Vietnamese Nation. The SVN delegation was told to advise Kissinger of the decision of the SVN Government and "ask him one last time if he has explained to the North Vietnamese" Thieu's proposals of 19 November.

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

~~TOP SECRET~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~
~~LIMITED DISTRIBUTION~~

#23 To Saigon from Paris

24 November 1972

This message consisted of the text of a message President Nixon sent to Mr. Kissinger in Paris for his use and forwarding (unless Kissinger had strong feelings otherwise) to President Thieu. President Nixon's message indicated that the domestic political situation could bring about a cut off of all military and economic assistance as early as 1 February 1973. The message went on to say that there is strong sentiment for the U.S. to go it alone and make a separate deal with NVN for the return of our POWs. Also, the President reiterated his determination to take massive action against NVN in the event they break the agreement, indicated that we had reached a crossroads because of the political reality in the U.S., and opined that the option of continuing the war was no longer open.

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
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~~TOP SECRET JAMES~~~~DELTA COMBAT~~

24 November 1972

#24 To Saigon from Paris

This message reviews a meeting between Mr. Kissinger and South Vietnamese delegate Nguyen Phu Duc and Pham Dang Lam conducted on the 24th. According to the message, Mr. Kissinger informed Le Duc Tho in an hour long private session that a breakdown in negotiations by North Vietnam would lead to massive retaliation by the U.S. Although both Kissinger and Tho had agreed to meet on the 25th, Kissinger was planning to ask that the session be cancelled and postponed one week because to hold the session under the present circumstances would lead to a breakdown in negotiations.

Kissinger warned that by Thursday evening SVN will have to decide between going forward together with the U.S. or to go its separate way, in which case the U.S. would make separate arrangements for release of POW's, and aid to SVN would be cut off. Kissinger insisted that Duc be in Washington as soon as possible to meet with President Nixon, and offered Duc a trip to Washington on his plane. Kissinger indicated that it would do no good to use Nixon's adversaries, since they would criticize President Nixon but would not support you (SVN). The options open to SVN according to Kissinger were to 1) rejected everything; 2) accept the draft agreement with a few modifications; or 3) give satisfaction to the Communist side on the political prisoners issue in exchange for a de facto withdrawal. The SVN delegate reiterated their previous concerns, including their proposal of 19 November. Kissinger repeated that Le Duc Tho rejected it on the pretext that there were no NVN troops in SVN.

The message closed with an urgent plea from the SVN delegate that the SVN government "take a clear and distinct position."

~~TOP SECRET JAMES~~
~~DELTA COMBAT~~
~~TOP SECRET JAMES~~

~~TOP SECRETARY GENERAL~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

25 November 1972

#25 To Paris from Saigon

Presidential Assistant Hoang Duc Nha in Saigon asked the Paris delegates to tell Dr. Kissinger to continue to fight for the two SVN points. Unity of purpose was urged, "throwing in the sponge" was condemned, and the gravity of the situation (life and death for SVN) was stressed.

The presentation of this appeal directly to Kissinger prior to his meeting with Le Duc Tho was for inclusion in the SVN official archives.

Nguyen Phu Duc was to remain in Paris until he received orders from President Thieu.

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~
~~TOP SECRETARY GENERAL~~
~~LIMITED DISTRIBUTION~~

~~TOP SECRET~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED AREA~~
~~TOP SECRET~~

24 November 1972

#26 To Saigon from Paris

Special Presidential Assistant Nguyen Phu Duc submitted the following evaluations to Saigon:

1. Although there is truth to the claim of lack of congressional support on the question of aid, the U.S. government does not want to create support. Nguyen Phu Duc argued that there was no support for operations in Cambodia in 1970 nor for renewed bombing and mining of NVN, but such operations were conducted.
2. Forced to choose between signing the proposed agreement or withdrawal of U.S. aid, SVN should choose to die as martyrs for the cause for which they have fought so long.
3. If the U.S. wants to negotiate for the return of their POW's, SVN will be ready to offer all assistance, i.e. offering to free 38,000 political prisoners.
4. Withdrawal of U.S. troops is not a problem.
5. SVN should ask the U.S. not to attack it publicly since this would bring counter-attacks.

Nguyen Phu Duc asked for Thieu's approval of these evaluations and asked for final instructions before departing for Washington. In regard to Kissinger's complaint that SVN newspapers were attacking him, Nguyen Phu Duc was of the opinion that regardless of the merit of the accusations the matter should not be inflamed.

~~TOP SECRET~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED AREA~~
~~TOP SECRET~~

~~LIMITED DISCUSSION~~

~~LIMITED DISTRIBUTION~~~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

25 Nov 72

#27 To: Paris Fr: Saigon

Referring to a previous telephone conversation, Saigon asked Pham Dang Lam to stress to their friend, presumably Mr. Kissinger, that nobody in Saigon had said anything, in fact, Saigon had had the information ministry deny UPI dispatches saying Saigon attacked Kissinger.

#28 To: Saigon Fr: Paris

25 Nov 72

This message consisted of the text of a Pham Dang Lam memorandum delivered to Kissinger at 0915 25 November. The memorandum dited communist negativism, intransigence and a disregard for SVN views. It stressed that since the communists consider negotiations just another aspect of the fighting "our side must meet the challenge in pursuing our common efforts". Mr Kissinger was urged to push for the two SVN points so that the immense sacrifice of SVN and the US will not have been in vain. The memo closed with an acknowledgement of US political problems and SVN appreciation for the past efforts of the US government to secure congressional and public support for a "just peace".

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~~~LIMITED DISTRIBUTION~~~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

~~LIMITED DISTRIBUTION~~~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

25 Nov 72

#29 To;Saigon From: Paris

Pham Dang Lam informed Saigon that he had delivered a memorandum (see previous item) to Kissinger at 0915 on the 25th. At that time, Kissinger advised Lam that he would remind Tho that the two (SVN) questions are the cause of the present deadlock. Kissinger further indicated that in view of the attitude of the SVN government, he would discuss procedural as opposed to substantive matters with Tho to avoid a possible breakdown. Tho agreement to a new series of meetings might not be forthcoming according to Kissinger and again warned SVN of the consequences. Kissinger cited a press report covering the last Kissinger-Tho meeting and asked that Saigon stop revealing what he has communicated to the South Vietnamese on negotiations.

~~LIMITED DISTRIBUTION~~~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

XXMMENP 01F00 72329

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

AVS,AVN,KUS/FORP-Y/B,D.

CLASSIFIED SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO PRESIDENT THIEU TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT

NIXON RE "STRATEGIC DECISION" TO BE MADE BETWEEN THE TWO

PRESIDENTS

XXCC

FR SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;

((SPECIAL ASSISTANT)) HOANG DUC

NHA 24 NOV 72

CLASSIFIED TO PARIS: ((SOUTH VIETNAMESE

DELEGATION)); AMBASSADOR PHAM

DANG LAM -- 3332/PTT/BI/TM

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CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-480-222

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WORK SHEET

#22

TOP SECRET

REFERENCE YOUR CABLE NRS. 31/PDVN((1)) AND 32/PDVN((1)).

FOLLOWING DELIBERATIONS BY THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT YOUR SUGGESTIONS, I HAVE THE HONOR TO INFORM YOU OF THE FOLLOWING.

1. THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM STATES THAT THE TWO KEY POINTS FOR A JUST PEACE AND AN HONORABLE SOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT, WHICH ARE ALSO THE POINTS OF LIFE OR DEATH FOR 17 MILLION SOUTH VIETNAMESE--NAMELY, THE RETREAT OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS AND THE FORMATION AND PREROGATIVES OF THE CNCR ((NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CONCORD AND RECONCILIATION))--ARE NOT YET RESOLVED. ON THE CONTRARY, NORTH VIETNAM STILL REMAINS INTRANSIGENT AND STILL RESERVES THE RIGHT TO STAY IN SOUTH VIETNAM EVEN AFTER THE GENEROUS PROPOSAL MADE BY PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) AND TRANSMITTED TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ON 19 NOVEMBER, THE SUBSTANCE OF WHICH WAS COMMUNICATED TO YOU IN MY WIRE NR. 2749/PTT/BT/TM((1)). ON THE OTHER HAND NORTH VIETNAM STILL ADHERES TO THE CNCR AS A "COW CAAU CHINH QUYEN"((2)) WITH THREE EQUAL MEMBERS, THE CNCR AT LOWER LEVELS, GENERAL ELECTIONS, ETC., NOT INCLUDING THE DEMAND THAT PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) RESIGN. THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM REAFFIRMS THAT AS LONG AS THESE TWO KEY PROBLEMS ARE NOT RESOLVED WE CAN NO LONGER MAKE ((ANY)) INITIATIVES. IF HANOI AGREES TO MODIFY ITS POSITION ON THESE POINTS, THEN THERE IS HOPE AND WE CAN CONSIDER OTHER MODIFICATIONS.

2. IN LIGHT OF HANOI'S INTRANSIGENCE AND THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF GETTING THEM TO COOPERATE, THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM DEEMS THAT THE DECISION TO BE MADE IS OF A STRATEGIC NATURE, ESPECIALLY SINCE IT AFFECTS THE SURVIVAL OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE NATION. CONSEQUENTLY, THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT FEELS THAT A STRATEGIC DECISION TO DECIDE UPON THE STRATEGY FOR AND NATURE OF PEACE AND WAR IS ESSENTIAL BETWEEN THE TWO PRESIDENTS OF SOUTH VIETNAM AND THE UNITED STATES. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) WILL GIVE THE NECESSARY INSTRUCTIONS FOR NGUYEN PHU DUC IN VIEW OF HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH ((PRESIDENT)) NIXON.

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3. PLEASE ADVISE ((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER OF THESE DECISIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM FOR THE OFFICIAL RECORDS AND ASK HIM ONE LAST TIME IF HE HAS EXPLAINED TO NORTH VIETNAM THE PRESIDENT ((THIEU))'S PROPOSAL OF 19 NOVEMBER WHICH WAS COMMUNICATED TO YOU IN MY CABLE NR. 2749. IF SO, WHAT IS THE RESPONSE OF NORTH VIETNAM?

4. SPECIAL ASSISTANT ((NGUYEN PHU)) DUC SHOULD WAIT FINAL INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) BEFORE LEAVING FOR THE UNITED STATES.

KINDLY CABLE THE RESULTS IMMEDIATELY.

((1)) SUBMITTED FOR SERIES CHECK ON 23 NOV 72.

((2)) VIETNAMESE FOR "GOVERNING STRUCTURE".

TI 24 NOV 72 1453Z

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23

CLASSIFIED THIS EVENING' MEETING WITH US AT 1900 HOURS.

"24 NOVEMBER 1972.

"TO HENRY A. KISSINGER

"FROM THE PRESIDENT

CLASSIFIED "I HAVE CHECKED TODAY AS TO THE ATTITUDE OF THE LEADING
DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS WHO SUPPORT US IN THE SENATE ON
VIETNAM. IN PREPARING FOR THE CONSULTATION (B VAL IS TO TAKE)

CLASSIFIED PLACE ONCE AGREEMENT IS REACHED, WE HAVE INFORMED THEM
OF THE KEY PROVISIONS IN THE OCTOBER 8 AGREEMENT((:)) THE RETURN
OF OUR POW'S, A CEASEFIRE, AND A FORMULA UNDER WHICH THIEU
REMAINS IN POWER AND ALL SOUTH VIETNAMESE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY
TO PARTICIPATE IN A FREE ELECTION TO DETERMINE WHAT GOVERNMENT
THEY WANT FOR THE FUTURE. THE RESULT OF THIS CHECK INDICATES

CLASSIFIED THAT THEY WERE NOT ONLY UNANIMOUS BUT VEHEMENT IN STATING
THEIR CONCLUSIONS THAT IF SAIGON IS THE ONLY ROADBLOCK FOR
REACHING AGREEMENT, ON THIS BASIS THEY WILL PERSONALLY LEAD
THE FIGHT WHEN THE NEW CONGRESS RECONVENES ON JANUARY 3
TO CUT OFF ALL MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO

CLASSIFIED SAIGON. MY EVALUATION IS THAT THE DATE OF THE CUT-OFF WOULD BE 1
FEBRUARY. THEY FURTHER BELIEVE THAT UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES WE HAVE
NO CHOICE BUT TO GO IT ALONE AND TO MAKE A SEPARATE DEAL WITH NORTH
VIETNAM FOR THE RETURN OF OUR POW' AND FOR OUR WITHDRAWAL. THESE
ARE MEN WHO HAVE LOYALLY SUPPORTED THE U.E. ON 3 NOVEMBER, CAMBODIA,
LAOS, AND 8 MAY. THEY HAVE GREAT AFFECTION FOR THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE
PEOPLE AND GREAT RESPECT FOR PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) PERSONALLY, BUT THEY
POINT OUT THAT THE VOTES IN THE SENATE THIS PAST YEAR FOR APPROA-
PRIATIONS FOR SUPPORT OF THE EFFORT IN VIETNAM HAVE BEEN WON ONLY BY

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Sections 193, 194, and 195 of the Espionage Laws, Title 18, U.S.C.
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CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-10-10

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CLASSIFIED

GREAT EFFORT AND BY VERY SMALL MARGINS. THEY ALSO POINT OUT THAT THIS TIME THE HOUSE CANNOT SAVE APPROPRIATIONS, BECAUSE THE SENATE

WOULD BLOCK ANY HOUSE MOVE TO RESTORE FUNDS WHICH, INCIDENTALLY, IN

VIEW OF THE MAKE-UP OF THE NEW HOUSE, IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY,

BY SIMPLY LETTING THE APPROPRIATIONS BILL DIE IN CONFERENCE. THIS

MESSAGE, UNLESS YOU HAVE STRONG FEELINGS OTHERWISE, SHOULD BE PASSED

ON THROUGH THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE NEGOTIATORS TO THIEU. TELL HIM THE FAT

IS IN THE FIRE. IT IS TIME TO FISH OR CUT BAIT. WE DO NOT WANT TO GO

IT ALONE. I PERSONALLY WANT TO STAND BY THIEU AND THE SOUTH VEITNAMESE

GOVERNMENT BUT AS I HAVE TOLD HIM IN THREE SEPARATE MESSAGES, WHAT

REALLY COUNTS IS NOT THE AGREEMENT BUT MY DETERMINATION TO TAKE

MASSIVE ACTION AGAINST NORTH VIETNAM IN THE EVENT THEY BREAK THE

AGREEMENT. THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN THE SOUTH MEAN ABSOLUTELY

NOTHING IN THAT EVENTUALITY. IF THEY (C VAL HAD NO) FORCES

THERE AT ALL

CLASSIFIED

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AND I REFUSED TO ORDER AIR RETALIATION ON THE NORTH WHEN INFILTRATION
STARTED TO BEGIN, THE WAR WOULD BE RESUMED AND THE OUTCOME WOULD BE
VERY MUCH IN DOUBT. YOU MUST TELL THIEU THAT I FEEL WE HAVE NOW
REACHED THE CROSSROADS, WHETHER HE TRUSTS ME AND SIGNS WHAT I HAVE
DETERMINED IS THE BEST AGREEMENT WE CAN GET AND WE HAVE TO GO IT
ALONE AND END OUR OWN INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR IN THE BEST TERMS WE
CAN GET. I DO NOT (C VAL GIVE) HIM THIS VERY TOUGH OPTION BY PERSONAL
DESIRE, BUT BECAUSE OF THE POLITICAL REALITY IN THE UNITED STATES.

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FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE/(ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES CHECK)

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CLASSIFIED

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ FINAL SECTION OF TWO

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

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MESSAGE. PLEASE ADVISE IF ANY LIMITATIONS ON DISTRIBUTION ARE

REQUIRED. THIS MESSAGE WAS TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

CLASSIFIED

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR ME, EVEN WITH THE MASSIVE MANDATE I PERSONALLY

RECEIVED IN THE ELECTION, TO GET THE SUPPORT FROM A HOSTILE CONGRESS

TO CONTINUE THE WAR WHEN THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ON OCTOBER 8 OFFERED

AN AGREEMENT WHICH (V VAL WAS) FAR BETTER THAN BOTH THE HOUSE AND

#23

THE SENATE BY RESOLUTION AND DIRECTIVE TO THE PRESIDENT DURING THIS

LAST SESSION INDICATED THEY THOUGHT WE OUGHT TO ACCEPT. TELL THIEU

I CANNOT KEEP THE LID ON HIS STRONG SUPPORTERS IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE

MUCH LONGER. THEY ARE TERRIBLY DISTURBED BY WHAT THEY READ AND HEAR

ABOUT OF SAIGON. IT IS TIME FOR US TO DECIDE TO GO FORWARD TOGETHER

OR TO GO OUR SEPARATE WAYS. IF WE GO SEPARATE WAYS, ALL THAT WE FOUGHT

FOR SO MANY YEARS WILL BE LOST. IF ON THE OTHER HAND, HE WILL JOIN US

IN GOING FORWARD ON THE COURSE I HAVE LAID OUT, WE CAN, OVER THE LONG

PULL, WIN A VERY SIGNIFICANT VICTORY. THE THIRD OPTION OF OUR TRYING

TO CONTINUE TO GO FORWARD TOGETHER ON THE BASIS OF CONTINUING THE WAR

IS SIMPLY NOT OPEN. THE DOOR HAS BEEN SLAMMED SHUT AND FAST BY THE

LONG TIME SUPPORTERS OF THE HARD LINE IN VIETNAM IN THE HOUSE AND

SENATE WHO CONTROL THE PURSE STRINGS."

A TELEGRAM WILL FOLLOW ON OUR CONVERSATION WITH KISSINGER AFTER

THE MEETING.

TI 24 NOV 72 2146Z

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RELEASED FOR TRANSMISSION

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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 TO WHITE HOUSE/(ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES CHECK)
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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ SECTION ONE OF TWO
 3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH --

KISSINGER TO POSTPONE WORK MEETING WITH LE DUC THO ONE WEEK,

PRESSES SOUTH VIETNAMESE FOR OPTION DECISION

FR PARIS: DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR)) --

PHAM DANG LAM

TO ((SAIGON:)) PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; 24 NOV 72 2330Z FLASH 35/PDVN/TM
 ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT)) HOANG DUC NHA

TOP SECRET.

ACCOMPANIED BY ((SOUTH VIETNAMESE PRESIDENTIAL)) ASSISTANT
 NGUYEN PHU DUC, WE HAD A MEETING TODAY WITH ((DR. HENRY A.)) KIS-
 SINGER FROM 1830 ((HOURS)) TO 2030 ((HOURS)). KISSINGER BEGAN BY
 ASKING US WHAT ANSWER WE HAD RECEIVED (C VAL FROM SAIGON PURSUANT
 TO HIS COMMUNICATION YESTERDAY. WE GAVE HIM A MEMORANDUM ALONG THE
 LINES OF YOUR MESSAGE 332/PTT/BT/M. KISSINGER MANIFESTED VISIBLE
 DISCONTENT ((WHILE)) READING THE MEMO.

HE THEN DREW FROM HIS POCKET A MESSAGE ADDRESSED TO HIM BY
 PRESIDENT NIXON AND WHICH HE READ TO US. AFTERWARDS HE INFORMED
 US THAT HE HAD MET (B VAL LE DUC) THO TODAY IN PRIVATE CONVERSA-
 TION FOR AN HOUR TO LET HIM KNOW THAT A BREAKDOWN IN NEGOTIATIONS
 BY NORTH VIETNAM WOULD LEAD TO MASSIVE RETALIATION BY THE U. S.
 KISSINGER AND THO HAD AGREED TO HOLD ((1 WD G)) A WORK SEESION
 TOMORROW AT NOON. HOWEVER, INASMUCH AS THE MESSAGE WHICH WE GAVE
 HIM TODAY DOES NOT CONTAIN THE ((SOUTH) VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT'S
 ANSWER ON THE THREE OPTIONS, HE IS PLANNING TO ASK THAT THE SESSION
 BE CANCELLED FOR TOMORROW AND POSTPONED ONE WEEK. ACCORDING TO HIM,
 TO HOLD THE SESSION TOMORROW UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD
 RESULT IN A BREAKDOWN((IN THE NEGOTIATIONS)). HE WILL MEET LE DUC
 THO TOMORROW IN ANOTHER PRIVATE CONVERSATION TO ASK TO POSTPONE THE
 MEETING UNTIL NEXT SATURDAY. HE (B VAL WARNED) US THAT BETWEEN NOW
 AND THURSDAY EVENING OUR GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO ANSWER CLEARLY (AS
 TO) WHICH OPTION WE SHALL CHOOSE. HE TOLD US UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT:
 "WE HAVE REACHED A CROSSROAD; WE WILL GO FORWARD TOGETHER OR WE
 WILL GO OUR SEPARATE WAYS. IF YOU DO NOT GO ALONG WITH US, WE WILL
 HAVE A SEPARATE ARRANGEMENT WITH NORTH VIETNAM ON THE RELEASE OF
 POW'S AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS. IN THIS CASE U.S. AID TO
 SOUTH VIETNAM WILL BE CUT OFF."

KISSINGER ADDED, "YOU ARE PLAYING A DELAYING GAME ON AN INFLEX-
 IBLE DEADLINE; TIME IS RUNNING OUT FOR YOU. NOW DEBATE IS SENSE-
 LESS, MEMORANDA ARE FUTILE, AND WORKING SESSIONS ARE USELESS."

KISSINGER OFFERED ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU DUC AND AMBASSADOR((TRAN

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CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

#24

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KIM) PHUONG A TRIP TO WASHINGTON TOMORROW AFTERNOON ON HIS PLANE. HE REASSERTED THAT PRESIDENT NIXON WILL RECEIVE DUC AS SOON AS HE ARRIVES. DUC DECLINED THIS INVITATION, SAYING THAT THE DATE OF HIS DEPARTURE FROM PARIS FOR WASHINGTON CANNOT BE SET UNTIL AFTER RECEIVING FINAL INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRESIDENT ((THIEU)). KISSINGER INSISTED ON THE PRESENCE OF DUC IN WASHINGTON AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, SUSPECTING A DILATORY MANEUVER ON OUR PART. "YOU ARE ON YOUR OWN TIME; YOU ARE PLAYING WITH FIRE," HE TOLD DUC. HE SAID AGAIN AND REPEATED MANY TIMES THAT NEXT THURSDAY: "YOU WILL GO WITH US OR YOU WILL DESTROY YOURSELF."

IN ANY CASE, AFTER THURSDAY THE COURSE OF EVENTS WILL BE IRREVERSIBLE. KISSINGER WILL LEAVE WASHINGTON NEXT FRIDAY FOR PARIS ((I WD G)) WILL BE THE LAST MEETING. HE ((C VAL CALLED TO OUR ATTENTION THAT IT WILL DO NO GOOD TO USE NIXON'S ADVERSARIES, WHETHER THEY BE FROM THE EXTREME RIGHT, THE EXTREME LEFT, OR THE PRESS, TO ATTACK THE DRAFT AGREEMENT, IT WILL NOT BE THESE PEOPLE WHO WILL BE ABLE TO SAVE SOUTH VIETNAM. THEY CRITICIZE PRESIDENT NIXON BUT THEY DO NOT SUPPORT YOU. NEXT JANUARY YOU WILL KNOW WHO ARE YOUR FRIENDS AND WHO ARE YOUR ADVERSARIES.

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RELEASED FOR TRANSMISSION

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

ZZ [REDACTED] #0658 3300155

ZNY MMNSH

Z 250150Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE/(ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM FINAL SECTION OF TWO~~
3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

TRANSMITTED HERewith IS A SOUTH VIETNAM DIPLOMATIC MESSAGE. PLEASE ADVISE IF ANY LIMITATIONS ON DISTRIBUTION ARE REQUIRED.

THIS MESSAGE WAS TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITEHOUSE ONLY.

KISSINGER RECALLED THE THREE OPTIONS WITH WHICH WE ARE FACED:

FIRST OPTION, REJECT EVERYTHING.

SECOND OPTION, ACCEPT THE DRAFT AGREEMENT AS IT IS, WITH THE FEW MODIFICATIONS ALREADY MENTIONED. IN THIS CASE KISSINGER BELIEVES HE CAN OBTAIN TWO MORE MODIFICATIONS, ONE CONCERNING THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS BY ADDING THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOBILIZATION ON A ONE-FOR-ONE BASIS, AND THE OTHER CONCERNING THE COMPOSITION OF THE CNCR ((COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD)). THE TERM "THREE COMPONENTS" WILL BE KEP, BUT WITH THE INSERTION "EQUALLY APPOINTED BY BOTH SIDES." IN THIS CASE ALSO KISSINGER FEELS THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING ON THE QUESTION OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS. ACCORDING TO THIS UNDERSTANDING, THE GOVERNMENT ((OF SOUTH)) VIETNAM WOULD LIBERATE A CERTAIN NUMBER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN EXCHANGE ((FOR THE)) DE FACTO WITHDRAWAL OF A CERTAIN NUMBER OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN MILITARY REGION I, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF "REDEPLOYMENT OF LIBERATION FORCES." SHOULD WE ACCEPT THIS OPTION, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL MAKE A UNILATERAL STATEMENT ON THE QUESTION OF VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES, THE TEXT OF WHICH WAS SENT TO YOU YESTERDAY.

THIRD OPTION, GIVE SATISFACTION TO THE COMMUNIST SIDE ON THE QUESTION OF THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, WHICH WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED UNDER THE SAME CONDITIONS AND IN THE SAME TIME FRAME AS THE RELEASE OF POW'S. ON THE OTHER POINTS, ACCEPT THE AGREEMENT AS IS. IN EXCHANGE FOR THIS CONCESSION, ASK THE COMMUNISTS FOR A DE FACTO WITHDRAWAL, PURSUANT TO AN UNDERSTANDING, OF A LARGE NUMBER OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS - FOR EXAMPLE, 150,000. ACCORDING TO KISSINGER, THIS OPTION HAS EVERY CHANCE OF BEING REJECTED BY NORTH VIETNAM.

KISSINGER AGAIN STRESS THAT WE CAN NO LONGER DETAIN THE MOMENT OF DECISION. WE HAVE ONLY ONE MORE WEEK TO CHOOSE. AFTER THAT IT WILL BE TOO LATE.

((INASMUCH)) AS KISSINGER MENTIONED MANY TIMES THE ABSENCE OF ((C VAL A CLEAR)) ANSWER FROM OUR GOVERNMENT ON THE CONCRETE QUESTIONS WHICH HE POSED AND SEES IN THAT A PROOF OF A DILATORY MANEUVER, I INTERVENED TO BRING THINGS INTO FOCUS BY POINTING OUT THAT THE ANSWER THAT KISSINGER EXPECTS FROM SAIGON DOES NOT ((MERELY)) CONCERN CONCRETE QUESTIONS BUT, IN REALITY, A CHOICE ON WHICH HANGS THE DESTINY OF 17,000,000 SOUTH VIETNAMESES. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS COMPLETELY UNDERSTANDABLE THAT PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) AND OUR GOVERNMENT MUST WEIGH ALL THE CONSEQUENCES BEFORE MAKING A DECISION IN ONE DIRECTION OR ANOTHER.

FOR HIS PART ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU DOC ASKED WHETHER THE FORMULA FOR WITHDRAWAL AND DEMOBILIZATION IN TWO PHASES, DISCUSSED BY PRES-

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IDENT ((THIEU AND AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH)) BUNKER ON 19 NOVEMBER, HAD IN FACT BEEN GIVEN TO THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND WHAT THEIR REACTION WAS. KISSINGER REITERATED THAT LE DUC THO REJECTED IT ON THE PRETEXT THAT THERE ARE NO NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM, ONLY SOUTH VIETNAMESE OR THE DESCENDENTS OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE (WHO)) REGROUPED IN NORTH VIETNAM IN 1954. ASSISTANT DUC DEFENDED THE POSITION OF OUR GOVERNMENT ON THIS QUESTION AS WELL AS ON THE OTHER. KISSINGER REPEATED WHAT HE HAD SAID; THAT IS, THAT IT IS NO LONGER THE TIME FOR DISCUSSIONS, BUT FOR DECISIONS.

LET US INSIST ONCE AGAIN ON THE EXTREMELY SERIOUS NATURE OF THE SITUATION AND THE URGENCY FOR OUR GOVERNMENT TO TAKE A CLEAR AND DISTINCT POSITION IN FULL KNOWLEDGE OF THE CASE.

TI 24 NOV 72 2232Z

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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#0659 3300517

Z 250515Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

CLASSIFIED

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

TRANSMITTED HERWITH IS A SOUTH VIETNAM DIPLOMATIC MESSAGE. PLEASE ADVISE IF ANY LIMITATIONS ON DISTRIBUTION ARE REQUIRED, THIS MESSAGE WAS TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH 3700/DOLL-VND/T -72

INSTRUCTIONS FOR KISSINGER SENT BY SOUTH VIETNAMESE TO PARIS FR SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT)) --

HOANG DUC NHA

TO PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; 25 NOV 72 1045H FLASH
AMBASSADOR PHAM DANG LAM 27605/PJT/BT/TM

TOP SECRET.

I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR CABLE NO. 34, PURSUANT TO MY TELEGRAM NO. 3332:

CLASSIFIED

1. PLEASE TELL ((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER BEFORE HIS MEETING WITH LE DUC TRO TODAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT ((OF SOUTH)) VIETNAM ASKS THAT HE, AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF AN ALLIED COUNTRY, CONTINUE TO FIGHT WITH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE FOR OUR TWO POINTS. SINCE THE U.S. HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT OUT TWO KEY POINTS ARE NOT UNREASONABLE, AND ON THE CONTRARY ARE QUITE REASONABLE, THEN WHY NOT CONTINUE TO FIGHT ON INSTEAD OF THROWING IN THE SPONGE? THE GOVERNMENT ((OF SOUTH)) VIETNAM CONSIDERS KISSINGER TO BE ON OUR SIDE, AND THE GOVERNMENT ((OF SOUTH)) VIETNAM EXPECTS TO SEE HIM FIGHT FOR THE COMMON CAUSE. IF A GOVERNMENT ((OF SOUTH)) VIETNAM REPRESENTATIVE WERE IN HIS PLACE, HE WOULD CARRY ON THE FIGHT WITH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ON THESE POINTS OF LIFE OR DEATH FOR SOUTH VIETNAM.

CLASSIFIED

2. PLEASE TELL THIS DIRECTLY TO KISSINGER PRIOR TO HIS MEETING. THIS IS FOR OUR OFFICIAL ARCHIVES. DO YOU HAVE THE MINUTES OF YOUR CONVERSATIONS WITH KISSINGER?

CLASSIFIED

3. PLEASE CABLE ME ((YOUR)) RESULTS AND THE DATE OF KISSINGER'S DEPARTURE.

REGARDLESS, NGUYEN PHU DUC IS TO AWAIT ORDERS FROM PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) BEFORE LEAVING ((PARIS)). REGARDS

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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ZNY MNNSH

Z 250620Z NOV 72 ZYH

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TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

CLASSIFIED

TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM
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THIS MESSAGE WAS TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH 3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

SOUTH VIETNAMESE SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT SUBMITS
EVALUATION OF KISSINGER-THO MEETINGS TO PRESIDENT THIEU

FR PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; ((SPECIAL --

PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT)) NGUYEN PHU DUC

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL 24 NOV 72 0100

ASSISTANT)) HOANG DUC NHA

FLASH 36/PDVN/TM

CLASSIFIED

TOP SECRET.

PURSUANT TO OUR TELEGRAM NO. 35/PDVN/TM OF 24 NOVEMBER, I HAVE THE
HONOR OF SUBMITTING TO PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) AND THE NSC ((NATIONAL
SECURITY COUNCIL)) THE FOLLOWING EVALUATIONS:

AT THE PRESENT TIME NEITHER NORTH VIETNAM NOR THE U.S. WANT TO
CHANGE THE SUBSTANCE OF THEIR DRAFT AGREEMENT. ((DR. HENRY A.))
KISSINGER INVOKED THE ABSENCE OF CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT ON THE
QUESTION OF AID. THIS IS TRUE TO A GREAT DEGREE. HOWEVER, THE
FACT IS THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT DOES NOT WANT TO EXCITE AND
CREATE SUPPORT, BECAUSE HE DECLARED TO US THAT HE CONSIDERS THIS
AGREEMENT AS A GREAT VICTORY FOR OUR SIDE.

CLASSIFIED

IN COMPARISON, ONE RECALLS THAT EVEN THE U.S. MILITARY OPERATIONS
IN CAMBODIA IN 1970 AND THE RENEWED BOMBINGS AND THE MINING OF
NORTH VIETNAM THIS YEAR ((B VAL DID NOT)) CREATE NOTEWORTHY ADVERSE
REACTIONS AGAINST THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IN U.S. PUBLIC OPINION-- ON
THE CONTRARY, IN ANY CASE, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS ADOPTED A FORCIBLE
ATTITUDE TOWARD US ON THIS QUESTION AND TELLS US THAT MILITARY AND
ECONOMIC AID WOULD BE ((B VAL CUT OFF)) BY THE US. CONGRESS ON 1
FEBRUARY IF WE REFUSE TO SIGN THIS AGREEMENT.

HE EXORTS US TO ACCEPT THE TEXT OF THE PRESENT DRAFT AS IS, ON
WITH ((1 WD G)) ((C VAL MORE)) NEGLIGIBLE MODIFICATIONS; IF NOT,
THE U.S. WILL MAKE A SEPARATE AGREEMENT WITH NORTH VIETNAM, FOR THE
RETURN OF THEIR POW'S AND U.S. WITHDRAWAL.

CLASSIFIED

I FEEL THAT, FACED WITH THIS SITUATION, WE ARE OBLIGED TO PRESENT
TO PRESIDENT NIXON OUR CONVICTION THAT EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE FULL
CONFIDENCE IN ((B VAL THE LOYALTY)) AND FRANKNESS OF THE U.S. GOVERN-
MENT, ((C VAL WE)) KNOW THE COMMUNISTS BETTER THAN THEY BECAUSE OF
OUR PREVIOUS EXPERIENCES. WE KNOW THAT ACCEPTANCE OF THIS AGREEMENT
IN ITS PRESENT FORM WILL BRING CERTAIN DEATH TO FREE SOUTH VIETNAM.
WE ALSO KNOW THAT A COMPLETE AND SUDDEN HALT OF U.S. AID WILL BRING
THE SAME RESULT. IN THE FACE OF THIS CHOICE, WE PREFER TO DIE AS
MARTYRS FOR THE CAUSE FOR WHICH WE HAVE FOUGHT SO LONG. HOWEVER,
IF THE U.S. WANTS TO NEGOTIATE FOR THE RETURN OF THEIR POW'S, WE
WILL BE READY TO OFFER ALL OF OUR ASSISTANCE, EVEN AT THE PRICE OF
((B VAL GREAT SACRIFICES)) TO HELP THEM ACHIEVE THIS GOAL, OFFERING
TO FREE 38,000 POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SOUTH VIETNAM IN EXCHANGE
FOR 500 U.S. POW'S.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT SUGGESTS THAT WE USE THIS TRUMP CARD IN
EXCHANGE FOR THE DE FACTO WITHDRAWAL OF THE NVA ((NORTH VIETNAMESE
ARMY)) IN A WAY PARALLEL TO THE SIGNING OF THE PRESENT DRAFT
AGREEMENT, BUT WE PREFER TO USE THIS MOST IMPORTANT TRUMP CARD TO
HELP OUR FRIENDS RECOVER THEIR POW'S RATHER THAN SIGN AN AGREEMENT
WITHOUT HAVING OBTAINED SATISFACTION ON OUR ((C VAL TWO)) KEY
QUESTIONS.

CLASSIFIED

AS FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS, THAT IS NOT A PROBLEM. THUS,
THE PRINCIPAL GOALS OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT INDICATED IN TODAY'S

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT NIXON CAN BE ACHIEVED IN THIS MANNER.

ALL THAT WE ASK IS THAT HE GIVE US A CHANCE TO MAKE THE NIXON
DOCTRINE SUCCEED, ((THAT DOCTRINE)) WHICH OUR TROOPS AND OUR PEOPLE
HAVE ALREADY BEGUN TO SHOW THE VALUE OF IN SPLENDID FASHION BY
REPULSING THE ENEMY OFFENSIVE THIS YEAR UNDER WELL KNOWN CIRCUM-
STANCES.

CLASSIFIED

WE SHALL ALSO ASK HIM NOT TO ATTACK US PUBLICLY, FOR THIS WOULD
OBLIGE US ALSO TO JUSTIFY OURSELVES PUBLICLY WITH MUCH MORE VIGOR
AND DETAIL THAN WE HAVE ((B VAL HERETOFORE)) USED. THIS WOULD
BRING ABOUT A PUBLIC CONFRONTATION THAT WE SINCERELY WANT TO AVOID.

PLEASE SUBMIT THESE IDEAS TO PRESIDENT ((THIEU)), AND ASK HIM
IF HE APPROVES OF THEM, GIVE ME HIS FINAL INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE MY
DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON.

KISSINGER INDICATED TO ME TODAY THE DESIRE OF PRESIDENT NIXON TO
SEE ME IN WASHINGTON AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND SAID THAT MY DELAY
COULD BE INTERPRETED BY THEMSELVES AS A "DILATORY MANEUVER" AND
SIGN OF ILL-WILL.

KISSINGER COMPLAINED BITTERLY ABOUT THE ATTACKS AGAINST HIM IN
CERTAIN ((SOUTH)) VIETNAMESE NEWSPAPERS AND SAID OPENLY THAT THESE
ATTACKS ARE BEING INSTIGATED BY THE GOVERNMENT ((OF SOUTH))
VIETNAM. WHATEVER MAY BE THE ((B VAL MERIT)) OF THIS ACCUSATION,
I FEEL THAT IT IS BETTER ((C VAL NOT TO)) INFLAME MATTERS IN THIS
AREA.

TI 25 NOV 72 0319Z

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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 ZZ [REDACTED]
 DE [REDACTED] #0667 3301205

ZNY MMNSH

Z 251205Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

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 TRANSMITTED HERewith IS A SOUTH VIETNAMESE DIPLOMATIC MESSAGE.
 NORMAL DISTRIBUTION FOR THIS MESSAGE IS IN THE.....SUBSERIES
 PLEASE ADVISE IF ANY LIMITATIONS OVER AND ABOVE EXIST-
 ING RESTRICTIONS ARE REQUIRED. THIS MESSAGE WAS TRANSMITTED TO
 THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) ENGLISH 3/00/VND/T -72

AVS.KUS/OPIN.FORP/B.O.

THIEU'S PRESS SECRETARY DENIES ROLE IN KISSINGER SLANDER

FR ((SAIGON:)) PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL --

PRESS SECRETARY)) HOANG DUC NHA

CLASSIFIED
 TO PARIS; ((DELEGATION:)) AMBASSADOR 25 NOV 72 FLASH 2768/PTT/BT
 PHAM DANG LAM

CLASSIFIED
 AS PER OUR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION, I WOULD LIKE YOU TO STRESS
 TO OUR FRIEND ((1)) THAT SO FAR NOBODY IN SAIGON INCLUDING ME
 HAS NOT ((SIC)) SAID ANYTHING ON WHAT IS GOING ON. I CONFIRM
 THIS, AS A MATTER OF FACT, I HAD THE INFORMATION MINISTRY DENY
 THE UPI ((UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL)) DISPATCH SAYING THAT
 RADIO SAIGON ATTACKED OUR FRIEND. LATELY THE FOREIGN PRESS HAS
 TRIED TO CONTACT ME, BUT I HAVE REFUSED TO SEE THEM.

CLASSIFIED
 SO, PLEASE TELL OUR FRIEND THAT I UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEM
 FULLY AND AM NOT FOOLISH ENOUGH TO PLAY IN THE HANDS OF COMMUNISTS.
 HE SHOULD RATHER REALIZE THE COMMUNIST TRICK TO PREEMPT THE
 ISSUE AND ASSURE FOR THEMSELVES THE FIRST WORDS. HE SHOULD NOT
 ATTRIBUTE EVERYTHING THEY SAY TO ME. I AM NOT GOD-ALMIGHTY IN
 SAIGON. TELL HIM I WILL SEND HIM A LETTER VIA ((PRESIDENTIAL
 ASSISTANT)) NGUYEN PHU DUC ON THIS. I DO NOT LIKE TO BE SLANDERED
 AND ACCUSED.

CLASSIFIED
 ((1)) POSSIBLY REFERS TO DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER, WHO HAD BEEN
 DESCRIBED BY RADIO SAIGON AS HAVING OVERSTEPPED THE INSTRUCTIONS
 GIVEN HIM BY PRESIDENT NIXON, ACCORDING TO A UPI DISPATCH OF

21 NOV 72.

TI 25 NOV 72 1022Z

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FM DIRNSA

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TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: MR. MCMANIS, MR. FAZIO FOR A SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH, ENGLISH 3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

TEXT OF MEMORANDUM GIVEN TO KISSINGER BY SOUTH VIETNAMESE IN PARIS

FR PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR)) PHAM DANG

LAM 25 NOV 72 1000

CLASSIFIED

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT)) HOANG

DUC NHA IMMEDIATE 37/PDVN/TM

TOP SECRET

THE TEXT OF THE MEMORANDUM WHICH I GAVE TO KISSINGER THIS
MORNING AT 0915 HOURS:

"THROUGH THE ACCOUNTS GIVEN BY DR. KISSINGER OF HIS MEETINGS
WITH LE DUC THO SINCE NOVEMBER 20, ((19))72 THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM NOTES THAT THE COMMUNIST SIDE HAS ADOPTED A
PURELY NEGATIVE ATTITUDE AND HAS DISPLAYED ABSOLUTE INTRANSIGENCE.

#28

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AS A MATTER OF FACT THE COMMUNIST SIDE HAS REFUSED TO TAKE SERIOUSLY INTO ACCOUNT THE POINTS OF VIEW OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, POINTS OF VIEW WHICH THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS RECOGNIZED AS LOGICAL AND REASONABLE WHEN IT HAS ACCEPTED TO PRESENT THEM TO THE COMMUNIST SIDE IN THE ABOVE MENTIONED MEETINGS. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM CONSIDERS THAT SINCE NEGOTIATIONS ARE FOR THE COMMUNIST JUST ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE FIGHTING, OUR SIDE MUST MEET THE CHALLENGE IN PURSUING OUR COMMON EFFORTS AS THIS DECISIVE STAGE TO WIN THE PEACE AS OUR MEN HAVE DONE ON THE BATTLEFIELDS IN ALL THESE PAST YEARS. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM WISHES TO STRESS THAT IN ASKING FOR NEW EFFORTS ON THE PART OF DR. KISSINGER TO PRESS THE COMMUNIST SIDE TO SETTLE THE (C VAL TWO) UNRESOLVED KEY ISSUES, NAMELY THE PROBLEM POSED BY THE PRESENCE OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM ((XM)) ((VIETNAMESE)) PEOPLE. IT IS NOT PROMPTED BY ANY MOTIVES OTHER THAN THE DESIRE TO REACH A GENUINE CEASEFIRE AND HONORABLE AND LASTING PEACE SO THAT THE IMMENSE SACRIFICES MADE BY THE SOLDIERS AND PEOPLES OF SOUTH VIETNAM AND OF THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT BE MADE IN VAIN. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM UNDERSTANDS THE INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS FACING THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND IS ALL THE MORE DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IN SECURING CONTINUED CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR OUR COMMON EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH A JUST AND LASTING PEACE. AS IT IS A LIFE OR DEATH MATTER FOR THE 17,000,000 SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE, WE DEEPLY HOPE THAT NO EFFORT WILL BE SPARED DURING THE COMING DAYS TO OVERCOME NORTH VIETNAMESE INTRANSIGENCE WHICH IS THE ONLY OBSTACLE TO PEACE.

"SINCERELY YOURS

"PHAM DANG LAM"

TI 25 NOV 72 1042Z

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#0669

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

CLASSIFIED

WARNING: THIS COMINT IS UNUSUALLY SENSITIVE. IF A USIB MEMBER OR
HIS DESIGNATED DEPUTY APPROVES USE OF THIS ITEM IN A TOP SECRET
CODEWORD REPORT, THE COMINT SOURCE OR TARGET WHICHEVER IS SEN-

CLASSIFIED

SITIVE WILL BE CONCEALED AND NO REFERENCE MADE TO THE DELTA SERIES
OR THIS MATERIAL WILL BE MAINTAINED UNDER DELTA SECURITY CONTROLS.

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

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3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

KISSINGER REPORTEDLY UNSURE NORTH VIETNAMESE WILL AGREE TO NEW

SERIES OF TALKS

XXCC

29

DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR))

PHAM DANG LAM 25 NOV 72 1100

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT' OFFICE;

((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

HOANG DUC NHA IMMEDIATE 38/PDVN/TM

TOP SECRET.

PURSUANT TO YOUR TELEGRAM 2765/PTT/BT/TM:

AMBASSADOR ((TRAN KIM)) PHUONG AND I WENT TO THE U.E.

AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE THIS MORNING AT 0915 HOURS TO GIVE A
MEMORANDUM TO ((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER, THE TEXT OF WHICH
YOU WILL RECEIVE BY SEPARATE TELEGRAM.

KISSINGER INFORMED US THAT HE WILL (B VAL REMIND) LE DUC
THO, DURING THE MEETING ARRANGED FOR 1000 HOURS TODAY, THAT THE
TWO QUESTIONS ARE THE CAUSE OF THE PRESENT DEADLOCK. HOWEVER,
HE WILL NOT ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS ON SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS BUT
WILL LIMIT HIMSELF TO THE PROCEDURAL QUESTION IN ORDER TO AVOID
A BREAKDOWN SHOULD "LE DUC THO MAKE AN OFFER HE COULD NOT ACCEPT,
GIVEN THE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT ((OF SOUTH)) VIETNAM."

KISSINGER IS NOT SURE THAT LE DUC THO WILL AGREE TO A NEW
SERIES OF MEETINGS. THAT WILL THEN BE THE BREAKDOWN ((N
NEGOTIATIONS)) OF WHICH HE (C VAL HAS ALREADY) WARNED US ((AS TO))

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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-056

THE CONSEQUENCES.

ON THIS POINT, HE INFORMED US THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE
HAVE (B VAL DEALT ANOTHER TRICK) ((Q N AN ARTICLE BY)) (C VAL LELANT)
IN THE HERALD TRIBUNE ((DESCRIBING)) WHAT WENT ON DURING THE LAST
MEETING ((BETWEEN)) KISSINGER AND LE DUC THO. HE BELIEVES THAT
THIS WAS BROUGHT ON BY A DEEP BACKGROUNDER (C VAL BY) PRESS
SECRETARY ((HOANG DUC)) NHA TO THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PRESS.
KISSINGER ASKS THAT SAIGON (C VAL STOP) REVEALING, N THE FORM OF
A BACKGROUNDER OR IN ANY OTHER FORM, WHAT HE HAS COMMUNICATED TO
US ON THE SUBJECT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.
HE MADE AN APPOINTMENT FOR NOON TO INFORM US OF THE RESULTS
OF HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH LE DUC THO. HE PLANS TO RETURN TO
WASHINGTON THIS EVENING OR TOMORROW MORNING.

TI 25 NOV 72 1013Z

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SUMMARY OF KISSINGER-LE DUC THO
NEGOTIATIONS IN PARIS

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

#30 From: Paris To: Saigon

25 Nov 72

Mr. Kissinger informed the South Vietnamese that Le Duc Tho had agreed to postpone further sessions until 4 December.

The South Vietnamese were warned by Kissinger that yesterday's letter from President Nixon had been personally dictated by the President and that "When I leave on Sunday, I shall be under instructions to proceed and to drive the matter to a conclusion. Nothing is to be gained by delaying".

After general discussions of Vietnam's place in the world, the South Vietnamese Ambassador summarized the meetings as more courteous and relaxed than the previous sessions, "but Kissinger remains firm on the deadlines".

#31 From: Saigon To: Paris

26 Nov 72

Presidential Assistant Hoang Duc Nha will arrive in Paris on Monday, 27 November. Special Assistant Nguyen Phu Duc will be departing Paris for the US on Tuesday, 28 November.

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

Message #32 FROM: Saigon TO: Paris 27 November 1972

A letter which the South Vietnamese press secretary is apparently taking to Paris will supposedly stress that the internal political solution for South Vietnam should be left "wholly to the Vietnamese themselves." The letter adds that the U.S. should only discuss matters with the North Vietnamese that directly concern them, concluding that the time has come "to Vietnamize the negotiations."

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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FM DIRNSA

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ SECTION ONE OF THREE

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH --

SOUTH VIETNAMESE NEGOTIATOR IN PARIS REPORTS ON

25 NOVEMBER KISSINGER MEETINGS

XXCC

FR PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR))

PHAM DANG LAM 25 NOV 72 2100

HOANG DUC NHA FLASH 39/PDVN/TM

CLASSIFIED
TOP SECRET.

OUR MEETING TODAY WITH ((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER
LASTED FROM 1430 HOURS TO 1630 HOURS. SPECIAL ((PRESIDENTIAL))
ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU DUC WAS ALSO PRESENT.

KISSINGER INFORMED US THAT DURING HIS MEETING THIS
MORNING FROM 1000 HOURS UNTIL NOON WITH LE DUC THO, HE
VIGOROUSLY INSISTED ON OUR TWO VITAL POINTS, WHILE PASSING
IN REVIEW THE RESULTS ((OF THE)) MEETINGS THESE LAST
FEW DAYS WITH NORTH VIETNAM. ACCORDING TO KISSINGER, THAT
AROUSSED VIOLENT REACTIONS ON THE PART OF LE DUC THO.

AFTER AN HOUR OF ACRIMONIOUS (C VAL ABUSE), LE DUC THO
AGREED NONETHELESS TO THE U.S. PROPOSAL TO POSTPONE UNTIL 4
DECEMBER THE WORK SESSION PLANNED FOR TODAY. KISSINGER HAD
PREVIOUSLY GIVEN LE DUC THO TO UNDERSTAND THAT THERE WOULD
BE MASSIVE RETALIATION IN THE EVENT OF A BREAKDOWN IN
NEGOTIATIONS PROVOKED BY A NORTH VIETNAMESE REFUSAL TO
POSTPONE THE SESSION.

KISSINGER AGREED WITH LE DUC THO THAT THE TWO SIDES
WILL ABSTAIN FROM COMMENTING ON THE NEGOTIATIONS UNTIL
4 DECEMBER. HE CONSEQUENTLY ASKED US TO AVOID SPEAKING OF
ANY DEADLINE OR LACK OF PROGRESS. I INFORMED KISSINGER
THAT SAIGON HAD OFFICIALLY DENIED THE BRITISH AGENCY DISPATCH
ATTRIBUTING TO A HIGH SOUTH VIETNAMESE PERSONALITY CLOSE TO
THE INDEPENDENCE PALACE INFORMATION ACCORDING TO WHICH THE
KISSINGER - LE DUC THO MEETINGS HAVE MADE NO PROGRESS.
KISSINGER SAID THAT HE GREATLY APPRECIATED THIS DENIAL,
WHICH HE CALLED CONSTRUCTIVE AND TIMELY.

CONCERNING THE NEXT WEEKLY SESSION ((AT THE HOTEL MAJESTIC
ON AVENUE)) KLEBER ON THURSDAY, 30 NOVEMBER, IT WAS AGREED
BETWEEN HIM AND LE DUC THO THAT NORTH VIETNAM AND THE U.S. WILL
MAKE TEMPERATE SPEECHES. HE HOPES THAT WE WILL DO LIKEWISE.

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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972 4-0-2-0

#30

WILL MEET WITH MR. ((NGUYEN PHU)) DUC AND HIM ((I WD G)) WHAT
KISSINGER HAS ALREADY TOLD US. HE PARTICULARLY DREW OUR ATTENTION
TO THE FACT THAT THE MESSAGE WHICH HE GAVE US YESTERDAY HAD BEEN
PERSONALLY DICTATED BY PRESIDENT NIXON HIMSELF AND THAT WE
"MUST TAKE IT EXTREMELY SERIOUSLY INTO CONSIDERATION."

KISSINGER STRESSED THAT THE SERIES OF MEETINGS BEGINNING
NEXT 4 DECEMBER WILL BE THE LAST AND THAT WE MUST NOT EXPECT
ANOTHER POSTPONEMENT.

HE WARNED US AGAINST A STRATEGY CONSISTING, FOR US, OF
LETTING THE U.S. SIGN THE AGREEMENT AND THEN SCREAMING FOR
SATISFACTION ((C VAL OR)) "AFTERWARDS GO ALONG WITH US
RELUCTANTLY, FOR THIS WILL HAVE DISASTROUS EFFECTS; BECAUSE
IT WILL TAKE AWAY THE MORAL SUPPORT, AND THE U.S. CAN NO
LONGER BE PROUD OF THE AGREEMENT." IN THIS CASE, THE U.S.
GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE DIFFICULTIES PERSUADING CONGRESS TO
CONTINUE AID.

KISSINGER RETURNED AGAIN TO THE SUBJECT OF THE NEXT
((ROUND OF)) NEGOTIATIONS TO SAY: "BEYOND NEXT WEEK WE WILL
BE IN DEEP TROUBLE. WHEN I LEAVE ON SUNDAY, I SHALL BE UNDER
INSTRUCTIONS TO PROCEED AND TO DRIVE THE MATTER TO A CONCLUSION.
NOTHING IS TO BE GAINED BY DELAYING.

KISSINGER THEN ANSWERED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS POSED BY
NGUYEN PHU DUC. HERE IS THE TENOR OF THE ANSWERS ON THE MOST
IMPORTANT POINTS:

ON THE QUESTION OF UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES AND HOW
THE U.S. WILL REACT TO VIOLATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT, KISSINGER
INFORMED ((US)) THAT:

"THE U.S. WILL OVERREACT VIOLENTLY TO THE FIRST VIOLATION."
THAT COULD BE ((EITHER)) A VIOLATION OF THE CEASEFIRE,
A VIOLATION OF THE DMZ ((DEMILITARIZED ZONE)), OR A VIOLATION
OF THE CLAUSES CONCERNING THE REINFORCEMENT OF COMMUNIST
TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. THE U.S. WILL REACT PRINCIPALLY

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BY AIR FORCE INTERVENTION COMING FROM THAILAND, FROM THE PACIFIC,

AND FROM GUAM. A U.S. MILITARY COMMAND WILL BE ESTABLISHED

IN THAILAND TO KEEP AN EYE ON THE CEASEFIRE IN INDOCHINA.

ON THE QUESTION OF THE LEGAL BASIS FOR A NEW U.S. INTERVENTION

AFTER THE CEASEFIRE, KISSINGER REPLIED THAT THE U.S. PRESIDENT

WILL ALWAYS FIND AN EXCUSE FOR ACTING OR NOT ACTING. HE

BELIEVES THAT IF THE AGREEMENT CAN BE OBSERVED FOR ONE

YEAR, WE WILL BE ABLE TO OBTAIN A SITUATION SIMILAR TO KOREA.

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of the Executive Order, Title 18, U.S.C.
person is prohibited by law

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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Z 260350Z NOV 72 ZYH

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TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES CHECK)

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ SECTION TWO OF THREE

3/00/DOLL-VND/ -72

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ON THE QUESTION OF WHAT IMPORTANCE VIETNAM HAS FOR THE U.S., ((DUC ASKED)): "YOU TOLD ((US)) VIETNAM IS IMPORTANT FOR THE U.S. HOW IMPORTANT?" KISSINGER ANSWERED BY CITING THE EXAMPLES OF THE DETERMINATION OF PRESIDENT NIXON IN ISRAEL, JORDAN, ((AND)) PAKISTAN TO SHOW THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. IS ALWAYS READY TO SUPPORT ITS ALLIES, EVEN AT THE RISK OF INCURING INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL DISAPPROVAL. HE ALSO RECALLED 19 MAY 1972, WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON ORDERED THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM AND THE MINING ((OF NORTH VIETNAMESE)) PORTS, ACTING AGAINST THE ADVICE OF A MAJORITY OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL. HE SAID THAT VIETNAM HAS BECOME "THE SYMBOL OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. THE U.S. CANNOT LET SOUTH VIETNAM DOWN, CANNOT LET SOUTH VIETNAM BE SWALLOWED BY THE COMMUNISTS, BECAUSE 50,000 AMERICANS HAVE DIED IN VIETNAM AND MORE THAN 1,000,000 HAVE FOUGHT IN VIETNAM."

TO THE QUESTION ((AS TO)) WHY THE DIFFICULTIES SURMOUNTED LAST MAY WOULD BECOME INSURMOUNTABLE NEXT JANUARY, KISSINGER ANSWERED THAT IN THE PAST IT WAS POSSIBLE TO ACT THANKS TO THE PROMISE OF AN AGREEMENT BRINGING AN END TO THE WAR. IT IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE, FOR WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN AN AGREEMENT, THE TERMS OF WHICH ARE BETTER THAN WHAT THE U.S. CONGRESS ASKED IN EXCHANGE FOR A U.S. DISENGAGEMENT,

#30

AND THE AGREEMENT IS NOT SIGNED.

QUESTION: HOW DOES KISSINGER SEE THE SITUATION AFTER THE CEASEFIRE, UNDER THE HYPOTHESIS ((THAT THE)) ACCORDS ((WILL BE)) SIGNED? KISSINGER SAID THAT AT THE SIGNING, NIXON WILL MAKE A STATEMENT CONTAINING THREE POINTS:

1. THE U.S. RECOGNIZES THE GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM AS THE ONLY LEGAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

2. ((THE U.S.)) DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF ANY FOREIGN TROOPS TO BE PRESENT IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

3. ANY VIOLATION OF THE ACCORDS WILL PROVOKE A REACTION OF EXTREME VIOLENCE ON THE PART OF THE U.S.

PRESIDENT NIXON WILL MEET WITH PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) WITHIN 2 WEEKS FOLLOWING THE SIGNING OF THE ACCORDS, TO REAFFIRM U.S. - SOUTH VIETNAMESE SOLIDARITY.

KISSINGER ADDED THAT THE POST WAR AID MECHANISM WILL BE SET UP RIGHT AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE ACCORDS.

TO A QUESTION CONCERNING THE CEASEFIRE IN-PLACE, KISSINGER INFORMED ((US)) THAT THE U.S. INFORMATION SERVICE HAS SET UP A MAP INDICATING THE POSITION OF EACH COMMUNIST REGIMENT, EACH POSITION CIRCUMSCRIBED BY A CIRCLE WITH A RADIUS OF 5 KILOMETERS. THIS MAP SHOWS ((AS)) EXCEPTIONS QUANG NGAI AND BINH DINH PROVINCES, ((WHERE)) THE COMMUNISTS OCCUPY VERY LITTLE TERRITORY AND EVEN LESS POPULATION.

KISSINGER IS PREPARED TO SHOW ASSISTANT DUC THIS MAP IN WASHINGTON.

ON THE QUESTION OF FUTURE ELECTIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM, KISSINGER BELIEVES THAT NO ELECTION IS POSSIBLE WITHIN A YEAR BECAUSE OF THE UNANIMITY RULE. MOREOVER, IT IS RATHER THE COMMUNISTS WHO HAVE EVERY REASON TO DREAD ELECTIONS OR REFERENDUM.

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ FINAL SECTION OF THREE

3/00/DOLL-VND/ -72

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ON THE QUESTION OF THE COMPOSITION OF ICCS, KISSINGER THINKS THAT IT IS TOO LATE TO MODIFY IT. MOREOVER, HE THINKS THAT COMMUNIST COUNTRIES LIKE HUNGARY AND POLAND ARE PREFERABLE TO NEUTRAL COUNTRIES LIKE SWEDEN, DENMARK, AND AUSTRIA, THE GOVERNMENTS OF WHICH ARE LEFTIST AND HOSTILE TO OUR CAUSE. HE ADDED ((THAT THE)) U.S. HAS MEANS OF ACTING ON POLAND, WHICH NEEDS U.S. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.

ON THE QUESTION OF THE ATTITUDE ((OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF)) CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION, KISSINGER DISCLOSED THAT THESE TWO COUNTRIES HAVE EXERTED A MODERATING INFLUENCE ON HANOI. BECAUSE OF ((C VAL THE REALITY)) ((OF)) THEIR ((SITUATION)), PEKING DOES NOT WANT NORTH VIETNAM ((TO BECOME AN)) ALLY OF MOSCOW ON THE INDOCHINESE PENINSULA AND BECOME A THREAT ((TO HER)) SOUTHERN FLANK. FOR THIS REASON SHE HAS NO INTEREST IN INTRODUCING AN IMMENSE QUANTITY OF ARMS INTO NORTH VIETNAM. AS FOR THE SOVIET UNION, SHE IS ADHERING TO ((A POLICY OF)) AVOIDING CONFRONTATION WITH THE U.S. IN A REGION ((SO)) FAR AWAY AS LONG AS THE COMMUNIST REGIME IN NORTH VIETNAM IS ABLE

TO SURPRISE HER. ((THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF)) CHINA IS IN

FAVOR OF THE FOUR INDOCHINESE STATES. BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND ((THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF)) CHINA KNOW THAT THE U.S. WILL NOT LET THEM HAVE A FREE HAND IN INDOCHINA. BUT IF THE U.S. IGNORES VIETNAM, THESE CURES WILL NO LONGER EXIST.

RETURNING TO THE QUESTION OF SIGNING THE AGREEMENT, KISSINGER ASKED US EARNESTLY "NOT TO DEPRIVE THOSE WHO HELP YOU THE PRIDE OF WHAT THEY HAVE ACHEIVED." HE POINTED OUT THAT IN THE EVENT OF AN OPEN CONFRONATION ((BETWEEN)) SAIGON AND WASHINGTON, THE U.S. PUBLIC WILL ARRIVE AT THE CONCLUSION THAT EITHER THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD BETRAYED SOUTH VIETNAM OR THAT SOUTH VIETNAM IS SHOWING ITS INGRATITUDE. IN EITHER CASE THE EFFECT WOULD BE EQUALLY DISASTROUS.

THE TONE ((OF THE)) DISCUSSIONS WAS MORE COURTEOUS AND THE ATMOSPHERE MORE RELAXED THAN DURING THE PRECEDING MEETINGS, BUT KISSINGER REMAINS FIRM ON THE DEADLINES.

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH --

SAIGON CALLS FOR "VIETNAMIZATION" OF PEACE TALKS

5
NEGOTIATIONS

FR SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; CHIEF OF CABINET;

#32

NO VAB CAM 27 NOV 72 0935

TO PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; AMBASSADOR PHAN DANG LAM

HOLD FOR ((SPECIAL)) ASSISTANT ((NGUYEN PHU)) DUC

AND ((PRESIDENTIAL PRESS)) SECRETARY ((HOANG DUC))

HNA, FLASH 27771/PTI/VP

"ADD TO THE LETTER ((1)) A PART PRESENTING ((VAL FIRM))

ARGUMENTS WHICH STRESS THAT THE U. .A. SHOULD NOT ALLOW ITSELF

TO BE WORKED INTO AN AWKWARD POSITION WHILE CONTINUING

TO ALLOW ITSELF TO BE BULLIED BY THE COMMUNISTS INTO DISCUSSING

AN INTERNAL POLITICAL SOLUTION FOR SOUTH VIETNAM WITH THEM.

RATHER, LEAVE THIS RESPONSIBILITY WHOLLY TO THE VIETNAMESE

THEMSELVES.

"THE U.S.A. SHOULD ONLY DISCUSS WITH THE COMMUNISTS

SUCH THINGS AS MILITARY QUESTIONS OR OTHER MATTERS WHICH

DIRECTLY CONCERN THE U. .A., AND ((THE U. .A. SHOULD))

CATEGORICALLY REFER THE COMMUNISTS TO DISCUSS WITH US

ALL OTHER QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE VIETNAMESE; AS THE

RUSSIANS AND THE CHINESE HAVE DONE UNTIL NOW BY TURNING THE

BALL OVER TO HANOI AND THE NLF ((NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT))

AND SUPPORTING WHAT THE LATTER SAY. IT IS A MISTAKE ON THE PART

OF THE U. .A. TO WANT TO DO EVERYTHING ON BEHALF OF THE

((1 WD 6)) VIETNAMESE.

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"IN SUMMARY, INSIST THAT THE TIME HAS COME, AND THAT IT

IS NECESSARY, TO VIETNAMIZE THE NEGOTIATIONS JUST AS THE

U. .A. HAS VIETNAMIZED THE WAR."

ACKNOWLEDGE YOUR RECEIPT AND UNDERSTANDING ((OF THIS MESSAGE)).

((1)) POSSIBLY A REFERENCE TO A LETTER BEING CARRIED TO PARIS

BY HOANG DUC NHA,

TI 27 NOV 72 0131Z

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CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

SUMMARY OF VIETNAMESE PEACE TALKS

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

MESSAGE #33 FROM: Paris TO: Saigon 27 November 1972

Paris informs Saigon that Presidential Secretary Hoang Duc Nha's plane had broken-down in Tel Aviv and would be late in arriving in Paris.

MESSAGE #34 FROM: Paris TO: Saigon 27 November 1972

Hoang Duc Nha informs Saigon that he had just arrived in Paris.

MESSAGE #35 FROM: Saigon TO: Paris 27 November 1972

President Thieu directs Nguyen Phu Duc and Ambassador Tran Kim Phuong to go to Washington while Hoang Duc Nha to return to Saigon.

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

Message #36 From: Saigon To: Paris 27 November 1972

President Thieu directs Hoang Duc Nha to reserve sufficient time to work with Nguyen Phu Duc adding that a delay in Duc's departure for Washington is not important.

Message #37 From: Saigon To: Paris 27 November 1972

Informs Paris that Col. Vo Van Cam will try to telephone "the secretary" in order to discuss very important matter.

Message #38 From: Paris To: Saigon 28 November 1972

Nguyen Phu Duc is scheduled to arrive in Washington at 1800 Tuesday.

Message #39 From: Paris To: Saigon 28 November 1972

Hoang Duc Nha forwards to Saigon the proposed conclusion to a letter from President Thieu to President Nixon. The letter, in part, states that the acceptance of the draft accords as they now stand will frustrate and defeat the common basic purpose of the U.S. and South Vietnam. The article goes on to reiterate Saigon's basic two points: namely the withdrawal of North Vietnamese forces and the composition of the National Council of Reconciliation and Concord.

Message #40 From: Saigon To: Paris 28 November 1972

Saigon queries possibility of returning to the 8 May proposal as a solution to the impasse.

Message #41 From: Saigon To: Paris 28 November 1972

Saigon agrees to the draft proposal of the conclusion to the letter to President Nixon.

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

Message #42 From: Paris To: Saigon 28 November 1972

Paris reports no objection to returning to the 8 May formula, but feels the position will be difficult since the North Vietnamese have already rejected it.

Message #43 From: Saigon To: Paris 28 November 1972

Relays information that President will meet with Nguyen Phu Duc on Wednesday at 3:00 p.m. If Duc misses the appointment it is doubtful that another could be arranged.

Message #44 From: Paris To: Saigon 28 November 1972

Informs Saigon of departure time of Duc and Phuong for Washington and Nha for ~~Paris~~ SAIGON.

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

Message #45 From: Saigon To: Paris 28 November 1972

Saigon reiterates its proposal of returning to the 8 May formula as the method of achieving peace. They add that during Mr. Kissinger's first visit to Saigon, he put forward the idea "of returning to the 8 May formula after the election."

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

Message #47 From: Paris To: Saigon 29 November 1972

Saigon informed that Hoang Duc Nha will depart Paris on 29 November and will arrive in Saigon on 30 November. Nha has requested that the press be diverted from Ton Son Nhut airport.

Message #48 From: Paris To: Washington 29 November 1972

Instructs Nguyen Phu Duc to stress the moral side of the matter, especially the last two pages of a letter apparently from President Thieu to President Nixon.

Message #49 From: Saigon To: Washington 29 November 1972

Saigon's Washington Ambassador is instructed to cable the news of the talks between President Nixon and Nguyen Phu Duc immediately following the interview.

Message #50 From: Washington To: Saigon 29 November 1972

Nguyen Phu Duc files preliminary report on session with President Nixon and Mr. Kissinger stating that he had elucidated various aspects of the South Vietnamese position and would forward the details by coded message. Duc also informs Saigon that on 30 November he is scheduled to meet again with the President and Mr. Kissinger.

Message #51 From: Washington To: Saigon 30 November 1972

Nguyen Phu Duc reports that President Nixon informed him that the next negotiating session in Paris would be the last. Duc then outlined Saigon's three main objections to the draft accords present form: 1) withdrawal of the NVA forces, 2) the composition and functions of the National Council for Reconciliation and Concord and 3) South Vietnam's opposition to the PRG as a parallel government. President Nixon then instructed Mr. Kissinger to make an effort in the direction of the South Vietnamese requests. Kissinger then proposed three changes in the wording of clauses in the draft accord.

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

Message #52 From: Saigon To: Washington 30 November 1972

Saigon complains about tardy reporting from SVN delegation in Washington. Saigon is ready to have "messages quickly in the clear" rather than late.

Message #53 From: Saigon To: Washington 30 November 1972

Saigon asked its Washington representatives to apologize to the U.S. Government for delays which were caused by technical difficulties. Instructions for the meeting with President Nixon and Mr. Kissinger indicated that the SVN delegation should

- 1) reiterate that the withdrawal of NVA remains unresolved as does the composition function and prerogatives of the CNCR,
- 2) stress that until these two points are resolved no internal political solution between SVN and NLF could be achieved
- 3) show good will and be receptive to new ideas,
- 4) ask that the 8 May military solution be reconsidered or altered so that the U.S. military disengagement could be achieved leaving SVN to continue their fight and negotiate with the NVN and NLF on internal political questions. Under such a solution, the United States would then only have to seriously carry out military and economic Vietnamization and take retaliatory steps in case of a violation by NVN.

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~
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FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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 DOLL-VND. PLEASE ADVISE IF ANY LIMITATIONS OVER AND ABOVE
 EXISTING DELTA RESTRICTIONS ARE REQUIRED. THIS MESSAGE WAS
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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

XXMMENP01F0072332

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

AVS/FORP-Y/B.

PRESIDENTIAL SECRETARY HOANG DUC NHA'S FLIGHT DELAYED IN TEL AVIV

XXCC

FR PARIS: DELEGATION; MAJOR

((NGUYEN VAN)) HUNG((1)) 27 NOV 72 1155

TO SAIGON: ((OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT))

MAJOR NGUYEN BINH THIEU((1)) -- --

I JUST TALKED TO AMBASSADOR ((PHAM DANG LAM)) AND HE INFORMED
 ME OF THE FOLLOWING:

THE AIRPLANE BROKE DOWN EN ROUTE (AT TEL AVIV) AND
 ((PRESIDENTIAL)) SECRETARY ((HOANG DUC NHA)) WILL ARRIVE AT THE
 VERY EARLIEST AT 1700 HOURS PARIS TIME, 2400 HOURS SAIGON TIME.
 THUS, INFORM THE CHIEF OF CABINET ((COL. VO VAN CAM)) OF THIS.

I REPEAT: ACCORDING TO THE AIRLINE COMPANY, 1700 HOURS PARIS
 TIME IS THE VERY EARLIEST THAT THE SECRETARY CAN ARRIVE HERE AND

AT PRESENT THE PLANE HAS BROKEN DOWN IN TEL AVIV. THUS COL.
 ((VO VAN)) CAM CAN TALK WITH THE SECRETARY NO LATER THAN 2400
 HOURS FROM SAIGON.

((1)) NOT FURTHER IDENTIFIED.

((2)) HOANG DUC NHA WAS SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE IN PARIS MONDAY NOON,
 PARIS TIME, ACCORDING TO A MESSAGE OF 26 NOV, BEING SERIES
 CHECKED.

TI 27 NOV 72 1055Z

XXHH

450

#3086

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CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

1972-453 092

#8468

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~~~GAMMA CONTROLLED ITEM~~~~NOFORN~~

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ZNY MMOR N

O 272033Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA EXCLUSIVELY FOR

TO CIA MR HELMS

SSO DIA SECRETARY LAIRD, ADM MOORER AND

VADM DE POIX

STATE/RCI MR RS CLINE FOR SECRETARY ROGERS

WHITE HOUSE MR KISSINGER

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA NOFORN GAMMA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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XXMMENP01F0072332

3/00/Z -GOUT/T 256-72

SOUTH VIETNAMESE PRESIDENTIAL SECRETARY ARRIVES IN PARIS

XXCC

FR PARIS: ((PRESIDENTIAL SECRETARY))

HOANG DUC NHA 27 NOV 72 1920

TO SAIGON (VO VAN C M) -- 051/PDVN

PLEASE INFORM PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) THAT I HAVE JUST ARRIVED IN PARIS. BECAUSE OF MECHANICAL TROUBLE, I WAS 7 HOURS LATE. I AM STARTING TO WORK NOW. PLEASE ((B VAL STAND BY)) AND PRESENT ((THIS)) TO PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) IMMEDIATELY.

TI 27 NOV 72 182Z

XXHH

500

#3133

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

#34

NNNN

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

ZCZCEXD741

~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

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ZCZCEXD741
#3087 3321948

CZNY MMNSH

Z 271946Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIR NSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

XXMMENP01FO072332

3/00/VND/T -72

AVS/FORP-Y/B.

CLASSIFIED

PRESIDENTIAL SECRETARY HOANG DUC NHA TO RETURN TO SAIGON FROM
PARIS; PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT DUC AND AMBASSADOR PHUONG TO GO TO
WASHINGTON

XXCC

FR SAIGON: ((CHIEF OF CABINET))

VO VAN CAM 27 NOV 72 2310

TO PARIS: AMBASSADOR ((PHAM DANG LAM)) FLASH 2782/PTT/VP

PLEASE RELAY THE FOLLOWING DIRECTIVE FROM THE PRESIDENT:

1. ((SPECIAL)) ASSISTANT ((NGUYEN PHU)) DUC AND AMBASSADOR
((TRAN KIM)) PHUONG RE ENOUGH TO GO TO WASHINGTON. ((I)) AM
RELYING ON THEM TO TAKE SUFFICIENT PAPERS AND DOCUMENTS TO CONTINUE
WORKING AND DISCUSSING.

2. ((PRESIDENTIAL)) SECRETARY ((HOANG DUC)) NHA MUST RETURN TO
SAIGON ((FROM PARIS)) TO REPORT AND WORK.

Z 27 NOV 72 1506Z

XXHH

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#3087

CLASSIFIED

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

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#35

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Section 798, 796 and 798.
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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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FM DIR NSA EXCLUSIVELY FOR

TO CIA MR HELMS

SSO DIA SECRETARY LAIRD, ADM MOORER AND

VADM DE POIX

STATE/RCI MR RS CLINE FOR SECRETARY ROGERS

WHITE HOUSE MR KISSINGER

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UNDER NOFORN GAMMA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

XXMMENP01F0072332

3/00/Z -GOUT/T258-72

AVS, LFR/FRP-Y/B.

PRESIDENT THIEU SENDS INSTRUCTIONS TO HOANG DUC NHA

XXCC

FR SAIGON: COLONEL VO VAN CAM 28 NOV 72 0320

TO PARIS: VIETNAMESE DELEGATION FLASH 2703/PTT/PV

RESERVE SECRET ((HOANG DUC)) NHA)

I AWAKE THE PRESIDENT IN ORDER TO PRESENT THE MESSAGE. ((1))

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) ARE AS FOLLOWS: RESERVE
 SUFFICIENT TIME TO WORK WITH ASSISTANT ((NGUYEN PHU)) DUC.

THEREFORE, A DELAY OF HIS DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON IS NOT

IMPORTANT. PLEASE INFORM THE WATCH. ((2))

((1)) PROBABLY REFERS TO MESSAGE NR. 051/PDVN OF 27/1920 NOV 72,
 JUST SUBMITTED FOR SERIES CHECK 27 NOV 72.

((2)) IN FRENCH: LA GARDE.

I 27 NOV 72 1921Z

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#36

CLASSIFIED

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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FM DIRNSA EXCLUSIVELY FOR

TO CIA MR HELMS

SSO DIA SECRETARY LAIRD, ADM MOORER AND

VADM DE POIX

STATE/RCI MR RS CLINE FOR SECRETARY ROGERS

WHITE HOUSE MR KISSINGER

UNCLAS

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA NOFORN GAMMA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

XXMMENP01F0072332

3/00/Z-GOUT/T 257-72

AVS/FORP/B.

CHIEF OF CABINET CAN TO TELEPHONE PRESIDENTIAL SECRETARY NHA IN PARIS ON IMPORTANT MATTER

XXCC

FR SAIGON: ((OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT)); MAJOR ((NGUYEN BINH))

THIEU ((1)) 27 NOV 72

TO PARIS: DELEGATION; MAJOR

((NGUYEN VAN)) HUNG ((-)) -- --

REQUEST THAT YOU REPORT TO PRESIDENTIAL SECRETARY ((HOANG DUC NHA)) ((THE FOLLOWING)):

COL. ((VO VAN)) CAM ((2)) WILL ((TRY TO)) TELEPHONE THE SECRETARY TONIGHT AT 2000 HOURS SAIGON TIME BY EVERY MEANS, MILITARY OR CIVILIAN TELEPHONE...ANY GOOD SYSTEM WILL BE USED, IN ORDER TO DISCUSS VERY IMPORTANT ((MATTER)). REQUEST THAT THE SECRETARY BE PRESENT THERE TO TALK TO COL. CAM. PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE YOUR UNDERSTANDING ((OF THIS REQUEST)).

((1)) NOT FURTHER IDENTIFIED.

((2)) PRESIDENT THIEU'S CHIEF OF CABINET.

I 27 NOV 72 1041Z

XXHH

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#3153

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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#0665 3330239

ZNY MMNSH

Z 280235Z NOV 72

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA CONTROL DELTA ITEM~~

3/00/VND/T -72

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ITATIONS ON DISTRIBUTION ARE REQUIRED. THIS MESSAGE WAS

TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

SPECIAL ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU DUC TO DEPART PARIS

FOR WASHINGTON ON TUESDAY

FM PARIS: ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT)) HOANG DUC NHA 28 NOV 72 0220

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((CHIEF OF CABINET)) COL. VO VAN

#38

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

WITH REFERENCE TO YOUR TELEGRAM, ((1)) SPECIAL ASSISTANT ((NGUYEN PHU))
DUC WILL DEPART ((PARIS)) FOR WASHINGTON ON TUESDAY, (B BAL 23)
((NOVEMBER)) AT NOON, I.E. TESDAY AT 1900 HOURS SAIGON TIME, AND
WILL ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON ON TUESDAY AT 1800 HOURS WASHINGTON TIME,
I. E. WEDNESDAY AT 0600 HOURS SAIGON TIME.

THE WHITE HOUSE HAS CONFIRMED THAT PRESIDENT NIXON WILL RECEIVE SPECIAL
ASSISTANT DUC ON WEDNESDAY. REGARDS.

((1)) REFERS TO AN UNNUMBERED MESSAGE FROM COL. VO VAN CAM IN SAIGON,
DATED
230910 NOV 72, TO AMBASSADOR PHAM DANG LAM IN PARIS. THE TEXT OF THIS
MESSAGE READS: "REQUEST THE AMBASSADOR INFORM ((ME)) OF THE TIME THAT
ASSISTANT DUC IS TO LEAVE FOR WASHINGTON. RESPECTFULLY."

300

#0665

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~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

CLASSIFIED

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#0664 3330441

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

CLASSIFIED

ZNY MMNSH

Z 230439Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

CLASSIFIED

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMDRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ SECTION ONE OF TWO

3/00/VND/T -72

CLASSIFIED

TRANSMITTED HERewith IS A VND/T MESSAGE. PLEASE ADVISE IF ANY

LIMITATIONS ON DISTRIBUTION ARE REQUIRED. THIS MESSAGE WAS

TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITEHOUSE ONLY.

DRAFT OF CONCLUSION TO LETTER TO PRESIDENT NIXON SENT FROM PARIS

FOR PRESIDENT THIEU'S APPROVAL

CLASSIFIED

VIETNAMESE (OUTH) ENGLISH --

FR PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; ((PRESIDENTIAL PRESS

SECRETARY)) HOANG DUC NHA 28 NOV 72 0210

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT' OFFICE; ((CHIEF OF CABINET))

COL. VO VAN CAM FLASH 052/PDVN/P

#39

SUGGESTION THAT OUR PEOPLE AND THEIR (DUAL ELECTED) LEADERS

CLASSIFIED ((THIEU)) IMMEDIATELY.

CLASSIFIED "TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC FROM HOANG DUC NHA.

CLASSIFIED "HERE IS THE PROJECTED CONCLUSION ((TO THE)) LETTER ((TO PRESIDENT NIXON)). PLEASE GIVE US YOUR FINAL OPINION ((ON IT)).

CLASSIFIED "CONCLUSION

CLASSIFIED "DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

CLASSIFIED "I CONVEY TO YOU IN ALL CANDOR MY VIEWS ON THE MAJOR ASPECTS OF THE PENDING PEACE SETTLEMENT IN THE SPIRIT OF THE VERY CLOSE AND CON-

CLASSIFIED FIDENT RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS ENABLED US TO OVERCOME TOGETHER SO MANY DIFFICULTIES IN THE PAST FOUR YEARS.

CLASSIFIED "THE BLOOD WHICH HAS BEEN SHED BY SO MANY SOLDIERS OF OUR TWO

COUNTRIES FIGHTING SIDE BY SIDE HAS FORGED UNBREAKABLE BONDS OF

CLASSIFIED FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS. WE OWE TO THEM TO ENSURE THAT THE SACRIFICES THEY HAVE MADE WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE KIND OF PEACE THEY GAVE THEIR LIVES TO BRING ABOUT.

" THOSE BRAVE MEN HAD BEEN CALLED UPON TO FIGHT TO REPEL

CLASSIFIED THE UNDE((XM)) NORTH VIETNAMESE AGGRESSION IN ORDER

TO ENABLE THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM TO LIVE IN FREEDOM,

AND TO ESTABLISH GENUINE PEACE AND

STABILITY FOR THIS PART OF THE WORLD. TO THAT EFFECT, OUR TWO

GOVERNMENTS, IN MANY SUMMIT CONFERENCES AND NUMEROUS STATEMENTS,

HAVE DECLARED THAT THE PURPOSE OF OUR STRUGGLE IS TO MAKE

HAVE DECLARED THAT THE PURPOSE OF OUR STRUGGLE (C VAL WAS) TO MAKE

CLASSIFIED

SURE THAT AGRESSION SHOULD NOT BE (C VAL REWARDED) AND THAT THE
PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM ARE ENTITLED TO EXERT THEIR RIGHT TO SELF
-DETERMINATION FREE FROM THE PRESSURE OF VIOLENCE
AND THREAT OF FORCE, AND FREE FROM ANY EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE.

CLASSIFIED

FOR THE REASONS I ((GAVE)) EXPLAINED ABOVE, THE DRAFT AGREEMENT WHICH
THE COMMUNISTS ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE ON US CANNOT BY ANY OBJECTIVE
STANDARD FULFILL THESE CRITERIA. ON THE CONTRARY, THEY WILL
NEGATE ALL THE EFFORTS AND SACRIFICES WE HAVE MADE FOR SO LONG.

CLASSIFIED

"I WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT ((I WD G)) THAT THE VIEWS I EXPRESS HERE
ARE NOT MERELY MY PERSONAL ONES. THEY REFLECT THE FIRM CONVICTION OF
THE 17 MILLION AND A GALT OF THE PEOPLE OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM,
IN EVERY WALK OF LIFE, AS EXPOUNDED FORCEFULLY AND UNMISTAKABLY BY

CLASSIFIED

THEIR (B VAL ELECTED) LEADERS AT ALL LEVELS, IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,
THE SUPREME COURT, THE PROVINCIAL AND VILLAGE COUNCILS THROUGHOUT
THE LAND, AS WELL AS DIRECTLY AND SPONTANEOUSLY IN POPULAR AND
SPONTANEOUS DEMONSTRATIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY,

CLASSIFIED

UPON THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE 9 POINTS IN THE COMMUNIST DRAFT AGREEMENT
PUBLISHED BY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AGGRESSORS IN THEIR RADIO BROADCAST
LAST MONTH.

"NO ONE CAN DENY THAT SOUTH VIETNAM IS THE VICTIM OF A
BLATANT AGRESSION COMMITTED BY NORTH VIETNAM. THEREFORE, ANY

SUGGESTION THAT OUR PEOPLE AND THEIR (B VAL ELECTED) LEADERS

ARE AN OBSTACLE TO PEACE FOR RESUSING THE TERIMS IMPOSED BY
THE AGGRESSORS IS A MOST CRUEL IRONY.

"I AM AWARE THAT, FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE U.E., THIS
PROTRACTED WAR IN A FARAWAY LAND HAS BEEN TAXING TOO HEAVILY

ON YOUR HUMAN AND NATURAL RESOURCES. THEREFORE, THIS CANNOT
GO ON INDEFINITELY. THAT IS WHY YOU HAVE AROUSED GREAT AD-
MIRATION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND STRONG SUPPORT IN THE

U.S. BY THE NIXON DICTRINE, WHEREBY THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE

TO HONOR ITS COMMITMENTS ABROAD, AND WILL HELP OTHER PEOPLES

TO DEFEND THEMSELVES, EACH MENACED COUNTRY BEING EXPECTED

TO PROVIDE THE MANPOWER AND TO DISPLAY THE DETERMINATION

IN ITS SELF-DEFENSE. IN THIS REGARD, YOU HAVE CONSIDERED THE

REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM AS THE TEST CASE OF ((THE)) NIXON DICTRINE.

700

#0664

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

NNNN

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

CLASSIFIED

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DE

#0665 3330441

ZNY MMNSH

Z 280439Z NOV 72 ZYH

CLASSIFIED

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

ZEM

CLASSIFIED

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ FINAL SECTION OF TWO

3/00/VND/T. -72

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TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITEHOUSE ONLY.

CLASSIFIED

"I AM PROUD TO SAY THAT ((THE)) SOUTH VIETNAMESE

PEOPLE HAVE DONE FULLY THEIR SHARE IN THIS JOINT UNDERTAKING."

AT A TIME WHEN THE U. . HAS WITHDRAWN HALF A MILLION OF ITS

TROOPS, THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES AND PEOPLE HAVE

THWARTED A GENERAL OFFENSIVE LAUNCHED THIS YEAR BY THE

#39

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NORTH VIETNAMESE AGGRESSORS WITH HUGE AND SOPHISTICATED
ARMAMENTS SUPPLIED BY THE COMMUNIST POWERS. THE AGGRESSORS
HAVE BEEN GREATLY WEAKENED BY THAT SETBACK. THE NIXON
DOCTRINE HAS BEEN FULLY VINDICATED. WHAT REMAINS IS ONLY TO
ACHIEVE WHAT HAS BEEN MOSTLY DONE ALREADY, TO FULFILL OUR
COMMON GOALS OF PEACE WITH HONOR, AND A GENUINE AND LASTING
PEACE FOR SOUTHEAST ASIA.

CLASSIFIED

CLASSIFIED

" INSTEAD, THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE SETTLEMENT, AS THE
COMMUNISTS NOW TRY TO IMPOSE ON US, WILL FRUSTRATE AND DEFEAT
OUR COMMON BASIC PURPOSES, BECAUSE IN THAT SETTLEMENT THE
COMMUNIST AGGRESSORS REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE OBLIGATION
TO WITHDRAW THEIR TROOPS CONCURRENTLY WITH THE WITHDRAWAL
OF ALLIED TROOPS FROM SOUTH VIETNAM. THE DRAFT AGREEMENT ALSO
DISCARDS THE ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES OF THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENT,
BY THE REFUSAL OF HANOI AMONG OTHER THINGS TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE
PRINCIPLE THAT THE TWO STATES OF VIETNAM, DEMARCATED BY THE
17TH PARALLEL HAVE TO RESPECT THE DMZ AS WELL AS EACH OTHER'
TERRITORY. FURTHERMORE, IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT NORTH
VIETNAM ARROGATES THE RIGHT TO IMPOSE A POLITICAL SOLUTION
ON THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM, WHICH IS BOTH CONTRARY
TO THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENT AND TO THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES
OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, UNDER WHICH NO STATE IS ENTITLED TO

CLASSIFIED

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CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

"THE ISSUE THEREFORE GOES MUCH BEYOND VIETNAM ITSELF.
BUT THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE CANNOT DO LESS THAN TO CONVEY
TO YOU. IN UTMOST SINCERITY AND FRANKNESS THEIR VIEWS

CLASSIFIED

CLASSIFIED

CLASSIFIED

CLASSIFIED

CLASSIFIED

ON THIS VITAL MATTER, ON THE BASIS OF THEIR LONG AND INTIMATE EXPERIENCES WITH COMMUNIST TOTALITARIANISM AND EXPANSIONISM, AND BECAUSE THEY WILL HAVE TO LIVE OR DIE UNDER THE SETTLEMENT TO BE CONCLUDED WITH THE COMMUNISTAGGRESSORS. NO MATTER WHAT ACTION YOU FEEL YOU HAVE TO TAKE UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, I WISH TO ASSURE YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AND MYSELF ARE DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR WHAT YOU HAVE DONE IN RELATION TO VIETNAM IN RECENT YEARS. I HOPE AND PRAY THAT OUR GRATITUDE WILL GO FAR BEYOND IT, AND FUTURE GENERATIONS IN VIETNAM WILL REMEMBER YOU AS THE LEADER OF A GREAT ALLIED NATION WHICH WILL BRING ABOUT LASTING PEACE IN FREEDOM FOR VIETNAM AND SOUTHEAST ASIA."

TI 28 NOV 72 0226Z

XXHH

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#0665

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~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

CLASSIFIED

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

CLASSIFIED

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DE

#0671 3330723

ZNY MMNSH

Z 280721Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

ZEM

CLASSIFIED

~~TOP SECRET UMDRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

CLASSIFIED

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) VIETNAMESE --

SAIGON OFFERS FURTHER THOUGHTS TO TASK FORCE OF NEGOTIATORS

IN PARIS

FR SAIGON: PRESIDENT'E CABINET; COL. VO VAN CAM 28 NOV 72 1045

TO PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR))

PHAM DANG LAM IMMEDIATE 2785/PTT/VP

SECRET

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#40

FOR THE TASK FORCE.

(C VAL PRESIENT THIEU) OFFERS THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS

FOR THE TASK FORCE'S CONSIDERATION:

"SHOULD THE SUBJECT OF THE 8((XG))5 SOLUTION BE RAISED

WITH THE ALLY? WOULD IT BE OF ANY ADVANTAGE TO US? IF

(C VAL THAT) SOLUTION IS PICKED, WOULD (C VAL IT RESOLVE

THE MATTER) FOR ALL THREE SIDES? SHOULD (C VAL THAT)

SOLUTION BE DISCUSSED IN WASHINGTON OR NOT?"

ANSWER (C VAL PRESIDENT THIEU) BEFORE LEAVING ((FOR
WASHINGTON)).

TI 28 NOV 72 0333Z

180

#0671

NNNN

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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#0672

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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#0670 3330724

ZNY MMNSH

Z 280720Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

3/00/VND/T -72

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WAS TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH --

SAIGON SUGGESTS ADDITIONAL IDEA FOR CONCLUSION OF LETTER

TO PRESIDENT NIXON

FR SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((CHIEF OF CABINET))

VO VAN CAM 28 NOV 72 1300

TO PARIS: ((PRESIDENTIAL PRESS)) SECRETARY

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1972-460-250

#41

CLASSIFIED

1. ((WE)) AGREE TO THE ((DRAFT OF THE)) CONCLUSION

CLASSIFIED

((TO THE LETTER TO PRESIDENT NIXON AS RELAYED EARLIER
FROM PARIS FOR PRESIDENT THIEU'E APPROVAL)).

CLASSIFIED

2. IF THE TASK FORCE FEELS THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL,
PLEASE ADD THE FOLLOWING IDEA IN THE CONCLUSION:

CLASSIFIED

"THE PEOPLE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ((OUTH)) VIETNAM
ARE WELL AWARE THAT THE QUESTION OF SIGNING THE PEACE,
WITHDRAWING U.S. TROOPS, AND RECOVERING U. . PRISONERS
IS AN IMPORTANT REQUIREMENT FOR THE U.E. PEOPLE ((AND IS))
BEYOND A POLITICAL QUESTION OF SERVING U. . INTERESTS IN
THE WORLD. NEVERTHELESS, FOR THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE, IT
IS NOT A QUESTION OF POLITICS OR OF SIMPLE INTERESTS,
IT IS RATHER A QUESTION OF LIFE OR DEATH FOR 17 AND A
HALF MILLION ((VIETNAMESE PEOPLE)) IN THE PRESENT AND
FOR THEIR FUTURE GENERATIONS."

CLASSIFIED

TI 28 NOV 72 0512Z

280

#0670

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CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

ZCZCEXD826

ZZ [REDACTED] #8429 3332123

NY MMNSH

282121Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~
EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

XXMME NP01FO072333

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

AVS,AVN,KUS/FORP/.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE TASK FORCE IN PARIS DISCUSSES PROS AND CONS OF VARIOUS FORMULAS RELATED TO PEACE TALKS((1))

XXCC

FR PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE
DELEGATION; TASK FORCE 28 NOV 72 0715
TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S CABINET;
COL. VO VAN CAM -- 31/PDVN/TM

TOP SECRET

REFERENCE YOUR TELEGRAM NR. 2785.

WE WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO RETURNING TO THE 8 MAY FORMULA IF IT COULD (C VAL APPEAR) TO RESOLVE THE IMPASSE, BUT IT APPEARS DIFFICULT TO US TO RETURN TO ((THIS)) FORMULA BECAUSE THE COMMUNISTS HAVE ALREADY REJECTED IT. IN EFFECT, THIS FORMULA ADVOCATES A CEASE-FIRE AND THE RELEASE OF POWS BEFORE ANY POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. OF COURSE, WE COULD COMBINE THE 27 JANUARY SOLUTION WITH THE 8 MAY FORMULA. NEVERTHELESS, (B VAL NORTH VIETNAM), WITH AN OBVIOUS ADVANTAGE, WILL CLING TO THE CURRENT DRAFT AGREEMENT AND WILL, IN ALL LIKELIHOOD, MOVE THAT ((WE)), CONCERNING THE DRAFT AS IT STANDS, TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT. THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY SUBSTITUTE FORMULA DEPENDS UPON THE WILLINGNESS OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO MOVE THE PREVIOUS QUESTION ((POSSIBLE OMISSION)), CERTAIN BASIC PRINCIPLES.((2)) THIS IS VERY IMPROBABLE GIVEN THE CURRENT STATE OF THINGS. WE FEELGN NEVERTHELESS, THAT THE PROBLEM CAN BE RAISED CONVENIENTLY.

((1)) REISSUED BASED ON FURTHER ANALYSIS.

((2)) ALTERNATE TRANSLATION: . . . "OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO POSE THE QUESTION TH T PRECEDES CERTAIN BASIC PRINCIPLES";
MEANING UNCLEAR.

I 28 NOV 72 0634Z

XXHH

700

#8429

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

#42

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This work sheet contains i
Sections 793, 799.

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CLASSIFIED

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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DE

#0675 3330958

CLASSIFIED

ZNY MMNSH

Z 280954Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

CLASSIFIED

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~ 3/00/VND/T -72

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ANY LIMITATIONS ON DISTRIBUTION ARE REQUIRED. THIS MESSAGE WAS

CLASSIFIED

TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

VIETNAMESE (OUTH) FRENCH, ENGLISH --

SAIGON RELAYS SECHEDULE FOR NGUYEN PHU DUC TO MEET PRESIDENT

NIXON

FR SAIGON: ((PRESIDENT CABINET)); COL. VO VAN CAM 28 NOV 72 1640 #43

TO PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; HOANG DUC NHA IMMEDIATE 2790/

PTT/VP

CLASSIFIED

1. I HAVE RECEIVED AND SUBMITTED YOUR TELEGRAM NO. 41/PDVN/TM. IT

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CLASSIFIED
WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION WITH THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

TRAN VAN LAM, THIS EVENING.

CLASSIFIED
2. AMBASSADOR ((ELLSWORTH)) BUNKER CAME TO COMMUNICATE THE FOLLOWING
MESSAGE TO RESIDENT ((THIEU)). PLEASE INFORM ((PRESIDENTIAL))
ASSISTANT ((NGUYEN PHU)) DUC.

CLASSIFIED
"PRESIDENT NIXON HAS ASKED ME TO INFORM YOU THAT HE HAS (B VAL NOW)
SET ASIDE 3:00 P.M. ON WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29 (WASHINGTON TIME)
TO MEET WITH MR. DUC. PRESIDENT NIXON ANTICIPATES THAT MR. DUC WILL
BE AVAILABLE FOR THAT MEETING AND HOPES THAT MR. DUC WILL, FOR THIS
WEEK IS SO FULL THAT IF THE APPOINTMENT IS MISSED, THERE MAY NOT
BE ANOTHER OPPORTUNITY FOR HIM TO MEET WITH MR. DUC."

CLASSIFIED
REGARDS.

300

#0675

CLASSIFIED
NNNN
[]

CLASSIFIED

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

ZZ

DE

#0676 3330958

ZNY MMNSH

CLASSIFIED

Z 280955Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

ZEM

CLASSIFIED

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

3/00/VND/T -72

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ANY LIMITATIONS ON DISTRIBUTION ARE REQUIRED. THIS MESSAGE

WAS TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

CLASSIFIED

VIETNAMESE (SOUT) FRENCH --

NGUYEN PHU DUC AND TRAN KIM PHUONG TO LEAVE PARIS FOR

WASHINGTON; HOANG DUC NHA TO RETURN TO SAIGON FROM PARIS

CLASSIFIED

FR PARIS: ((SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION)); HOANG DUC NHA

28 NOV 72 0940

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT' CABINET; COL. VO VAN CAM IMMEDIATE

054/PDVN/P --

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#44

SPECIAL ASSISTANT ((NGUYEN PHU)) DUC AND AMBASSADOR

((TRAN KIM)) PHUONG ARE DEPARTING ((PARIS)) FOR WASHINGTON

AT 1230 HOURS TODAY (1930 HOURS TUESDAY, 28 ((NOVEMBER))

SAIGON TIME). I ((HOANG DUC NHA)) EXPECT TO DEPART ((PARIS))

FOR SAIGON ON WEDNESDAY AND I WILL ARRIVE ((IN SAIGON))

ON THURSDAY.

TI 28 NOV 72 0846Z

150

#0676

NNNN

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

CLASSIFIED

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

ZCZ CEXC439

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ZNY MMNSH

Z 282120Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

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VIETNAMESE ((SOUTH)) FRENCH

XXMMENP01FO072333

3/00/VND/T -72

AVS,AVN,KUS/FORP/.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE CABINET CHIEF ISSUES INSTRUCTIONS PRIOR TO SVN
OFFICIALS MEETING WITH U.S. PRESIDENT

XXCC

FR SAIGON: ((OFFICE OF THE)) PRESIDENT;

((COL.)) VO VAN CAM 28 NOV 72 1850H

TO PARIS: AMBASSADOR PHAM DANG LAM IMMEDIATE 2793/PTT/VP

FOR ASSISTANT ((NGUYEN PHU)) DUC AND AMBASSADOR ((PHAM DANG))
LAM; IF ASSISTANT DUC IS ALREADY EN ROUTE, PLEASE FORWARD.

"PURSUANT TO YOUR RESPONSE CONCERNING THE 8 MAY SOLUTION WITH
A VIEW TO PROVING THAT OUR GOVERNMENT DOES NOT CATEGORICALLY OPPOSE
ALL OPTIONS PROPOSED BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, WE THINK THAT YOU SHOULD,
NEVERTHELESS, PROPOSE TO PRESIDENT NIXON THE IDEA OF RETURNING TO
HIS SOLUTION OF MAY 8. IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT HE ((NIXON)) WILL REPLY
TO YOU THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE ALREADY REJECTED IT. YOU HAVE, AS
A RETORT, THAT THE COMMUNISTS REJECT EVERYTHING EXCEPT A SOLUTION
TOTALLY ADVANTAGEOUS FOR THEM, THUS ALLOWING THEM TO WIN. INSIST
IN THE TALKS THAT EVEN IF ((WE)) RETURN TO THE 8 MAY SOLUTION ONLY
THE USA AND THE COMMUNISTS HAVE ANYTHING TO GAIN. NAMELY, THE
USA WILL SECURE THE LIBERATION OF ALL U.S. PRISONERS AND WITHDRAWAL
OF U.S. TROOPS WITHIN 4 MONTHS AND THE COMMUNISTS WOULD SECURE A
TOTAL CESSATION OF BOMBING AND MINING IN ADDITION TO WITHDRAWAL
OF U.S. TROOPS AND PERHAPS ALSO OTHER ALLIES WITHIN 4 MONTHS. AS
FOR US, WE WILL ALWAYS BE IN A DISADVANTAGEOUS POSITION. NAMELY,
THE CESSATION OF THE BOMBING AND MINING OF NORTH VIETNAM IN ADDITION
TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS AND PERHAPS OTHER ALLIED BUT NOT
THE WITHDRAWAL OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS. EVEN WITH A CEASE-FIRE
THROUGHOUT ALL OF INDOCHINA WITH INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION, PROVIDED
FOR IN THE SOLUTION, WE STILL ARE ACCEPTING GREAT RISKS BECAUSE THAT
WILL NOT PREVENT NORTH VIETNAM FROM REVITALIZING ITSELF, CONTINUING
TO RECEIVE AID FROM THE COMMUNIST BLOC, PURSUING NEW INFILTRATIONS,
PLOTING A VIOLATION OF THE CEASE-FIRE, AND PREPARING A NEW
OFFENSIVE."

I REMIND YOU THAT DR. KISSINGER, IN HIS FIRST VISIT TO SAIGON,
PUT FORWARD THE IDEA OF RETURNING TO THE 8 MAY FORMULA AFTER THE
ELECTION.

XXHH

600

#8428

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

NNNN

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

~~GAMMA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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CLASSIFIED

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DE [REDACTED] #3067 3341608

MMORN

2901550Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA EXCLUSIVELY FOR

TO CIA MR HELMS

SOS DIA SECRETARY LAIRD, ADM MOORER AND

VADM DE POIX

TATE/RCI MR RS CLINE FOR SECRETARY ROGERS

WHITE HOUSE MR KISSINGER

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA NOFORN GAMMA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

XXMMENP01F0072334

OO /Z3-GOUT/T263-72

CLASSIFIED

SOUTH VIETNAMESE PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT RETURNS TO SAIGON FROM PARIS

XXCC

FR PARIS: DELEGATION; SPECIAL

SECRETARY TRAM NGOC BICH 29 NOV 72 1500

TO SAIGON: OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT;

DIRECTOR OF THE CABINET COLONEL

VO VAN CAM -- M

CLASSIFIED

PLEASE BE INFORMED THAT MONSIEUR HOANG DUC NHA TOOK A PLANE TODAY, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, ((AIR FRANCE)) FLIGHT AF192, AND ((WILL)) ARRIVE IN SAIGON ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30. ACCORDING TO HIS WISH, PLEASE DIVERT THE PRESS AT TAN SON NHUT AIRPORT.

TI 29 NOV 72 1400Z

HM X

500

#3067

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~~~NOFORN~~ #47

CLASSIFIED

NNNN

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CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

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CLASSIFIED

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~NOFORN~~~~GAMMA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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O 291710Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA EXCLUSIVELY FOR

TO CIA MR HELMS

SSO DIA SECRETARY LAIRD, ADM MOORER AND

VADM DE POIX

STATE/RCI MR RS CLINE FOR SECRETARY ROGERS

WHITE HOUSE MR KISSINGER

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA NOFORN GAMMA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

XXMMENP0 IF0072334

3/00/Z-GOUT/T265-72

AVS, KUS, LFR/FORP/B.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT IN PARIS ISSUES INSTRUCTIONS TO SPECIAL ASSISTANT IN WASHINGTON

XXCC

FR PARIS: ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT)) HOANG DUC

NHA 29 NOV 72

TO WASHINGTON: AMBASSADOR

TRAN KIM PHUONG FLASH 57/PDVNCH/PA

PLEASE ADVISE SPECIAL ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU DUC THAT I SUGGEST IN YOUR MEETING THIS AFTERNOON TO PLEASE STRESS THE LAST PART OF THE LETTER, PAGES 15-17. PLACE THE STRESS ON THE MORAL SIDE OF THE MATTER.

TI 29 NOV 72 0911Z

XXHH

200

#3108

CLASSIFIED

~~GAMMA CONTROLLED ITEM~~
~~NOFORN~~~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

NNNN

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#488

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

ZCZCEXA028

CLASSIFIED
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DE [] #3107 3341710

ZNY MMNSH

O 291703Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

XXMMENP01F0072334

3/00/VND/T -72

AVS, KUS/FORP/B, D.

CLASSIFIED
SAIGON ASKS THAT RESULTS OF MEETING BETWEEN VIETNAMESE SPECIAL
ENVOY AND PRESIDENT NIXON BE SENT IMMEDIATELY AFTER INTERVIEW

XXCC

CLASSIFIED
FR SAIGON: COL. VO VAN CAM 29 NOV 72 2150H

TO WASHINGTON: AMBASSADOR TRAN

KIM PHUONG IMMEDIATE 2830/PTT/VP

CLASSIFIED
PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) IS AWAITING NEWS OF THE TALKS BETWEEN
((SPECIAL)) ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU DUC AND PRESIDENT NIXON. PLEASE
((SEND)) A CABLE BY PLAIN LANGUAGE TELEX IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE
INTERVIEW. I WILL BE ON WATCH CONTINUALLY STARTING TODAY.

TI 29 NOV 72 0911Z

XXHH

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#3107

~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~ #49

CLASSIFIED

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

CLASSIFIED

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CLASSIFIED

ZNY MMNSH

Z 300312Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

CLASSIFIED

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

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3/00/VND/T -72

VIETNAMESE(SOUTH) FRENCH

NGUYEN PHU DUC GIVES INITIAL REPORT FOLLOWING MEETING

WITH PRESIDENT NIXON

FR WASHINGTON: SOUTH VIETNAMESE EMBASSY; ((PRESIDENTIAL

ASSISTANT)) NGUYEN PHU DUC 29 NOV 72 2055

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT' OFFICE; CHIEF OF CABINET VO VAN CAM -- 263/

W/VP

FOR YOUR INFORMATION, HAVE COME FROM A LONG MEETING WITH

PRESIDENT NIXON AT THE WHITE HOUSE ((WHICH LASTED)) FROM 1500

TO 1730 HOURS. DR. KISSINGER AND GENERAL HAIG ASSISTED AT THE

MEETING. AMBASSADOR ((TRAN KIM)) PHUONG WAS AT MY SIDE.

I PRESENTED YOUR LETTER TO PRESIDENT NIXON, WHO READ IT WITH

GREAT CARE, AND THEN I ELUCIDATED VARIOUS ASPECTS OF OUR POSITION.

IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THIS MEETING I HELD A DISCUSSION FOR AN HOUR

AND A HALF WITH DR. KISSINGER IN HIS OFFICE. THE ATMOSPHERE

WAS CORDIAL. THE DETAILS OF THE CONVERSATIONS WILL BE SENT

((TO YOU)) BY CODED MESSAGE.

TOMORROW I WILL HAVE ANOTHER MEETING WITH KISSINGER AT 0915

HOURS FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER MEETING WITH PRESIDENT NIXON AT 1130

HOURS. RESPECTS. ((1))

((1)) THE ABOVE MESSAGE FROM WASHINGTON WAS PRECEDED BY A

MESSAGE TO THE SVN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON FROM COL. VO VAN CAM

IN SAIGON DATED 300935 NOV, NO. 2275/TELEX. CAM' MESSAGE READ

AS FOLLOWS: "IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE AUDIENCE ((WITH PRESIDENT

NIXON)) PLEASE: 1. CABLE ME THE PROGRAM OF ((PRESIDENTIAL))

ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU DUC. 2. AWAIT THE ORDERS ((OF)) PRESIDENT

((THIEU))." AT APPROXIMATELY ~~1701Z~~ ^{0501Z} HOURS 30 NOV, THE CODE CLERK

AT THE WASHINGTON EMBASSY RESPONDED TO COL. VO VAN CAM' PLEA

THAT "PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) S IMPATIENTLY AWAITING ASSISTANT

DUK'S MESSAGES" BY SAYING THAT SHE WAS WORKING ALONE AND WOULD

TRANSMIT THE MESSAGE JUST AS SOON AS SHE COULD GET IT

ENCIPHERED.

TI 30 NOV 72 0155Z

395

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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ZNY MNNSH

Z 301210Z NOV 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

VIETNAMESE (OUTH) FRENCH --

THEU'S SPECIAL ENVOY REPORTS TALKS WITH NIXON

FR WAHSINGTON: ((OUTH VIETNAMESE EMBASSY;

SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

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U S GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

#51

NGUYEN PHU DUC 30 NOV 72 0100

TO ((AIGON)): PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; CHIEF OF CABINET,

COL. VO VAN CAM URGENT 55/C/TKP/W/264/TLX

PURSUANT TO MY TELEGRAM NO. 263 OF 29 NOVEMBER:

PRESIDENT NIXON SAID THAT THE NEXT NEGOTIATING SESSION
IN PARIS WILL BE THE LAST, AND THAT UNLESS THE AGREEMENT IS
SIGNED, CONGRESS WILL CUT OFF AID TO SOUTH VIETNAM.

I PRESENTED, WITH INSISTENCE AND WITH DETAILED ARGUMENT,

OUR POSITION OF THE THREE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS:

1. WITHDRAWAL OF THE NVA ((NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY));
2. COMPOSITION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE CNRC ((NATIONAL
COUNCIL FOR RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD)); AND
3. OUR OPPOSITION TO THE PRG ((PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY
GOVERNMENT)) AS A GOVERNMENT PARALLEL TO GVN ((GOVERNMENT
OF SOUTH VIETNAM)).

NIXON SAID FIRST OF ALL THAT WHAT IS ESSENTIAL FOR

THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM IS THE SUPPORT OF THE U. . GOVERNMENT
AS WELL AS THE DETERMINATION OF THE U.E. ((TO RESORT TO))

VIOLENT REPRISALS AGAINST NORTH VIETNAM IN CASE OF VIOLATIONS,

AND NOT THE CLAUSES OF AN AGREEMENT WHICH, ACCORDING TO

HIS WORDS, IS "JUST A PIECE OF PAPER" DEVOID OF IMPORTANCE.

AT THAT ((POINT)) I DREW HIS ATTENTION TO THE GRAVE

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CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1972-460-250

CLASSIFIED REPERCUSSIONS ON THE MORALE OF THE ARVN ((ARMY OF THE
REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM)) AND THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM,
WHO STAND TO COMPROMISE EVERYTHING SHOULD WE NOT BE ABLE TO
EXPLAIN THAT THE AGREEMENT IS A SUCCESS FOR OUR CAUSE,
AND WE CANNOT DO THAT IF SATISFACTION IS NOT GIVEN TO THESE
FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

CLASSIFIED NIXON THEN GAVE INSTRUCTIONS TO ((DR. HENRY A.))
KISSINGER TO MAKE AN EFFORT IN THE DIRECTION REQUESTED AS
POSSIBLE.

CLASSIFIED WITH NIXON'S APPROVAL, KISSINGER PROPOSED THE FOLLOWING
FOR US:

CLASSIFIED 1. CONCERNING THE NVA, HE WILL SEEK TO ADD TO ARTICLE
15, ON THE DMZ ((DEMILITARIZED ZONE)), THE PHRASE: "RESPECT
EACH OTHER'S TERRITORY IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 24 OF
THE GENEVA AGREEMENT." IN ANOTHER CONNECTION IN THE NEW
ARTICLE 13, THE PHRASE "THE QUESTION OF VIETNAMESE ARMED
FORCES IN SOUTH VIETNAM SHALL BE SETTLED BY THE TWO
SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES" COULD BE MODIFIED TO READ:
"THE QUESTION OFS SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES IN SOUTH
VIETNAM, ETC."

CLASSIFIED 2. HE WILL TRY TO HAVE THE WORDS PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY
GOVERNMENT ELIMINATED FROM THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT.

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3. CONCERNING THE CNCR, ALL THAT HE WOULD BE ABLE TO DO

IS TO OBTAIN THE WORDS "ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE" INSTEAD OF
"GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE." . . . ((1))

((1)) REMAINDER OF TEXT NOT PRESENTLY AVAILABLE.

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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ZZ [] #8299 3351643

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FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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THIEU'S SPECIAL ENVOY REPORTS TALKS WITH PRESIDENT NIXON((1))

XXCC

FR WASHINGTON: ((SOUTH VIETNAMESE EMBASSY)); ((SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT)) NGUYEN PHU DUC 30 NOV 72 0100

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;
CHIEF OF CABINET; COL. VO VAN
CAM URGENT 55/C/TKP/W/264/TLX

...NONE OF THE OTHER WORDS IN THE TEXT CAN BE CHANGED, INCLUDING THE WORDS "THREE COMPONENTS" WHICH WILL THUS REMAIN. IN EXCHANGE FOR THE MODIFICATIONS INDICATED ABOVE, HE SAID THAT WE MUST ACCEPT THE OTHER PORTIONS OF THE TEXT, AS IS, IN A GENERAL PACKAGE. IF POSSIBLE, PLEASE GIVE ME YOUR INSTRUCTIONS FOR A RESPONSE TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TOMORROW MORNING (30 NOVEMBER 1972) IN WASHINGTON. I PRESENTED TO PRESIDENT NIXON YOUR PROPOSAL FOR A RETURN TO THE SOLUTION ADVOCATED ON 8 MAY AND FOR VIETNAMIZATION OF THE PEACE BY DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE VIETNAMESE PARTIES. ((PRESIDENT)) NIXON REPLIED THAT IT IS TOO LATE FOR THAT NOW. IN HIS WORDS "WE HAVE NO MORE TIME. WE PASSED THAT PERIOD." CONCERNING THE EXCHANGE OF 10,000 NORTH VIETNAMESE PRISONERS FOR U.S. POWS, NIXON SAID THAT HANOI HAD ALREADY REFUSED. ON THE SUBJECT OF YOUR MEETING WITH NIXON TO DISCUSS THE NEGOTIATIONS, HE SAID THAT SUCH A MEETING IS NOT POSSIBLE UNTIL AFTER THE ACCORD IS SIGNED. AT THAT TIME HE WOULD BE VERY HAPPY TO RECEIVE YOU HERE TO CONFIRM HIS SUPPORT FOR YOU. NEVERTHELESS, HE GAVE US THESE PROMISES IN CASE AN ACCORD IS SIGNED:

1. MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID TO SOUTH VIETNAM.
2. THE U.S. AIR FORCE WILL RESUME BOMBING IN CASE OF COMMUNIST VIOLATIONS.
3. HE STANDS FIRMLY WITH YOU.
4. HE HAS UNDERSTANDINGS WITH RUSSIA AND PEKING ON LIMITATIONS OF COMMUNIST AID TO NORTH VIETNAM.

AT THIS TIME ((PRESIDENT)) NIXON ALSO BROACHED THE QUESTION OF THE VIETNAMESE PRESS AND SUGGESTED THAT I WOULD BE BETTER IF THE DIFFERENCES OF VIEW BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS REMAINED SECRET AT THIS TIME IN THE COMMON INTEREST.

((1)) CONTINUATION OF MESSAGE SUBMITTED EARLIER TODAY WITH THE SAME SERIAL NUMBER.

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FM DIRNSA

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

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AVS/FORP/B.

PRESIDENT THIEU PREPARING DIRECTIVE FOR PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT DUC
IN WASHINGTON

XXCC

FR SAIGON: COL. VO VAN CAM,

CHIEF OF THE PRESIDENT'S

CABINET 30 NOV 72 1945

TO WASHINGTON: AMBASSADOR TRAN

KIM PHUONG IMMEDIATE 2282/TLX

THE PRESIDENT HAS DIRECTED ((ME TO)) REPORT CLEARLY TO THE
AMBASSADOR ((THE FOLLOWING)):

1. THE TEXT OF ((PRESIDENTIAL)) ASSISTANT ((NGUYEN PHU))
DUC'S MESSAGE THAT THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE FINISHED RECEIVING
AT 1800 HOURS SAIGON TIME ARRIVED TOO LATE BECAUSE IT HAD TO
BE ENCRYPTED. THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE FINISHED DECRYPTING IT
AT 1815 HOURS. THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MET AT 1700 HOURS
AND IS STILL IN SESSION. THE PRESIDENT IS STILL PREPARING A
DIRECTIVE WHICH ((I)) WILL SEND AT ONCE UPON ITS COMPLETION.

2. THE PRESIDENT DIRECTED THE TELEX BUREAU IN WASHINGTON
TO SEND ((MESSAGES)) QUICKLY IN THE CLEAR BUT THE BUREAU DID NOT
CARRY OUT ((THIS DIRECTIVE)). THUS, REQUEST THAT THE AMBASSADOR
PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE PROBLEM OF TIMELINESS AND WHEN WE
ASK ((THE BUREAU)), ((IT)) MUST REPORT TO THE AMBASSADOR AND CARRY
OUT ((THE REQUEST)).

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John H. Hagg

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GOVERNMENT	SYSTEM (language)	W3	SERIES	
Vietnamese (South)			S/00/DOLL-VND/T -72	
TITLE			(REP NO.)	
THIEU SENDS INSTRUCTIONS TO SPECIAL ENVOY TO WASHINGTON				
FROM			DTG	
Saigon: Office of the President, HANG DUC NHA			30 Nov 72 2100H	
			ORIG. PREC.	
			Immediate	
TO			ORIG. SERIAL	
Washington: Ambassador TRAN KIM PHUONG			3379/PTT/BT	

Attention: Special Assistant [NGUYEN PHU] DUC and Ambassador [TRAN KIM PHUONG]

PHUONG

Reference your telegram nr. 55. [1]

I have the honor to inform you of the following:

1. Please explain to the U.S. Government that due to delays in coding and decoding our telegrams and since we could not decode your telegram Nr. 55 until late today, we were unable to send instructions sooner. Such an attitude on our part cannot be interpreted as a lack of good will. We request understanding on the part of the U.S. Government on this point.

2. Here are President [THIEU]'s instructions after deliberations with the NSC [National Security Council]. ① On the points which the U.S. Government proposes changing, i.e. reference [paragraphs] 1 and 2 of your telegram, the Government of South Vietnam would be happy if that can be done. However, the question of withdrawal of the NVA remains unresolved.

② On [paragraph] 3 of your telegram the Government of South Vietnam does not agree. We maintain our version as represented in our memo of 18 November. In summary we cannot allow the text of the agreement with these few proposed modifications as the U.S. Government suggests and accept

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TOTAL		ORGANIZATIONAL DESIGNATOR
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other parts as is. Please stress that we are encouraged by the good will of the U.S. Government but the fundamental problems are not yet resolved.

③ Please state that President [THIEU] reaffirms that the two key problems - namely the presence of the NVA and the composition as well as the functions and prerogatives of the CNCR [National Council of Concord and Reconciliation] - are problems of life and death for us. We want to see them resolved and we demand that North Vietnam be explicit about them, as indicated in our memo of 18 November. Please present this ~~XX~~ side following the line of President [THIEU]'s letter to [President] NIXON. Kindly stress to ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ [President] NIXON that these two problems are equal. That is to say that on the principle plan in the agreement as well as in reality, if the problem of the presence of the NVA is not resolved, there ~~W~~ can be ~~NOX~~ no internal political solution between us and the NLF [National Liberation Front] and vice versa. (On this point employ the arguments in the letter.) For this reason there are now only two paths left. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Either [2] these two problems (C val for) peace in the agreement according to our proposals in the memo of 18 November and which we have explained, defended and ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ elaborated on for months and recently in the letter; or reject these two problems because they are incompatible.

④ For these reasons and to show a maximum of good will and not to appear an obstacle to a cease-fire, peace, and the return of prisoners before Christmas, we ask again that the U.S. reconsider the military solution of 8 May. Thus the U.S. can obtain its objectives, that is, a retreat of troops, a cease-fire under international control, and the return of POWs. While we will be at an extreme disadvantage, (C/ val but) we will accept sacrifices. On this point, please point out that this solution will be extremely ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ advantageous for the U.S. and NVN. An although disadvantageous for us, we are prepared to accept it. Also, still in the sense of this solution, if the U.S. thinks of other alternatives, we will be happy to welcome the ideas. Some alternatives may be different variations combinations or permutations of the basic 8 May solution. ~~7~~ also, please insist that if the sense of this solution [is] accepted, the U.S. would then achieve ~~MS~~ military disengagement and we alone will continue our fight. And that we will negotiate directly with NVN and the NLF on the internal

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political questions. At that time the U.S. people and government would only have to seriously carry out military and economic Vietnamization and to take retaliatory steps in case of violations by NVN.

⑤ Please state also that the option prescribed by the U.S., namely, either to sign the agreement now or the U.S. will have a separate arrangement, places us in an impasse with no way out. That would be equivalent to immediate death [after] having taken a poisonous pill.

⑥ Please RM tell [President] NIXON that due to our ~~UNUSUAL~~ shortage of material means, President [THIEU] was not able to send a letter detailing previous points. Please cable the response after the interview.

[1] Submitted for series check on 30 November 1972.

[2] Obvious omission.

~~TOP SECRET~~

SUMMARY OF VIETNAMESE PEACE TALKS

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~
~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

Message #54 From: Washington To: Saigon 30 November 1972

Ambassador Tran Kim Phuong and Nguyen Phu Duc report that they are scheduled to meet Mr. Kissinger and General Haig on Friday, 1 December at 1030. Duc will depart for Saigon on Saturday morning and Phuong will leave for Paris on Saturday afternoon.

Message #55 From: Washington To: Saigon 30 November 1972

Duc reports that during his meeting with Mr. Kissinger on 30 November he continued to insist on South Vietnam's fundamental questions, whereas Kissinger responded that it was not possible to obtain any change beyond those mentioned yesterday. Kissinger again asked SVN to provide a list of priorities, "defining those points on which we place the most importance and others on which we can effect a compromise." President Nixon informed Duc that the agreement was to be signed by 22 December at the latest and that he would meet with President Thieu prior to the signing, "not to negotiate, but to personally give formal assurances of support."

Message #56 From: Saigon To: Washington 1 December 1972

In this message, Saigon advised the SVN delegation in Washington that the U.S. Government had not found a way "to defend us (SVN) against the Communists." Saigon further indicated that in any effort to place SVN objections in priority order, the questions of NVN withdrawal and the CNRC were of equal priority and that resolution of all other questions was contingent upon these two issues.

Special Assistant Duc was instructed to return to Saigon to report to the Government, while Ambassador Phuong was instructed to go to Paris to brief and assist Lam.

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Message #57 From: Washington To: Saigon 1 December 1972

Nguyen Phu Duc will arrive in Saigon on 4 December.

Message #58 From: Paris To: Saigon 4 December 1972

Mr. Kissinger informs South Vietnamese that he has received instructions to conclude negotiations this week on the basis of option two--demobilization on a one-for-one basis and modifications in the wording of the article creating the National Council for Reconciliation and Concord. Kissinger also reconfirmed that the U.S. has decided to sign the agreement on 21 December.

Message #59 From: Saigon To: Paris 4 December 1972

Saigon informs Paris that at this time it has no additional instructions, pending the completion of the NSC meeting.

Message #60 From: Paris To: Saigon 4 December 1972

The South Vietnamese delegation in Paris requests instructions in the event that the draft protocol is agreed to and presented to the plenary session for discussion this Thursday. Ambassador Lam suggests three courses of action which are open to South Vietnam:

1. boycott the session
2. attend the session without participating in the discussion
3. attend the session and participate in the discussion

Message #61 From: Paris To: Saigon 5 December 1972

Mr. Kissinger informs the South Vietnamese that North Vietnam has rejected all of the modifications to the draft agreement as proposed by the U.S. Kissinger added that at today's work session he will make no more new proposals and that "In case they accept option 2, we will settle. In case they maintain their demands- we are going to suspend the negotiations."

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Message #62 From: Paris To: Saigon 5 December 1972

Ambassador Lam informs Saigon that the work session scheduled for 5 December between Mr. Kissinger and Le Duc Tho had been postponed until 6 December. Lam speculates that the session may have been cancelled to avoid a breakdown in the negotiations and would also allow the U.S. to seek the intervention of a third party in an attempt to persuade North Vietnam to accept modifications to the draft accords.

Message #63 From: Saigon To: Paris 5 December 1972

Saigon informs Paris that the National Security Council is awaiting the report on the second Kissinger-Le Duc Tho meeting before forwarding its opinion. (Saigon had apparently not received the earlier message stating that the scheduled 5 December meeting had been cancelled.)

Message #64 From: Saigon To: Paris 6 December 1972

Saigon requests that Mr. Kissinger be reminded that he had promised in Washington that he would use all his efforts to persuade the North Vietnamese to accept modifications that the South Vietnamese feel are essential to solve the two basic questions regarding the accords. According to Hoang Duc Nha these basic questions are: 1) the withdrawal of the NVA to North Vietnam, 2) no PRG as a parallel government coexisting with the GVN, and 3) the National Council of Reconciliation and Concord.

Message #65 From: Paris To: Saigon 6 December 1972

Mr. Kissinger informed the South Vietnamese that Le Duc Tho remains firm in his opposition to any change in the draft accords and, in fact, withdrew all of North Vietnam's earlier concessions. Kissinger added that if South Vietnam desires to make any changes to the 8 October draft "then we must make reciprocal concessions." Another meeting is scheduled for Thursday and if North Vietnam maintains its position, a breakdown in the negotiations is inevitable because the U.S. will not sign the 8 October draft as it now stands.

Kissinger concluded his briefing by emphasizing to the South Vietnamese that it is in their best interests to become advocates of a common agreement rather than push for an agreement only between the U.S. and North Vietnam.

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Message #66 From: Saigon To: Paris 7 December 1972

Saigon reiterates its position regarding modifications to the draft accords. Ambassador Lam is instructed not to give a yes or no response to any question by Mr. Kissinger about the possibility of a separate agreement between the U.S. and North Vietnam. The object is to avoid "Kissinger cornering us into being the first to suggest an agreement."

Message #67 From: Paris To: Saigon 7 December 1972

Ambassador Lam requests confirmation of and instructions for comment on an alleged interview with the SVN Foreign Minister which will appear in the 8 December issue of the New York Times. According to Lam, the Foreign Minister stated that South Vietnam is prepared to sign the ceasefire and is ready to free "civil prisoners" to aid the U.S. in recovering POWs.

Message #68 From: Paris To: Saigon 7 December 1972

In reference to Item #66, Ambassador Lam explains to Saigon that Mr. Kissinger only brought up President Thieu's letter incidently and did not appear to be seeking a pretext for justifying a separate agreement between the U.S. and North Vietnam. Lam added that Kissinger had earlier clarified the only reasons that would oblige the U.S. to seek a separate agreement, namely, "political realities in the event that it would be impossible to arrive at a common accord."

Message #69 From: Paris To: Saigon 7 December 1972

Mr. Kissinger informs the South Vietnamese that the 7 December meeting did not register any progress, although Le Duc Tho did modify the North Vietnamese position of yesterday when they demanded upholding the unabridged version 8 October draft. Kissinger added that at the meeting on 8 December, if Le Duc Tho does not attempt "to test" the points on administrative structure, the DMZ, and demobilization, "Kissinger will ask for an adjournment and will return to Washington for consultations." Lam concluded the report to Saigon by stating that Kissinger continues to believe that the South Vietnamese Government is adopting a strategy of letting the U.S. act alone without making an active contribution.

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Message # 70 From: Saigon To: Paris 8 December 1972

Saigon sends new instructions to Paris, revealing compromise on some key points such as agreeing to the elimination from the text the words "administrative structure". Saigon also states that if agreement is on the equal demobilization by both sides then "we have no objection to freeing all so-called political prisoners."

Message #71 From: Paris To: Saigon 9 December 1972

Mr. Kissinger informs the South Vietnamese that he feels he will be able to obtain from the North Vietnamese:

1. deletion of "administrative structure"
2. relinquishment of the demand for discussion on a new status for the DMZ
3. renunciation of the request for withdrawal of foreign civilian personnel
4. some concession on the question of reciprocal non-violation of territory.

Kissinger also told the South Vietnamese that, "In the next 48 hours, we will reach the point of either breaking up or accepting what we could achieve at that time".

Message #72 From: Saigon To: Paris 9 December 1972

Saigon informs Paris that the NSC is scheduled to meet and will forward instructions as soon as possible.

Message #73 From: Saigon To: Paris 9 December 1972

Saigon rejects all points presented in item #71, stating that a South Vietnamese compromise on the release of political prisoners is a great sacrifice and only will be considered if North Vietnam accepts all of South Vietnam's proposals. Saigon also reiterates its firm opposition to the PRG playing any role in the agreement, either by signing or being mentioned in the preamble.

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Message #74 From: Saigon To: Paris 9 December 1972

Saigon clarifies its position on the signing of the agreement, basically adhering to the "two sides" formula with the US-SVN on one side and North Vietnam-NLF on the other. The message added that the NLF is considered as comprising part of the Communist side and "will be designated as the NLF, not as the PRG".

Message #75 From: Saigon To: Paris 9 December 1972

Paris reports on 9 December Kissinger briefing. After giving a brief summary of his session with the North Vietnamese, Mr. Kissinger displayed his displeasure at a South Vietnamese memorandum (the text in item #73) stating that anytime he attempts to consult with the South Vietnamese on negotiation tactics, Saigon insists on raising points already rejected by North Vietnam. Kissinger concluded his briefing by stating that he is convinced that an agreement not entirely satisfactory to SVN "is still better than being without an agreement".

Ambassador Lam concluded his report by stating that with Kissinger remaining so long in Paris and General Haig's return to Washington to brief the President, it is his impression that next week's meetings could well be the last.

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Message #76 From: Paris To: Saigon 11 December 1972

Ambassador Lam requests instructions as to whether he should approach Maurice Schumann regarding Schumann's statements concerning France's role in the reconstruction of Vietnam. Lam adds that since North Vietnam and the NLF have responded favorably to Schumann's statement, "The French press considers our silence to date as reticence toward France."

Message #77 From: Saigon To: Paris 9 December 1972

Final point of message #73 (previously unreadable). Saigon again insists that if the problem regarding North Vietnamese troops remains unresolved, "it is impossible to arrive at an agreement."

Message #78 From: Paris To: Saigon 11 December 1972

Mr. Kissinger requests that in President Thieu's speech before Parliament he address the negotiations in general terms without making any specific proposals. Kissinger believes this approach would gain South Vietnam the support of U.S. public opinion, especially if President Thieu states he is ready to aid in obtaining the release of U.S. POWs.

Message #79 From: Paris To: Saigon 11 December 1972

Mr. Kissinger informed the South Vietnamese that the 11 December meeting again resulted in no progress. Le Duc Tho expressed his opposition to a four-party signing of the accord, suggesting the U.S. and North Vietnam sign one copy of the agreement with the PRG mentioned in the preamble and South Vietnam and the NLF sign another copy with the preamble omitted. North Vietnam then openly speculated on the inevitable and imminent confrontation between Washington and Saigon.

Kissinger will return to Washington immediately following the 12 December meeting. Ambassadors Porter and Sullivan will meet with the North Vietnamese on 13 December and Sullivan will remain in Paris for two more days, if necessary, to discuss protocol arrangements.

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Message #80 From: Paris To: Saigon 12 December 1972

Ambassador Porter briefed the South Vietnamese on the three sessions held on 12 December. Porter emphasized that even though no further date had been set for meetings with Le Duc Tho, Kissinger's departure from Paris did not signify a break in the negotiations. However, Porter added, Washington will stay in touch with Hanoi to see "what we can do with them." Ambassador Lam also reported that negotiations have reached a decisive stage and that Washington seems to have decided to deal directly with Hanoi without consulting the South Vietnamese. Lam concluded that "from now on it will be through normal diplomatic channels between Saigon and Washington that we will obtain information on the progress of the negotiations."

Message #81 From: Saigon To: Paris 13 December 1972

Saigon repeats its statement that as long as the vital points are not resolved "it is useless to discuss details."

Ambassador Phuong is instructed to return to Saigon before flying on to Washington.

In his speech tomorrow at the plenary session, Ambassador Lam is directed to "present the ideas of President Thieu in his message concerning the truce", and to "make much of the stir created by this offer in the press."

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Message #82 From: Saigon To: Paris 12 December 1972

In answer to Ambassador Lam's question regarding SVN relations with France (Item #76), Saigon states that relations with France have never been any problem and "if the problem arises now, we will have to reevaluate our relations".

Message #83 From: Paris To: Saigon 13 December 1972

Mr. Kissinger, prior to departing Paris, informed South Vietnamese that he did not know if or when he would be returning to Paris adding that, "this was not a breakdown, and that he did not foresee an important development before Christmas".

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VIETNAMESE (FLASH) FRENCH --

2 SOUTH VIETNAMESE AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON REPORTS PLANS

FOR FRIDAY MORNING MEETING WITH KISSINGER; TRAVEL PLANS

#54

FR WASHINGTON: ((COUTH VIETNAMESE EMBASSY)):

AMBASSADOR TRAN KIM PHUONG 30 NOV 72 2230

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SECRETARY HOANG DUC NHA;

POLITICAL ASSISTANT LUONG NHI KY FOR REPORTING

TO FOREIGN MINISTRY -- 269/BIS/W/VP/TLX

TOMORROW MORNING, FRIDAY 1 DECEMBER, AT 1030 HOURS
SPECIAL ASSISTANT ((NGUYEN PHU)) DUC AND I WILL HAVE A MEETING
WITH DR. ((HENRY A.)) KISSINGER AND GENERAL ((ALEXANDER
M.)) HAIG. SPECIAL ASSISTANT DUC WILL TAKE A FLIGHT FOR
SAIGON ON SATURDAY MORNING ((2 DECEMBER)). I WILL REMAIN
IN WASHINGTON TO AWAIT YOUR INSTRUCTIONS UNTIL SATURDAY
AFTERNOON.

ON SATURDAY AFTERNOON AT 1700 HOURS I WILL TAKE A
FLIGHT FOR PARIS AND WILL ARRIVE THERE ON SUNDAY MORNING
TO BRIEF AMBASSADORS ((TRAN VAN)) LAM AND ((VUONG VAN))
BAC. IF YOU HAVE INSTRUCTIONS CONTRARY TO THE POINTS IN
THE ABOVE MENTIONED PLAN, PLEASE LET ME KNOW AS SOON AS
POSSIBLE. REGARDS.

TI 1 DEC 72 0501Z

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TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: D. MCMANIS/FOR A SERIES: ECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ SECTION ONE OF TWO

TRANSMITTED HERewith IS A VND/T MESSAGE. PLEASE ADVISE IF
ANY LIMITATIONS ON DISTRIBUTION ARE REQUIRED. THIS MESSAGE
WAS TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

NGUYEN PHU DUC REPORTS RESULTS OF 30 NOVEMBER MEETINGS

WITH PRESIDENT NIXON, DR. KISSINGER, AND GEN HAIG

FR WASHINGTON: ((SOUTH VIETNAMESE EMBASSY)); ((SPECIAL

PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT)) NGUYEN PHU DUC -- 30 NOV 72 2230

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL)) PRESS

SECRETARY HOANG DUC NHA URGENT 269/W/VP/TLX

TODAY I HAD A MEETING WITH ((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER FOR MORE
THAN AN HOUR. AMBASSADOR ((TRAN KIM)) PHUONG WAS WITH ME. ((GENERAL
ALEXANDER M.)) HAIG WAS AT KISSINGER'S SIDE. I PRESENTED WITH
INSISTENCE OUR POINT OF VIEW ON THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS. KISSINGER
REPLIED THAT HE HAD ALREADY DISCUSSED THESE PROBLEMS AT LENGTH WITH
THE OTHER SIDE AND THAT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN ANY CHANGES
BEYOND THOSE HE MENTIONED YESTERDAY. MOREOVER, IT IS NOT EVEN
CERTAIN THAT WE WOULD BE ABLE TO OBTAIN COMPLETE SATISFACTION ON ALL
OF THESE LIMITED CHANGES. WE MUST BARGAIN AND WE MUST THEREFORE
ESTABLISH A LIST OF PRIORITIES, DEFINING THOSE POINTS ON WHICH
WE PLACE THE MOST IMPORTANCE AND OTHERS ON WHICH WE CAN EFFECT
A COMPROMISE. IN ANY EVENT, HE SAID THAT IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO
DEMAND EXPLICITLY THE WITHDRAWAL OF NVA ((NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY))
FORCES WHICH ARE ALREADY IN SOUTH VIETNAM. CONCERNING THE CNCR
((COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL CONCORD AND RECONCILIATION)), HE MAINTAINED
THE SAME POSITION AS HE DID YESTERDAY. CONCERNING THE MENTION OF
THE PRG ((PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT)), HE SAID THAT
THE OTHER SIDE STILL INSISTS ON MENTIONING THE PRG AT LEAST IN
THE PREAMBLE. BUT WE CAN TRY TO DETACH THE PREAMBLE (B VAL BY
MAKING A UNILATERAL STATEMENT, DESPITE THE SIGNING OF THE
AGREEMENT.

I THEN APPROACHED THE ((QUESTION OF)) APPLYING THE SOLUTION
OF 8 MAY AND THE VARIOUS (B VAL POSSIBILITIES) OF THIS SOLUTION.

This work sheet contains
Sections 793, 794 and

CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

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Sections 793, 794 and 798, the transmission or the revelation of which in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

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CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

CLASSIFIED
KISSINGER SAID THAT AS OF 19 JULY HE HAD ALREADY PROPOSED THIS SOLUTION TO LE DUC THO, WHO ENERGETICALLY THRUST IT ASIDE, BECAUSE THE COMMUNISTS WANT ABSOLUTELY TO TIE THE POLITICAL QUESTIONS TO THE MILITARY QUESTIONS.

CLASSIFIED
KISSINGER ASSURED ME AGAIN THAT THE U.S. HAS NO INTENTION TO LEAVE SOUTH VIETNAM IN THE HANDS OF THE COMMUNISTS. FOR REPRISALS ((AGAINST THE)) COMMUNISTS, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT CAN INVOKE MANY CLAUSES IN THE AGREEMENT, NOTABLY THOSE ON NO REINFORCEMENTS, RESPECT OF THE DMZ, RESPECT FOR THE (B VAL TERRITORY OF LAOS AND CAMBODIA), AND CEASE-FIRE.

CLASSIFIED
I EVOKE ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM: HE SAID THAT RUSSIA AND PEKING WANT TO FIND IN THIS AGREEMENT A MEANS OF ALLOWING NORTH VIETNAM ((TO WITHDRAW)) FROM SOUTH VIETNAM WITHOUT LOSING FACE AND OF LEAVING THE RESPONSIBILITY IN THE SOUTH TO THE NLF ((NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT)). FOR THIS REASON, THERE IS AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF AID TO NORTH VIETNAM. IF THE AGREEMENT IS NOT SIGNED, RUSSIA WOULD BE FREE TO SEND MASSIVE QUANTITIES OF ARMAMENTS TO NORTH VIETNAM, AT A TIME WHEN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL NOT BE ABLE TO FURNISH AID BECAUSE OF OPPOSITION IN CONGRESS. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) DECIDES TO AGREE TO THE ACCORD, NIXON WILL BE HAPPY TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) AT MIDWAY ((ISLAND)) BEFORE THE SIGNING OF THE ACCORD. SHORTLY AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE ACCORD, THERE WILL BE A CONFERENCE OF ALLIED COUNTRIES, INCLUDING ((SOUTH)) KOREA, THAILAND, THE PHILIPPINES, ETC.

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INDICATION THE ORIGINAL TRANSMISSION WAS NOT RECEIVED. END CRITIC
EXERCISE MESSAGE.

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FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR. D. MCMANIS/FOR A SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ FINAL SECTION OF TWO

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WAS TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

I WAS THEN RECEIVED BY ((PRESIDENT)) NIXON FOR (B VAL 40 MINUTES).
NIXON CALLED TO MY ATTENTION THAT HE HAD RECENTLY MET WITH SENATORS
AND CONGRESSMEN WHO ARE USUALLY CONSIDERED AS HAWKS. THEY ARE NOW
UNANIMOUSLY IN FAVOR OF THE AGREEMENT. IF THE AGREEMENT IS NOT
SIGNED, THEY WILL NO LONGER VOTE FOR THE NECESSARY APPROPRIATIONS.

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#55

PILL, AS WE FEAR. IF PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) DECIDES TO ACCEPT THE AGREEMENT, HE WILL BE HAPPY TO RECEIVE PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) AT MIDWAY, NOT TO NEGOTIATE BUT TO PERSONALLY GIVE PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) FORMAL ASSURANCES OF SUPPORT AND OF HIS DETERMINATION ((TO EFFECT)) REPRISALS IN THE EVENT OF VIOLATIONS, AS WELL AS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S POSITION TO RECOGNIZE ONLY THE GVN ((GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM)) IN SOUTH VIETNAM. THE DATE OF THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT WILL BE 22 DECEMBER AT THE LATEST. IF GVN REFUSES TO SIGN THE AGREEMENT, IT WILL BE THE END OF THE ALLIANCE. AT THAT MOMENT ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID WILL STOP. HE REPEATED THAT WHAT COUNTS IS THE ALLIANCE AND PLEDGE TO REMAIN AT OUR SIDE SHOULD WE SIGN. CONCERNING THE POINTS IN DISPUTE, HE SUGGESTED THAT WE ESTABLISH A PRIORITY LIST. HE SAID THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL TRY TO OBTAIN THE MOST POSSIBLE, BUT NOT EVERYTHING CAN BE OBTAINED. NIXON SEEMED DETERMINED AND ASKED ME TO TRANSMIT TO PRESIDENT ((THIEU)): "PRESIDENT THIEU MUST NOT BREAK THE ALLIANCE."

TOMORROW AT 1030 HOURS, I WILL HAVE A FINAL WORK SESSION WITH KISSINGER ON THE PROBLEM OF PRIORITY LIST. PLEASE CABLE INSTRUCTIONS. AFTER THAT SESSION I PLAN TO TAKE THE FIRST AVAILABLE PLANE TO SAIGON LEAVING WASHINGTON SATURDAY MORNING.

1) AMBASSADOR PHUONG PLANS TO LEAVE SATURDAY EVENING FOR PARIS WITH
A VIEW TO BRIEFING AMBASSADOR ((PHAM DANG)) LAM IN PREPARATION
FOR MONDAYS'S SESSION.

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CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

CLASSIFIED

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA
WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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CLASSIFIED DE [REDACTED]

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CLASSIFIED FM DIRNSA

CLASSIFIED TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

CLASSIFIED ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

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 IF A USIB MEMBER (OR HIS SPECIALLY DESIGNATED DEPUTY) APPROVES
 THE USE OF THIS COMPARTMENTED ITEM IN A TOP SECRET CODEWORD
 PUBLICATION, THE PRECISE COMINT SOURCE OR TARGET (WHICHEVER
 IS SENSITIVE) SHOULD BE CONCEALED TO THE MAXIMUM DEGREE POSSIBLE
 AND NO REFERENCE SHOULD BE MADE TO THE NSA DELTA REFERENCE SERIAL.
 IN ALL OTHER CASES, THIS MATERIAL MUST BE MAINTAINED UNDER DELTA
 SECURITY CONTROLS.

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 DOLL-VND. PLEASE ADVISE IF ANY LIMITATIONS OVER AND ABOVE
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CLASSIFIED VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)
 XXMMENP01F0072336
 3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72
 CAVS,AVN,KUS/FORP/B,D,O.

FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS FROM THIEU TO SPECIAL ENVOY AND AMBASSADOR
 IN WASHINGTON

CLASSIFIED XXCC

FR SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;
 ((PRESIDENTIAL PRESS
 SECRETARY)) HOANG DUC NHA 1 DEC 72
 TO WASHINGTON: ((EMBASSY));
 AMBASSADOR TRAN KIM PHUONG IMMEDIATE 3384/PTT/BT

ATTENTION SPECIAL ASSISTANT ((NGUYEN PHU)) DUC AND AMBASSADOR
 ((TRAN KIM)) PHUONG.

PURSUANT TO YOUR TELEGRAM NR. 269, I HAVE THE HONOR TO IN-
 FORM YOU OF PRESIDENT ((THIEU))'S DECISIONS.

1. AFTER SEVERAL CONSECUTIVE INTERVIEWS WITH ((PRESIDENT))
 NIXON AND ((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER, WITH ARGUMENTS AND VERY
 CLEAR EXPLANATIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM ASKING
 THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE
 GOVERNMENT, TO DEFEND THE LOGICAL AND REASONABLE POSITION AND
 THE INTERESTS OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE IN THE FACE OF THE UNFAIR

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FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

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WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

3/00/VND/T- 72

VIETNAMESE (OUTH) -- --

NGUYEN PHU DUC TO ARRIVE SAIGON ON FOUR DECEMBER

FR WASHINGTON: VIETNAMESE EMBASSY; PHUNG NHAI MINH 1 DEC 72

TO SAIGON: MR. HOANG DUC NHA, PRESS SECRETARY TO THE

PRESIDENCY; MR LUONG NHI KY, POLITICAL

#57

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

1972-460-250

ASSISTANT TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER. -- 274/W/VP/TLX

CLASSIFIED

SPECIAL ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU DUC WILL ARRIVE SAIGON ON

PANAM FLIGHT 841 ON MONDAY MORNING 4 DECEMBER AT 0945 HOURS.

CLASSIFIED

TI 01 DEC 72

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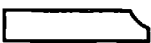
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* U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH -- --

3/00/DOLL-VND/T-72

FR PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR))

4 DEC 72 0120

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

PHAM DANG LAM

CLASSIFIED TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT)) 43/PDVN/TM
HOANG DUC NHA
TOP SECRET

CLASSIFIED DR. KISSINGER ARRIVED THIS EVENING AT 2300 HOURS WITH HIS USUAL
CLASSIFIED STAFF. HE MADE NO STATEMENT TO THE PRESS. IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER
NGUYEN XUAN PHONG ((1)) AND I HAD A MEETING WITH HIM AT THE U.E.
AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE.

CLASSIFIED KISSINGER BEGAN BY ASKING US WHETHER WE HAD RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS
CLASSIFIED FROM SAIGON. REPLIED THAT OUR GOVERNMENT IS AWAITING THE RETURN OF
SPECIAL ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU DUC TO HAVE A COMPLETE REPORT OF HIS
MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT NIXON.

CLASSIFIED KISSINGER THEN INFORMED US THAT AS FAR AS HE WAS CONCERNED, HE HAD
CLASSIFIED RECEIVED FROM PRESIDENT NIXON, DURING A FINAL INTERVIEW YESTERDAY IN
KEY BISCAYNE, INSTRUCTIONS TO CONCLUDE NEGOTIATIONS DURING THIS WEEK
ON THE BASIS OF OPTION TWO(REFERENCE OUR MESSAGES 32/PDNU PDVN/TM OF
23 NOVEMBER AND 35/PDVN/TM OF 24 NOVEMBER). HE REAFFIRMED WHAT
PRESIDENT NIXON HAD TOLD SPECIAL ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU DUC; NAMELY,
THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO SIGN THE AGREEMENT ON TWENTY-ONE
DECEMBER.

INCIDENTALLY, HE INFORMED US OF THE REACTIONS OF PRESIDENT NIXON
REGARDING THE TELEVISION BROADCAST IN WHICH FOREIGN MINISTER TRAN

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VAN LAM STATED THAT NVA((NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY)) TROOPS MUST LEAVE

SOUTH VIETNAM BEFORE THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT. ACCORDING TO

KISSINGER, PRESESIDENT NIXON, WHO PERSONALLY VIEWED THIS

BROADCAST OVER THE TELEVISION, ((1 WD G)) IT IMMEDIATELY IN ORDER

TO EXPRESS HIS DISCONTENT, BEING OF THE OPINION THAT SUCH A CONDITION

IS WELL (B VAL BEYOND) THE GVN (GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM) POSITION

AND EXPOSES TO BROAD DAYLIGHT THE PROFOUND DIVERGENCE BETWEEN

SAIGON AND WASHINGTON. I (B VAL INTERRUPTED) TO SAY THAT THE

INTENTION OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER WAS NOT TO PROVOKE A PUBLIC CONFRON-

TATION WITH THE U. . BUT TO GIVE KISSINGER AN ARGUMENT FOR BRINGING

PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE COMMUNIST SIDE. HE REPLIED THAT, REGARDLESS

OF SAIGON' INTENTION, PRESIDENT NIXON HAD INSTRUCTED HIM TO DISCLOSE

NOTHING MORE TO US ON THE TENOR OF THE CONVERSATIONS WITH LE DUC THO

IF WE ARE GOING TO ((ALLOW OR)) PROVOKE LEAKS (REGARDING THE NEGOTIA-
TIONS)).

I HAD PREVIOUSLY COMPLAINED THAT THE ORTF ((FRENCH RADIO-TELEVESION

ORGANIZATION)), CHANNEL TWO HAD REVEALED PART OF THE INTERVIEWS OF

SPECIAL ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU DUC IN WASHINGTON CONCERNING THE

POSSIBLE MEETING ((BETWEEN)) PRESIDENT NIXON AND PRESIDENT THIEU.

TOMORROW KISSINGER WILL HAVE A PRIVATE MEETING WITH LE DUC THO IN

THE MORNING, DURING WHICH HE WILL PRESENT OPTION TWO. A WORK SESSION

IS PLANNED FOR THE AFTERNOON.

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CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

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~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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TO WHITE HOUSE

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

3/00/DOLL-VND/T-62

NO LAST MINUTE INSTRUCTIONS FROM SAIGON

FR SAIGON: OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT; (SPECIAL) 04 DEC 72 1220

ASSISTANT)) HOANG DUC NHA

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TO PARIS: AMBASSADOR PHAM DANG LAM

2863/PTT/BI/TM

TOP SECRET

REFERENCE YOUR MESSAGE NR 43.

I HAVE THE HONOR TO INFORM YOU AS FOLLOWS:

1. THE NSC((NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL)) IS WAITING FOR A BRIEFING FROM SPECIAL ASSISTANT ((NGUYEN PHU)) DUC TO BE BROUGHT UP TO DATE ON THE DETAILS OF THE DISCUSSIONS. AFTER THE NSC MEETING, WHICH IS SCHEDULED FOR THIS AFTERNOON SAIGON TIME, I SHALL SEND YOU NEW INSTRUCTIONS. HOWEVER, UNLESS THE SPECIAL ASSISTANT REPORTS OTHERWISE THE SPIRIT OF THE NSC

INSTRUCTIONS TO DUC AND ((WASHINGTON AMBASSADOR TRAN KIM)) PHUONG AND WHICH PHUONG DISCLOSED TO YOU, REMAINS IN FORCE. THIS IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION;

2. AS FOR KISSINGER, PLEASE TELL HIM THAT OTHER THAN WHAT SPECIAL ASSISTANT DUC DISCUSSED WITH PRESIDENT NIXON THE GVN ((GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM)) HAS NO OTHER INSTRUCTIONS FOR YOU AT THIS TIME.

BEST REGARDS.

04 DEC 72 0525Z

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#1662

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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ZNY MMNSH
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FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

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TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

XXMMENP01F0072339

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

AVS, KUS/FORP/B.

SOUTH VIETNAM MAY ADOPT ONE OF THREE POSTURES IF A TEXT OF THE ACCORD IS SUBMITTED AT THE NEXT PLENARY SESSION OF THE PARIS PEACE TALKS

XXCC

FR PARIS: DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR))

* PHAM DANG LAM 4 DEC 72 1215H

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;

((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

HOANG DUC NHA FLASH 44/PDVN/TM

TOP SECRET

IN THE EVENT THAT ((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER AND LE DUC THO SHOULD DEFINITELY AGREE ON THE TEXT OF THE ACCORD BEFORE THURSDAY, WHICH IS LIKELY, IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT THE PROTOCOL DRAFTS WILL BE SUBMITTED FOR DISCUSSION AT THE PLENARY SESSION NEXT THURSDAY AT THE HOTEL MAJESTIC, OR AT THE FOLLOWING SESSION. KISSINGER HAS ALREADY CONSIDERED THIS PROCEDURE, AND AMBASSADOR ((WILLIAM J.)) PORTER, IN HIS LAST SPEECH, ALLUDED TO THIS IN SPEAKING OF THE NEW ROLE THE PARIS MEETINGS WOULD BE CALLED ON TO PLAY CONCERNING THE CARRYING OUT OF THE ACCORD.

IN THIS CASE WE CAN CHOOSE BETWEEN THREE ATTITUDES:

1. BOYCOTT THE SESSION BY OUR ABSENCE, WHICH WOULD INDICATE A BREAK ON OUR PART.
2. ATTEND THE SESSION WITHOUT PARTICIPATING IN THE DISCUSSION ON THE PROTOCOL DRAFTS, WHICH WOULD SURELY BE INTERPRETED, AS WELL, AS A DESIRE ON OUR PART TO DISSOCIATE OURSELVES FROM THE AGREEMENT.
3. ATTEND AND PARTICIPATE IN THE DISCUSSION, WHICH IMPLIES ACCEPTANCE ((6G)) THE AGREEMENT.

IT IS EVIDENT THAT OUR ATTITUDE AT THE NEXT SESSION DEPENDS ON THE DECISION OUR GOVERNMENT MAKES ON THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THEIR ENTIRETY. BECAUSE OF THE URGENCY ((OF THE SITUATION)), I HAVE THE HONOR TO (B VAL REQUEST EARNESTLY) THAT INSTRUCTIONS BE DULY SENT TO US SO THAT WE MAY ACT IN CONFORMITY WITH GOVERNMENT POLICY.

TI 4 DEC 72 1135Z

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~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

CLASSIFIED

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FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

ZEM

CLASSIFIED

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ SECTION ONE OF TWO

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TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

3/00/DOLL-VND/T-72

KISSINGER BRIEFS SOUTH VIETNAMESE IN PARIS AFTER 4 DECEMBER

MEETINGS WITH NORTH VIETNAMESE

#61

FR: PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR)) PHAM DANG

LAM -- 5 DEC 72 0045

TO: SAIGON: PRESIDENT' OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

HOANG DUC NHA IMMEDIATE 45/PDVN/TM

TOP SECRET

((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER RECEIVED THE TASK FORCE IN FULL ((AT))

2130 HOURS, AFTER HIS TWO MEETINGS, THE ONE A CONFIDENTIAL CON-

VERSATION WITH LE DUC THO IN THE MORNING AND THE OTHER IN THE

AFTERNOON, A WORK SESSION WITH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE.

KISSINGER QUESTIONED US ONCE AGAIN AS TO WHETHER WE HAD RECEIVED

ANY INSTRUCTIONS FROM SAIGON SINCE YESTERDAY, TO WHICH I REPLIED

THAT, UNTIL NEW ORDERS ((ARE RECEIVED)), THE POSITION LAID DOWN BY

SPECIAL ((PRESIDENTIAL)) ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU DUC DURING HIS MEETINGS

IN WASHINGTON REMAINED VALID.

KISSINGER THEN BRIEFLY GAVE US AN ACCOUNT OF HIS TWO MEETINGS.

ACCORDING TO KISSINGER, DURING THE MORNING MEETING WITH LE DUC THO,

THO MADE A LONG INDICTMENT AGAINST THE U.E. FOR THE THREATS UTTERED

BY KISSINGER LAST WEEK (MASSIVE RETALIATION BY THE U.E. IN THE EVENT

OF A BREAK IN THE NEGOTIATIONS INSTIGATED BY HANOI).

IT WAS ONLY IN THIS AFTERNOON' SESSION THAT KISSINGER PROPOSED OPTION

2 TO LE DUC THO; THAT IS, THE PRESENT DRAFT AGREEMENT WITH THE FOL-

LOWING MODIFICATIONS:

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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-140-160

MAINTAIN ARTICLE 8.C.;

REJECT HANOI' DEMAND TO INCLUDE FOREIGN CIVILIAN PERSONNEL CHARGED WITH THE FUNCTION OF MAINTAINING WAR MATERIEL AMONG FOREIGNERS WHO MUST BE SENT HOME UNDER ARTICLE 3;

ADD "ONE-FOR-ONE BASIS (B VAL AND) RETURN TO THEIR NATIVE PLACES" TO THE CLAUSE ON THE DEMOBILIZATION OF THE RESPECTIVE FORCES OF THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES;

THE CORRECT TRANSLATION IN VIETNAMESE OF THE TERM "ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE" AND THE ADDITION OF "EQUALLY APPOINTED BY BOTH SIDES" AFTER THE TERM "THREE EQUAL SEGMENTS"; ((AND))

ADD "AND RESPECT EACH OTHER" TERRITORY" TO ARTICLE 15, ON THE DMZ ((DEMILITARIZED ZONE)).

NONETHELESS, ACCORDING TO KISSINGER, LE DUC THO REJECTED ALL OF THESE MODIFICATIONS AND DEMANDED IN ADDITION:

1. OMIT PARAGRAPH C OF ARTICLE 8 CONCERNING POLITICAL PRISONERS WHO WERE TO BE RELEASED AT THE SAME TIME AS THE POW'S.

2. THE SENDING HOME OF FOREIGN CIVILIAN PERSONNEL CHARGED WITH THE FUNCTION OF MAINTAINING OF WAR MATERIEL WITHIN THE SAME TIME FRAME AS THE U.S. FORCES.

3. RESTORING THE FORMER WORDING OF ARTICLE 1, CHAPTER I; THAT IS: "

THE U.S. RESPECTS THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, UNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF VIETNAM. AS RECOGNIZED BY THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS ON

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VIETNAM."

LE DUC THO LET IT BE UNDERSTOOD THAT IF THE U. . IS NOT IN AGREEMENT, THEN THE ONLY SOLUTION IS TO RETURN TO THE DRAFT AGREEMENT OF 8 OCTOBER.

THINGS STOPPED AT THAT POINT. KISSINGER AND LE DUC THO AGREED TO HOLD A WORK SESSION TOMORROW AFTERNOON TO GIVE EACH SIDE TIME TO REFLECT. WE THEN ASKED KISSINGER WHICH TACTIC HE WILL EMPLOY TOMMORROW. HERE IS HIS ANSWER: "IN CASE THEY ACCEPT OPTION 2 TOMORROW, WE WILL (B VAL SETTLE). IN CASE THEY MAINTAIN THEIR DEMANDS, WE ARE GOING TO SUSPEND THE NEGOTIATIONS. I WILL NOT MAKE ANY NEW PROPOSALS. IF THEY DO NOT CHANGE, I DO NOT CHANGE, TOO."

IN THE FIRST CASE-- THAT IS, ACCEPTANCE OF OPTION 2 BY HANOI-- THE U. S. WILL NOT MAKE PUBLIC IMMEDIATELY THE FACT THAT THE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN DEFINITELY CONCLUDED. WHILE AWAITING THE RESULTS OF TOMORROW AFTERNOON'S SESSION WITH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE. KISSINGER ASKED AND ((1 WK G)) MANY TIMES THAT SAIGON ABSTAIN FROM ANY STATEMENT OR COMMENTARY ON NEGOTIATIONS IN PROGRESS, IN ORDER NOT TO (B VAL INCUR) THE RESPONSIBILITY IN THE EVENT OF A RUPTURE.

KISSINGER ASKED IN TURN OUR OPINION AS TO LE DUC THO'S ANSWER TOMORROW.

AS FOR HIMSELF, HE THINKS THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE WILL HARDEN THEIR

780

#0659

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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DE

#0660 3400433

CLASSIFIED

ZNY MMNSH

Z 050432Z DEC 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

CLASSIFIED

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ FINAL SECTION OF TWO

TRANSMITTED HERewith IS A SOUTH VIETNAMESE MESSAGE. NORMAL

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

3/00/DOLL-VND/T-72

KISSINGER BRIEFS SOUTH VIETNAMESE IN PARIS AFTER 4 DECEMBER

MEETINGS WITH NORTH VIETNAMESE

FR: PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR)) PHAM DANG

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* U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-480-250

LAM -- 5 DEC 72 0045

#61

TO: SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

HOANG DUC NHA IMMEDIATE 45/PDVN/TM

TOP SECRET

POSITION, BECAUSE THEY ARE CONVINCED BY THE TRAIN OF EVENTS THAT A

CONFRONTATION BETWEEN SAIGON AND WASHINGTON WILL BE INEVITABLE AND

THAT ALL THAT REMAINS FOR HANOI IS TO AWAIT THE CUTTING OFF OF ALL

SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE ((BY THE)) U. .

IN ANY CASE, ACCORDING TO KISSINGER, THREE POSSIBILITIES COULD ARISE:

EITHER HANOI INSISTS THAT WASHINGTON BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON SAIGON

WITH A VIEW TO THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT OF 8 OCTOBER AS

IS; OR HANOI REFUSES TO SIGN ANYTHING AND PREFERS TO WAIT FOR CONGRESS

TO BRING AN END TO AID TO SOUTH VIETNAM; OR HANOI ACCEPTS A SEPARATE

AGREEMENT WITH THE U. . LIMITED TO THE RELEASE OF U.E. POW'S IN EX-

CHANGE FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF U.E. TROOPS AND THE END OF U.E. MILITARY

AID.

KISSINGER ASSURED US THAT IN THE FIRST CASE, THE U. . WILL REFUSE TO

IMPOSE ON SAIGON THE DRAFT AGREEMENT OF 8 OCTOBER WITHOUT CHANGE,

NOT BECAUSE THIS DRAFT IS BAD, BUT BECAUSE OUR GOVERNMENT HAS PLEDGED

ALL OF ITS PRESTIGE IN THE CAMPAIGN WITH A VIEW TO MODIFYING THE

AGREEMENT.

WE TOLD KISSINGER THAT IN OUR OPINION IF HANOI ADOPTS AN INTRANSIGENT

ATTITUDE, IT IS BECAUSE IT IS ENCOURAGED BY ALL OF THESE REVELATIONS

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IN THE PRESS ACCORDING TO WHICH THE U.S. HAS DECIDED TO CONCLUDE AN

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AGREEMENT EVEN BEFORE THE END OF THIS WEEK. KISSINGER AGREED THAT IT IS WORTHLESS FOR WASHINGTON AND SAIGON TO THROW THE RESPONSIBILITY ON EACH OTHER FOR THE LEAKS. THE ESSENTIAL THING NOW IS THAT THE U. S. GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM REMAIN UNITED IN ORDER TO FACE ANY EVENTUALITY.

CLASSIFIED

WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE APPARENT HARDENING BY HANOI IS ONLY A SHAM TACTIC TO SEE TO WHAT DEGREE THE U. S. IS IMPATIENT TO CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT. WE SHALL HAVE NO FURTHER DOUBTS, IN ANY CASE, TOMORROW EVENING OR WEDNESDAY EVENING AT THE LATEST.

480

#0660

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~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

ZCZCEXB508

ZZ

DE [REDACTED] #3023 3401440

ZNY MMNSH

Z 051435Z DEC 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~
EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

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VVVVIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

XXMMENP01FO072340

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

AVS, AVN, KUS/FORP/B, D.

AMBASSADOR LAM SEES POSSIBLE U.S. FIRE OF THIRD PARTY TO HELP COUNTER NORTH VIETNAMESE INTRANSIGENCE

XXCC

FR PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE
DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR))
PHAM DANG LAM 5 DEC 72 1245Z

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;
((PRESIDENTIAL SECRETARY))
HOANG DUC NHA IMMEDIATE 46/PDVN/M

SECRET

CONCERNING THE PROPOSAL OF THE AMERICAN SIDE, LE DUC THO HAS AGREED TO POSTPONE UNTIL TOMORROW MORNING THE WORKING SESSION SET FOR THIS AFTERNOON AT 1500 HOURS. THE REASON FOR THE CANCELLATION OF TODAY'S SESSION COULD BE TO (B VAL AVOID) A BREAK CAUSED BY NORTH VIETNAM'S INTRANSIGENCE. THE U.S. COULD PUT THIS RESPITE OF 36 HOURS TO GOOD USE BY TRYING TO MAKE NORTH VIETNAM SEE REASON THROUGH THE INTERVENTION OF A THIRD PARTY.

XXHH

C: CORRECT TITLE LINE TO READ
AMBASSADOR LAM SEES POSSIBLE U.S. USE OF THIRD PARTY TO HELP COUNTER NORTH VIETNAMESE INTRANSIGENCE

400

#3023

NNNN

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#62

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Title 18, U.S.C.,
law.

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

ZCZCEXA466

ZZ [REDACTED] #3037 3401530

ZNY MMNSH

Z 051525Z DEC 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

XXMMENP01F0072340

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

AVS, AVN, KUS/FORP/.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AWAITING RESULTS OF SECOND KISSINGER-THO MEETING

XXCC

FR SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;

((PRESIDENTIAL SECRETARY))

HOANG DUC NHA 5 DEC 72 2020H

TO PARIS: ((DELEGATION));

AMBASSADOR PHAM DANG LAM IMMEDIATE 2877/PTT/BI/TM

TOP SECRET.

I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR CABLE NR. 45/PDVN. THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL IS AWAITING THE RESULTS OF THE SECOND MEETING TO FORMULATE AN OPINION. PLEASE CABLE ME THE RESULTS AFTER YOU HAVE RECEIVED THEM.

TI 5 DEC 72 1358Z

XXHH

230

#3037

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#63

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

972 DEC 6 09 53

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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DE

#0670 3410837

ZNY MMNSH

Z 060831Z DEC 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMDRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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VIETNAMESE (OUTH) FRENCH

3/00/DOLL-VND/T-72

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#64

TITLE: LATEST INSTRUCTIONS FROM SAIGON

CLASSIFIED

FR: SAIGON: ((PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER))HOANG DUC NHA 6 DEC 72 1210

TO: PARIS: AMBASSADOR PHA DANG LAM 2884/PTT/VP/IM-

TOP SECRET

REFERENCE YOUR MESSAGES 43 AND 45.

CLASSIFIED

AT THE INSTRUCTIONS OF PRESIDENT THIEU, PLEASE REMIND DR. KISSINGER

THAT IN WASHINGTON HE PROMISED ((PECIAL ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU)) DUC

THAT HE WOULD USE ALL HIS EFFORTS TO GET THE OTHER SIDE TO

ACCEPT THE MODIFICATIONS WHICH WE CONSIDER ESSENTIAL CONCERNING

CLASSIFIED

THE THREE BASIC QUESTIONS, TO WIT: 1--THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE

NVA((NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY)) TO NORTH VIETNAM, 2--NO PRG((PROVI-

SIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT)) AS A PARALLEL GOVERNMENT CO-

EXISTING WITH THE GVN((GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM)), 3--THE

CLASSIFIED

CNR((NATIONAL COUNCIL OF RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD)).

IN WASHINGTON DR. KISSINGER PROMISED TO TRY TO OBTAIN THE FOLLOWING

MODIFICATIONS REGARDING THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE NVA. 1--NEW ARTICLE

CLASSIFIED

13 ((THE QUESTION OF VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES IN SVN((EOUTH VIETNAM)),

ETC.) WILL BE MODIFIED AS FOLLOWS: ((THE QUESTION OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE

ARMED FORCES IN SVN SHALL BE SETTLED BY THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES);

2--IN NEW ARTICLE 15 CONCERNING THE DMZ((DEMILITAR-

IZED ZONE)), HE WILL ADD: ((AND RESPECT EACH OTHER'E TERRITORY

IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 24 OF THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENT); 3--

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IN ADDITION TO THESE TWO POINTS WHICH DR. KISSINGER PROMISED, MR. DUC

INSISTED ON THE TERMS (ALL OTHER NON-OUTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS - - -)

IN THE ARTICLE THAT DEALS WITH THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN

TROOPS, CONFORMING TO THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE FROM MIDWAY IN JULY 1969.

CONCERNING OUR OPPOSITION TO THE CONCEPT OF TWO PARALLEL GOVERNMENTS IN

SVN, DR. KISSINGER PROMISED TO HAVE THE WORDS PRG REMOVED FROM ALL THE

TEXT. PLEASE ASK HIM IF HE HAS USED HIS EFFORTS IN THIS SENSE.

AS FOR THE CNRC, MR. DUC TOLD HIM THAT THE GVN IS KEEPING TO ITS

PROPOSALS.

THE ESSENTIAL THING IS THAT DR. KISSINGER MUST PRESENT THESE PROPOSALS

WITH FORCE AND CONVICTION AND NOT MERELY FOR FORM' SAKE.

YESTERDAY RADIO HANOI TAKING UP AN EDITORIAL FROM THE NEWSPAPER NHAN

DAN MAINTAINED THAT THE NVA HAS THE RIGHT TO REMAIN IN SVN BECAUSE

VIETNAM IS ONE ((NATION)). ANOTHER REASON TO INSIST ON THE WITHDRAWAL

OF THE NVA. BEST REGARDS.

06 DEC 72 0605Z

800

#0670

~~DELTA CONTROLLED~~

NNNN

#64

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DE

#0661 3420347

ZNY MMNSH

Z 070348Z DEC 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

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TO WHITE HOUSE/ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES CHECK

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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SECTION ONE OF TWO

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VIETNAMESE

FRENCH

(90UTH)

KISSINGER BRIEFS SOUTH VIETNAMESE ON 6 DECEMBER MEETINGS

WITH NORTH VIETNAMESE IN PARIS

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FR PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR)) PHAM DANG

#65

LAM

6 DEC 72 2230

IMMEDIATE

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT' OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

47/PDVN/TM

HOANG DUC NHA

TOP SECRET.

THE MEETING TODAY BETWEEN KISSINGER AND LE DUC THO LASTED

FROM 1030 HOURS TO 1530 HOURS. KISSINGER RECEIVED US AT 1900 HOURS.

WE IMMEDIATELY ASKED HIM WHAT HAD BEEN THE RESULT OF

THE EFFORTS WHICH

HE HAD PROMISED TO MAKE DURING THE MEETINGS WITH SPECIAL

ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU

DUC IN WASHINGTON, PARTICULARLY ON THE THREE POINTS:

1. THE WITHDRAWAL OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS.
2. THE EXCLUSION OF ANY MENTION OF THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY

GOVERNMENT IN THE AGREEMENT.

3. THE DMZ.

KISSINGER RECALLED HAVING PROMISED SPECIAL ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU DUC TO

DO HIS BEST ON ONLY THE LAST POINTS. ON THE FIRST POINT, AND HAIG IS

IN AGREEMENT WITH HIM, KISSINGER IS SAID TO HAVE INFORMED

SPECIAL ASSISTANT

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NGUYEN PHU CUC THAT HE COULD NOT HARBOR ANY ILLUSION . OF THE TWO
THINGS, EITHER
REQUEST TO CHANGE ARTICLE 13 SOLELY BY CHANGING "VIETNAMESE
ARMED FORCES" TO

"SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES." SUCH A FORMULA WOULD NOT RESOLVE
ANYTHING,
BUT WOULD BE DANGEROUS IN THE SCNE THAT NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS ARE
NOT AFFECTED

BY THE DEMOBILIZATION. OR COMBINE THE FORMULA "THE QUESTION OF
SOUTH VIETNAMESE
ARMED FORCES, ETC." WITH THE ADDITION TO ARTICLE 3
"WITHDRAWAL OF ALL NON- OUTH

VIETNAMESE TROOPS." THIS ADDITION HAS ALREADY BEEN CATEGORICALLY
REJECTED
BY LE DUC THO. KISSINGER ADDED THAT DURING
HIS MEETINGS WITH THE NORTH

VIETNAMESE ON 27 NOVEMBER, THIS SINGLE QUESTION OF NORTH
VIETNAMESE
TROOPS TOOK UP THREE ENTIRE SESSIONS; ALL ALTERNATIVES
HAVE BEEN TRIED WITHOUT
SUCCESS. YESTERDAY HE RAISED THIS SAME QUESTION ANEW,
BUT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE

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HE ((KISSINGER)) DWELT FOR AS MUCH AS 3 OF THE 5 HOURS THAT
YESTERDAY'S

MEETING LASTED WITH LE DUC THO ON POINT 2

REGARDING THE PRG ((PROVISIONAL

CLASSIFIED

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT)). THE RESULTS WERE EQUALLY

NEGATIVE. LE DUC THO

IS VEHEMENTLY OPPOSED TO ANY MODIFICATION OF THIS SUBJECT.

REGARDING THE 3RD POINT, I.E. THE ADDING OF "RESPECT EACH

CLASSIFIED

OTHER'S TERRITORY

IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 24," THERE WAS A SIMILAR VIGOROUS

OPPOSITION ON THE

CLASSIFIED

PART OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE.

AFTER THIS PRELIMINARY, KISSINGER GAVE US AN ACCOUNT OF HIS

MEETING

WITH LE DUC THO TODAY.

CLASSIFIED

IN A SOLEMN TONE, HE STATED THAT LE DUC THO HELD ((B VAL ENTIRELY)) TO

HIS INTRANSIGENT POSITION. WHEN KISSINGER MADE ANY NEW PROPOSAL, HE

((THO))

900

#0661

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TO WHITE HOUSE/ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES CHECK

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~~TOP SECRET DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

FINAL SECTION OF TWO

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

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MESSAGE. PLEASE ADVISE IF ANY LIMITATIONS ON

DISTRIBUTION ARE REQUIRED. THIS MESSAGE WAS

TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

HELD STRICTLY TO THE POSITION WHICH HE ADOPTED DURING THE
EARLIER SESSIONS.

#5

CLASSIFIED

ACCORDING TO KISSINGER, LE DUC THO HAS GONE BACK

ON ALL OF HIS EARLIER

CONCESSIONS (REFERENCE OUR CABLE NO. 22/PDVN/TM DATED

23 NOVEMBER), AND HE

CLASSIFIED

IS NOW DEMANDING THAT THE ACCORD (C VAL BE RETAINED)

IN ITS 8 OCTOBER FORM.

IF WE DESIRE TO AFFECT ANY CHANGE TO IT, WE MUST MAKE

RECIPROCAL CONCESSIONS

CLASSIFIED

(A DIRECT ALLUSION TO THE FREEING OF POLITICAL PRISONERS).

KISSINGER INFORMED US THAT HE WILL MEET AGAIN WITH LE DUC

THO TOMORROW

CLASSIFIED

AT 1500 HOURS. IN THE EVENT THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE

MAINTAIN THE SAME

POSITION AS TODAY, A BREAK-DOWN WILL BE INEVITABLE SINCE THE

U.S. HAS NO

CLASSIFIED

INTENTION OF RETURNING TO THE 8 OCTOBER DRAFT ACCORD,

AS IT STANDS.

((XG)) (C VAL KISSINGER) WILL THEN RETURN TO WASHINGTON THIS

FRIDAY.

HE ((KISSINGER)) SAID THAT WE SHOULD NOT REJOICE ((OVER A POSSIBLE

BREAK-DOWN

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WILL BE JUST AS DISASTOROUS

AS IF THE BREAK-DOWN WERE PROVOKED BY US. IN FACT, "WE

WILL (C VAL BEGIN) TO

WORK IN A DIFFERENT FRAMEWORK." AT THIS POINT HE MENTIONED

THE LETTER FROM

PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) TO PRESIDENT NIXON AND ASKED IF THIS

LETTER FROM

PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) TO PRESIDENT NIXON AND ASKED IF THIS LETTER

(C VAL IMPLIED)

THAT WE WERE SUGGESTING THAT THE U.E. MAKE A SEPARATE

AGREEMENT WITH HANOI

ON THE LIBERATION OF POW' IN EXCHANGE OFR THE DISENGAGEMENT

OF THE U.S.

WHETHER OR NOT THE CONDITION FOR THE CESSATION OF U. .

MILITARY AID TO GVN

((GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM)) WERE INCLUDED IN SUCH A

SEPARATE AGREEMENT,

THE RESULTS WILL BE THE SAME. CONGRESS WILL PUT AN END TO

ALL KNDS OF U.S.

MILITARY AID AS SOON AS THE U.S. POW'S ARE FREED AND

U.S. TROOPS ARE REPATRIATED.

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CLASSIFIED

VIETNAM IN THE

EVENT OF A SEPARATE AGREEMENT AS OPPOSED TO A COMMON AGREEMENT.

IN THE FIRST

CASE, HANOI WOULD RETAIN FULL FREEDOM OF ACTION, WITH

CLASSIFIED

NO RESTRICTION REGARDING

THE REINFORCEMENT AND SUPPLY OF (C VAL THE NORTH VIETNAMESE)

FORCES IN THE

SOUTH. ((IT WOULD HAVE)) NO OBLIGATION TO RESPECT THE DMZ

CLASSIFIED

((DEMILITARIZED

ZONE)) ((OR)) THE BORDERS OF LAOS AND CAMBODIA. DURING THIS

TIME THE U.S. WILL

HAVE BEEN RID OF ALL INVOLVEMENT WITH REGARD TO SOUTH VIETNAM

CLASSIFIED

AND INDOCHINA.

IN OTHER WORDS, SOUTH VIETNAM, LAOS, AND CAMBODIA WILL BE

LEFT BY THEMSELVES

CLASSIFIED

TO FACE NORTH VIETNAM ((WHICH WILL HAVE THE))

UNRESTRICTED AID OF MOSCOW

AND PEKING. ON THE OTHER HAND, IN THE CASE OF A SINGNING OF A COMMON

AGREEMENT

BY ALL PARTIES ((INCLUDING SOUTH VIETNAM)), THE

U.S. WILL BE BOUND FOR AN

CLASSIFIED

INDEFINITE PERIOD TO SOUTH VIETNAM AS WELL AS

TO INDOCHINA. THE AGREEMENT WILL

CONSTITUTE A LEGAL BASIS FOR THE U.E. TO INTERVENE,

INCLUDING MILITARILY, TO

MAKE NORTH VIETNAM RESPECT THE AGREEMENT

CLASSIFIED

((AND TO PERMIT THE U. .)) TO

CONTINUE TO FURNISH MILITARY AID TO SOUTH VIETNAM.

KISSINGER EMPHASIZED THAT THIS IS THE REAL

PROBLEM (THE REAL ISSUE).

CLASSIFIED

THE REST IS OF LITTLE IMPORTANCE (IRRELEVANT),

EVEN IF WE OBTAIN SOME CHANGES,

FOR EXAMPLE, THE ADDITION OF "RESPECT FOR

EACH OTHER'S TERRITORY."

CLASSIFIED

IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION AS TO WHETHER HE

((KISSINGER)) HAD

RENEWED EFFORTS ON THE THREE POINTS MENTIONED

CLASSIFIED

IN YOUR CABLE ((NO.)) 2884/

PTT/VP/TM, KISSINGER REPLIED THAT IT IS NOW TOO LATE TO BE MAKING

NEW PROPOSALS

(2) VAL WITHOUT) INVOLVING CONCESSIONS ON OUR PART.

ALL NOW DEPENDS UPON THE ATTITUDE OF THE

NORTH VIETNAMESE, WHICH WILL BE

CLASSIFIED

900

#0662

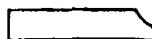
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CLASSIFIED

CLASSIFIED

CLASSIFIED



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CLASSIFIED

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

CLASSIFIED

ZCZCEXC090

ZZ

DE

#3063 3421503

ZNY MMNSH

Z 071500Z DEC 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~
EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

CLASSIFIED

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CLASSIFIED

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CLASSIFIED

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH
XXMMENP01FO072342
3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

SAIGON INSTRUCTS PARIS NEGOTIATORS TO AVOID ANY IMPLICATION THAT SAIGON SUGGESTS U.S. SIGN SEPARATE AGREEMENT WITH NORTH VIETNAM

XXCC

FR SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;
((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT)) HOANG DUC NHA 7 DEC 72 1800
TO PARIS: ((SOUTH VIETNAMESE
DELEGATION)); AMBASSADOR PHAM
DANG IMMEDIATE 2894/PTT/BI/TM

CLASSIFIED

1 TOP SECRET.
REFERENCE YOUR CABLE NR. 47.
WE WISH TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO ((1 WD G)) FOLLOWING POINTS:
1. ACCORDING TO YOUR REPORT, THE U.S. IS THINKING OF RESOLVING THE QUESTION OF THE NVA ((NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY)) BY TWO FORMULAS; EITHER TO REQUEST A SINGLE MODIFICATION TO ARTICLE 13 BY CHANGING "VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES" TO "SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES," OR BY COMBINING THIS FORMULA WITH THE ADDITION TO ARTICLE 3 ((OF)) "WITHDRAWAL OF ALL NON-SOUTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS." YOU ARE TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE POSITION OF THE GVN ((GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM)) ON THE QUESTION OF THE NVA IS THAT THIS QUESTION SHOULD BE RESOLVED BY BOTH OF THESE FORMULAS, AND NOT BY ONE OF THE TWO. ARTICLE 3 WITH THE ADDITION WOULD BE AIMED AT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS, AND ARTICLE 13, WITH THE MODIFICATIONS INDICATED IN THE 18 NOVEMBER GVN MEMO WOULD SETTLE THE QUESTION OF GVN AND NLF ((NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT)) TROOPS, AND WOULD BE AIMED AT THE ELEMENTS OF NORTH VIETNAM WHICH ARE INCORPORATED INTO THE NLF UNITS.

CLASSIFIED

2. ACCORDING TO YOUR REPORT, KISSINGER, IN SAYING "WE WILL HAVE TO WORK IN A DIFFERENT FRAMEWORK," ((B VAL WANTS TO IMPLY THE IDEA THAT THE GVN HAS SUGGESTED THAT THE U.S. MAKE A SEPARATE AGREEMENT. ACCORDING TO PRESIDENT ((THIEU'S)) INSTRUCTIONS, IF KISSINGER EVER RAISES THE SAME QUESTION, DO NOT GIVE HIM A YES OR NO RESPONSE. THE OBJECT IS TO AVOID HIS ((KISSINGER)) CORNERING US INTO BEING THE FIRST TO SUGGEST A AGREEMENT. ON THE CONTRARY, YOU ARE TO ASK HIM THE REASON FOR THE QUESTION, AS WELL AS THE IDEA THAT HE IS FORMULATING ON THIS PROBLEM. THEN CABLE ME AND PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) WILL GIVE YOU THE NECESSARY INSTRUCTIONS. ABOVE ALL, AVOID GIVING KISSINGER A PRETEXT FOR CORNERING US AND TELL HIM THAT YOU REQUIRE INSTRUCTIONS ((FROM)) PRESIDENT ((THIEU)).

TI 7 DEC 72 1127Z

XXHH

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#3063

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the meaning of the Espionage Laws, Title 18, U. S. C.,
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#66

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~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

ZCZCEXC122

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DE [REDACTED] #3191 3422023

ZNY MMNSH

Z 072020Z DEC 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

XXMMENP01F0072342

3/00 DOLL-VND/T -72

AVS, KUS/FORP, OPIN/B.

SVN DELEGATION, PARIS, ASKS SAIGON FOR CONFIRMATION OF AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMMENT ON ALLEGED INTERVIEW WITH SVN FOREIGN MINISTER

XXCC

RR PARIS: DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR))

PHAM DANG LAM 7 DEC 72 1830Z

TO SAIGON: OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

SPECIAL ASSISTANT HOANG DUC NHA FLASH 526/PD VN/MAE/94

SECRET.

THE NEW YORK TIMES CORRESPONDENT IN PARIS INFORMS US THAT TOMORROW THIS NEWSPAPER WILL PUBLISH AN INTERVIEW WITH THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TRAN VAN LAM. IN THIS INTERVIEW THE FOREIGN MINISTER STATES THAT THE GVN ((GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM)) IS READY TO FREE CIVIL PRISONERS TO AID THE U.S. IN RECOVERING ITS PRISONERS OF WAR. IN THE SAME INTERVIEW THE FOREIGN MINISTER ALSO STATED THAT THE GVN WOULD AGREE TO SIGN THE CEASE-FIRE ((AGREEMENT)). PLEASE CONFIRM THIS INTERVIEW AND PROVIDE US WITH COMPLETE INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMMENTS TO THE PRESS. PUBLICATION OF THIS INTERVIEW WILL SURELY PROVOKE REACTIONS ON THE PART OF THE U.S., WHICH INSISTED THAT OUR GOVERNMENT ABSTAIN FROM ANY OFFICIAL STATEMENTS WHILE THE PRIVATE TALKS ARE GOING ON, PARTICULARLY STATEMENTS PUBLICLY EXPOSING A DIVERGENCE ((OF OPINION)) BETWEEN SAIGON AND WASHINGTON.

TI 7 DEC 72 1825Z

XXHH

600

#3191

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#62

CLASSIFIED

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

ZZ

DE

#0653 3430417

ZNY MMNSH

Z 080415Z DEC 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR D MCANIS/FOR A SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

3/00/DOLL-VND/T-72

AMBASSADOR LAM ANSWERS SAIGON CONCERN REGARDING KISSINGER'

REMARKS ABOUT A SEPARATE U. -NVN AGREEMENT

FR: PARIS: VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; AMBASSADOR PHAM DANG LAM

-- 7 DEC 72 2300

TO: SAIGON: OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT; MR. HOANG DUC NHA

FLASH 49/PDVN/TM

TOP SECRET

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* U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

68

REFERENCE YOUR TELEGRAM NO 2894/PTT DATED 7 DECEMBER. IN RESPONSE

TO YOUR TWO QUESTIONS:

1. KISSINGER UNDERSTANDS FULLY THAT WE DESIRE THE ADDITION OF BOTH PHRASES AT THE SAME TIME. SINCE NVN((NORTH VIETNAM)) HAS DEFINITELY REJECTED THE FORMULA (WITHDRAWAL OF ALL NON-EOUTH VIETNAMESE FORCES," WE CANNOT HOPE THAT THEY WILL AGREE TO CHANGE ARTICLE 13, AS WE ARE ASKING. MOREOVER, KISSINGER TOLD US THAT IT IS NOW ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE TO GET THE NVN TO AGREE TO ANY ALLUSION OF THE PRESENCE OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS EVEN BY REFERRING TO THEM IN A VAGUE FORMULA OR INDIRECTLY.

2. TODAY KISSINGER WILL NOT RETURN TO THIS QUESTION. YESTERDAY HE BROUGHT UP PRESIDENT((THIEU))'E LETTER ONLY INCIDENTALLY AND HE DID NOT APPEAR TO BE SEEKING A PRETEXT FOR JUSTIFYING A POSSIBLE SEPARATE AGREEMENT ((BETWEEN THE U.E. AND NVN)). THE REASONS WHICH WOULD OBLIGE THE U.E. TO ENVISION SUCH A SEPARATE AGREEMENT HAVE ALREADY BEEN CLEARLY ELUCIDATED BY

KISSINGER: THEY ARE THE U. . POLITICAL REALITIES IN THE EVENT THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO ARRIVE AT A COMMON ACCORD. HE ALSO EXPOUNDED IN DETAIL UPON THE CONSEQUENCES OF A SEPARATE AGREEMENT. ONE POINT IS CERTAIN: U. . MILITARY AID WILL BE BROUGHT TO AN END. IN OTHER WORDS, WE CANNOT HOPE TO CARRY ON THE WAR ALONE AND STILL BENEFIT FROM U. . AID. FURTHERMORE, THE U. . WOULD NOT HAVE ANY LEGAL BASIS FOR INTERVENTION IN THE EVENT OF A NEW INVASION BY NVN.

TI 8 DEC 72 0121Z

350

#0653

CLASSIFIED

CLASSIFIED

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ED

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a Laws, Title 18, U.S.C.,
ited by law.

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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ZNY MMNSH

Z 080530Z DEC 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ SECTION ONE OF TWO

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MESSAGE. PLEASE ADVISE IF ANY LIMITATIONS ON

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

3/00/DOLL-VND/T-72

TITLE: KISSINGER BRIEFS SOUTH VIETNAMESE ON SEVEN DECEMBER

MEETING WITH LE DUC THO

FR: PARIS, SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR)) PHAM DANG

#69

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LAM

7DEC72 2300

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TO: SAIGON, PRESIDENT'S OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT)) HOANG

DUC NHA

48/PDVN/TM

TOP SECRET

CLASSIFIED

WE JUST SPENT AN HOUR ((WITH DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER)) FROM 2030 TO 2130 HOURS. ACCORDING TO KISSINGER, HIS MEETING TODAY WITH LE DUC THO, WHICH LASTED FROM 1500 TO 1900 HOURS, DID NOT REGISTER ANY PROGRESS.

CLASSIFIED

YESTERDAY NORTH VIETNAM HAD GONE BACK ON ALL THE CONCESSIONS WHICH THEY HAD PREVIOUSLY MADE AND DEMANDED UPHOLDING THE UNABRIDGED TEXT OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT OF 8 OCTOBER, OR ELSE WITH SOME CHANGES BUT ((ONLY)) ON THE CONDITION THAT ARTICLE 8C BE OMITTED AND THAT THE U.S. AGREE TO INCLUDE THE CLAUSE ((ON THE)) WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN CIVILIAN PERSONNEL IN ARTICLE 3. KISSINGER REJECTED BOTH ALTERNATIVES. TODAY LE DUC THO MODIFIED HIS POSITION SLIGHTLY; HE IS NO LONGER GOING BACK ON ALL THE CONCESSIONS, BUT INSISTS ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

CLASSIFIED

ARTICLE 1 MUST BE RESTORED IN ITS FORMER WORDING (DURING PREVIOUS MEETINGS, BETWEEN 20 AND 27 NOVEMBER ((1 WD G)), LE DUC THO HAD AGREED TO A NEW ARTICLE 1 WORDED AS FOLLOWS: "ALL COUNTRIES SHALL RESPECT, ETC.")

CLASSIFIED

2. IN CHAPTER SEVEN, ON CAMBODIA AND LAOS, LE DUC THO ASKED TO HAVE OMITTED THE WORDS "THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER, ETC.," IN THE NEW ARTICLE

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20, WHICH WOULD READ "THE PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE PARIS CON-

FERENCE ON VIETNAM SHALL STRICTLY RESPECT THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS
ON CAMBODIA AND THE 1962 GENEVA AGREEMENTS ON LOAS, ETC."

3. ARTICLE 15, ON THE DMZ((DEMILITARIZED ZONE)). LE DUC THO ASKED
TO ADD AFTER "SOUTH AND NORTH VIETNAM SHALL RESPECT THE DMZ ON EITHER
SIDE OF THE PROVISIONAL MILITARY DEMARCATION LINE" A PHRASE DRAWN UP
THUSLY: "NORTH VIETNAM AND SOUTH VIETNAM SHALL DISCUSS THE STATUS
OF THE DMZ." KISSINGER IMMEDIATELY REJECTED THIS AMENDMENT.

REGARDING OUR (C VAL OWN) MODIFICATIONS, LE DUC THO: 1. REFUSED TO
CHANGE THE TERM "ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE; "2. REJECTED THE PROPOSAL
((1 WD G))((PROVIDING THAT)) 90 DAYS BE ALLOWED FOR DEMOBILIZATION;
3. OPPOSED AMENDING ARTICLE 15 ((WITH TH)) PHRASE "RESPECT EACH
OTHER'S TERRITORY" AND WOULD NOT AGREE TO THE VARIATION PROPOSED BY
KISSINGER, "NOT USE FORCE AGAINST EACH OTHER;"((AND)) 4. REFUSED TO
OMIT MENTION OF THE PRG((PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVER-
NMENT)) IN THE PRDAMBLE.

LE DUC THO TOLD KISSINGER THAT IF WE GIVE HIM SATISFACTION ON ALL OF
THESE POINTS, HE WOULD FOREGO DEMANDING OMISSION OF ARTICLE 8 C.

KISSINGER INFORMED US THAT A RESTRICTED SESSION IS PLJNNED FOR TOM-
ORROW AT 1500 HOURS BETWEEN KISSINGER, ((GENERAL ALEXANDER M.))HJIG
((AND DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FAR EAST AND PACIFIC
AFFAIRS WILLIAM H.)) SULLIVAN ON ONE SIDE AND LE DUC THO, XUAN THUY

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AND ((VICE FOREIGN MINISTER)) NGUYEN CO THACH ON THE OTHER.

TO OUR QUESTION ((AS TO)) WHICH TACTIC HE WILL ADOPT TOMORROW, KISSINGER REPLIED THAT HE WILL MAKE NO NEW PROPOSALS. IF LE DUC THO DOES NOT TRY TO TEST THE POINTS ON ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE, THE DMZ, AND DEMOBILIZATION, KISSINGER WILL ASK FOR AN ADJOURNMENT AND WILL RETURN TO WASHINGTON FOR CONSULTATIONS.

AFTER THIS EXPOSE', KISSINGER ASKED US WHAT WE THOUGHT OF A PURE AND SIMPLE SUPPRESSION OF THE TERM "ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE" WE

ANSWERED THAT THE FUNCTIONS OF THE CNRC((COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD)) MUST BE EXPRESSLY LIMITED TO THE ORGANIZATION OF ELECTIONS.

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2657

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CLASSIFIED

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CLASSIFIED

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CLASSIFIED

PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ FINAL SECTION OF TWOIRANS
 TED HEREWITH IS A VND/T

MESSAGE. PLEASE ADVISE IF ANY LIMITATIONS ON
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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

3200/DOLL-VND/T-72

WE REMINDED KISSINGER THAT WE STILL CONSIDER AS VITAL THE PROBLEMS

#39

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CLASSIFIED

OF WITHDRAWAL OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS AND THE STATUS OF THE CNRC

FOR REASONS BROUGHT OUT AT GREAT LENGTH BY SPECIAL ((PRESIDENTIAL))

ASSISTANT NGUYEN PHU DUC DURING THE OTHER MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON.

KISSINGER REPEATED VIGOROUSLY WHAT HE HAD ALREADY TOLD US MANY TIMES:

CLASSIFIED

"THERE ARE ONLY TWO BASIC QUESTIONS. HOW CAN THE U. . BEST DEFEND

YOU: BY CONTINUING THE PRESENT WAR OR WITH THE OCTOBER DRAFT AGREEMENT

WITH SOME CHANGES? IF THE PRESENT WAR CONTINUES, IT WILL BE WITHOUT

US," HE SAID, "FOR IN A FEW MONTHS THE U. . CONGRESS WILL FORCE US

CLASSIFIED

TO WITHDRAW." ON THE OTHER HAND WITH AN AGREEMENT THE U. . WILL BE LE-

GALLY OBLIGATED TO DEFEND SOUTH VIETNAM AND TO PRESERVE PEACE IN IN-

DOCHINA.

CLASSIFIED

HE EVOKED THE CASE OF SOUTH KOREA. SUPPOSING NORTH KOREA SENDS

TROOPS AGAINST SOUTH KOREA, U. . PUBLIC OPINION WOULD APPROVE U.E.

INTERVENTION AND WOULD SUPPORT SUCH AN ACTION; BECAUSE, INSOFAR AS

THE U.S. IS BOUND BY AN AGREEMENT, THE HONOR OF THE A.E. WOULD BE

AT STAKE.

CLASSIFIED

KISSINGER ASSURED US THAT HE IS NOT NAIVE ENOUGH TO BELIEVE IN

THE GOOD FAITH OF NORTH VIETNAM OR THAT THE POLITBURO IN HANOI HAS

ABANDONED THE REALIZATION OF OBJECTIVES SET DOWN IN THE WILL OF HO

CHI MINH. YET ONE MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT UNRELENTING POLITICAL REA-

LITIES IN THE U. . THE SITUATION WHICH WE SHALL HAVE TO FACE UP

TO IS THAT, FOR STRICTLY BUDGETARY REASONS, THE AIR FORCE BASED IN

NAMESE TERRITORIAL WATERS WILL UNDERGO A TWO-THIRDS REDUCTION.

((THIS IS)) WITHOUT COUNTING THAT BY NEXT MARCH THE POLITICAL SITUATION

WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE. SUCH A SITUATION WILL CERTAINLY NOT ESCAPE THE

ATTENTION OF THE POLITBURO IN HANOI. WHAT KIND OF AGREEMENT CAN WE

HOPE TO OBTAIN THEN?

WE REPLIED THAT WE ARE PERFECTLY CONSCIOUS OF U.E. POLITICAL REALI-

TIES BUT THAT, INASMUCH AS THE DRAFT AGREEMENT TOUCHES ON PROBLEMS

VITAL TO SOUTH VIETNAM, WE ARE COUNTING ON THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO

VIGOROUSLY DEFEND OUR LOGICAL AND REASONABLE POINT OF VIEW.

MISSINGER CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT OUR GOVERNMENT IS ADOPTING A

STRATEGY CONSISTING OF LETTING THE U. . ACT ALONE WITHOUT MAKING AN

ACTIVE CONTRIBUTION.

WE REPLIED THAT OUR POSITON IS WELL KNOWN TO DR. KISSINGER AND THAT

OUR GOVERNMENT IS RELYING ON HIM TO DEFEND IT BEFORE THE COMMUNISTS.

RETURNING TO THE ATTITUDE OF OUR GOVERNMENT, KISSINGER DEPLORED

THE FACT THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS RECEIVED NO REACTION FROM ((OUR))

GOVERNMENT SINCE THE RETURN TO SAIGON OF SPECIAL ASSISTANT NGUYEN

PHU DUC. THE INVITATION BY PRESIDENT NIXON TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT

((THIEU)) HAS NOT EVEN BEEN ACKNOWLEDGED.

WE ANSWERED THAT WAS NOT A MATTER OF DELIBERATE ATTITUDE ON OUR PART.

KISSINGER REPROACHED US MOREOVER FOR ASKING HIM TO ALWAYS INSIST

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ON THE SAME POINTS WITH THE SAME ARGUMENTS; HE IS NOT IN A POSITION TO
DICTATE CONDITIONS TO NORTH VIETNAM HE CONCLUDED BY HOPING THAT SAIGON
UNDERSTANDS THE NECESSITY OF A CLOSE AND TRUSTING COOPERATION BETWEEN
THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ((OUTH)) VIETNAM, WHICH
ALONE CAN SAVE SOUTH VIETNAM.

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~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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Z 081700Z DEC 72 ZYH
FM DIRNSA
TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)
ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~
EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

WARNING: THE COMINT CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNUSUALLY SENSITIVE.
IF A USIB MEMBER (OR HIS SPECIALLY DESIGNATED DEPUTY) APPROVES
THE USE OF THIS COMPARTMENTED ITEM IN A TOP SECRET CODEWORD
PUBLICATION, THE PRECISE COMINT SOURCE OR TARGET (WHICHEVER
IS SENSITIVE) SHOULD BE CONCEALED TO THE MAXIMUM DEGREE POSSIBLE
AND NO REFERENCE SHOULD BE MADE TO THE NSA DELTA REFERENCE SERIAL.
IN ALL OTHER CASES, THIS MATERIAL MUST BE MAINTAINED UNDER DELTA
SECURITY CONTROLS.

TRANSMITTED HERewith IS A SOUTH VIETNAMESE DIPLOMATIC MESSAGE.
NORMAL DISTRIBUTION FOR THIS MESSAGE IS IN THE DELTA SUBSERIES
DOLL-VND. PLEASE ADVISE IF ANY LIMITATIONS OVER AND ABOVE
EXISTING DELTA RESTRICTIONS ARE REQUIRED. THIS MESSAGE WAS
TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)
XXMMENP01F0072343
3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72
AVS,AVN,KUS/FORP/B,D.

SAIGON ISSUES INSTRUCTIONS TO PARIS DELEGATION; INDICATES WILLINGNESS
TO FREE POLITICAL PRISONERS

XXCC
FR SAIGON: ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))
HOANG DUC NHA 8 DEC 72 2110
TO PARIS: DELEGATION; AMBASSADOR
PHAM DANG LAM -- 2908/PTT/BT/TM

TOP SECRET

PURSUANT TO YOUR CABLE NR. 49.

I HAVE THE HONOR TO INFORM YOU OF THE FOLLOWING.

1. IN ARTICLE 1, WE DO NOT AGREE WITH THE RESTORATION OF
THE FORMER WORDING. WE HOLD THE FOLLOWING WORDING "ALL COUNTRIES
SHALL RESPECT, ETC."

2. CONCERNING CHAPTER 7, WE AGREE TO DELETE THE WORDS "THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER, ETC." AND REPLACE THEM WITH THE PHRASE AS SUGGESTED. THIS CHANGE RENDERS THE ARTICLE LESS PRECISE BUT WE FEEL THAT WE CAN ACCEPT IT TO SHOW OUR GOOD WILL.

3. ON ARTICLE 15 ON THE DMZ ((DEMILITARIZED ZONE)), WE MAINTAIN OUR POSITION AS INDICATED IN THE 18 NOVEMBER MEMO AND AS ELABORATED BY SPECIAL ASSISTANT ((NGUYEN PHU)) DUC AT THE MEETING IN WASHINGTON. IN PARTICULAR, THE WORD "PERMANENT" MUST BE RESTORED BEFORE "POLITICAL OR TERRITORIAL BOUNDARY" AND REFERENCE MUST BE MADE TO ARTICLE 24 OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENT AFTER THE WORDS "RESPECT EACH OTHER((S)) TERRITORY".

4. IF NECESSARY, WE CAN ELIMINATE FROM THE TEXT THE WORDS "ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE". HOWEVER, THE NATURE AND PREROGATIVES OF THE CNRC ((NATIONAL COUNCIL OF RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD)) MUST BE DEFINED AS INDICATED IN OUR 18 NOVEMBER MEMO. #70

5. WE MAINTAIN THE POSITION THAT THE PRG ((PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT)) MUST NOT FIGURE ANYWHERE IN THE AGREEMENT; NEITHER IS THE PREAMBLE NOR THE SIGNATURES. WE REMIND YOU THAT THIS IS ANOTHER VITAL POINT, (B VAL THAT IS), WE WILL NEVER ACCEPT TWO GOVERNMENTS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. IF THERE IS AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT, SIGNATURE COULD BE BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND THE DRV ((DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM)) ONLY, IN THE NAME OF THE "PARTIES TO THE PARIS CONFERENCE". THE GVN ((GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM)) AND THE NLF ((NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT)) WILL MAKE SIMULTANEOUS UNILATERAL STATEMENTS OF ADHERENCE TO THE ACCORD. THIS ((WOULD BE DONE)) TO AVOID THE PRG SIGNING AS ((A)) GOVERNMENT IN THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT. IN THE SAME MANNER, WE WILL NOT ACCEPT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PRG IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WHICH WOULD FOLLOW THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT.

6. WE ALSO REJECT THE PROPOSAL TO SET A 90-DAY DELAY FOR DEMOBILIZATION, RECALL THAT THE QUESTION OF DEMOBILIZATION WAS MADE EXPLICIT IN MY TELEGRAM NR. 2749 DATED 23 NOVEMBER AND IN PRESIDENT ((THIEU'S)) LETTER TO ((PRESIDENT)) NIXON. TO WIT: IN A FIRST PHASE WHEN ALL ALLIED TROOPS WILL WITHDRAW IN 60 DAYS, ALL NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS ALSO WILL WITHDRAW COMPLETELY DURING THE SAME PERIOD. THEN, WE WILL DEMOBILIZE OUR ((TROOP)) STRENGTH BY A NUMBER EQUAL TO THE TOTAL NUMBER OF NVN TROOPS WITHDRAWN. IN A SECOND PHASE WHEN THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES WILL DISCUSS INTERNAL POLITICAL QUESTIONS, WE WILL DEMOBILIZE PARALLEL TO AND IN ((C VAL PARTIAL ACCORDANCE WITH)) THOSE NLF UNITS THAT CAME FROM THE SOUTH. IN THIS CONTEXT OF DOUBLE DEMOBILIZATION, WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO FREEING ALL SO-CALLED POLITICAL PRISONERS. THUS, ARTICLE 8C COULD BE ABANDONED IN EXCHANGE FOR THE POINTS ((MENTIONED)) ABOVE THAT WE CONSIDER INDISPENSABLE. PLEASE EMPHASIZE TO ((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR CONCESSION AND THAT THIS CONSTITUTES, AMONG OTHER THINGS, OUR ACTIVE CONTRIBUTION AND A GREAT SACRIFICE.

7. ON THE POINT RAISED BY KISSINGER, NAMELY, THAT WE HAVE NOT YET REPLIED TO THE INVITATION FROM NIXON TO PRESIDENT ((THIEU)), PLEASE TELL HIM THAT THIS INVITATION IS CONDITIONAL TO PRESIDENT ((THIEU))'S AGREEING TO SIGN THE ACCORD. DISCUSSIONS ON THE ACCORD ARE NOW IN PROGRESS, CONSEQUENTLY, PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) CANNOT YET REPLY TO THE INVITATION.

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FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

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ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ SECTION ONE OF THREE

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VIETNAMESE (OUTH) FRENCH

XXMMENP01-0072344

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

SOUTH VIETNAMESE REPORT KISSINGER BRIEFING AFTER EIGHT DECEMBER

MEETING WITH NORTH VIETNAMESE IN PARIS

#71

XXCC

FR PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR)) PHAM DANG

LAM 9 DEC 72 0200

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'E OFFICE; PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT HOANG

DUC NHA FLASH 50/PDVNTM

TOP SECRET.

THE RESTRICTED SESSION ((BETWEEN DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER AND

LE DUC THO TODAY LASTED FROM 1500 HOURS TO 1900 HOURS. LIKE LAST

NIGHT. ((OUR)) DISCUSSION WITH HIM BEGAN AT 2030 HOURS AND ENDED AT

2,45 HOURS. WE LET HIM KNOW THAT WE HAD JUST RECEIVED AN IMPORTANT

MESSAGE FROM SAIGON BUT THAT WE PREFERRED TO LISTEN FIRST TO HIS

ACCOUNT ((OF THE SESSION WITH THO)). KISSINGER THEN GAVE US A BRIEF

EXPOSE ON WHAT HAPPENED:

LE DUC THO INSISTED ONCE AGAIN ON THE ADOPTION OF THE TEST OF

THE DRAFT AGREEMENT AS DETERMINED ON 8 OCTOBER. HE REITERATED HIS

DEMAND FOR THE OMISSION OF ARTICLE 8.C., THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN

CIVILIAN PERSONNEL, AND THE DISCUSSION ON A NEW STATUS FOR THE DMZ

((DEMILITARIZED ZONE)). ALL OF THESE DEMANDS WERE REJECTED BY

KISSINGER. LE DUC THO OPPOSED ONCE AGAIN. MOREOVER, THE AMENDMENT

"RESPECT EACH OTHER'S TERRITORY," AS WELL

AS THE VARIATION "SHALL NOT USE FORCE AGAINST EACH OTHER." THE

ONLY CONCESSION WHICH THO WOULD BE READY TO MAKE IS TO OMIT THE

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WORDS "ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE" IN THE EVENT THE U.E. AGREES TO THE MENTION OF THE PRG ((PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT)) IN THE PREAMBLE. IN THIS ALSO, THO WOULD NOT SEE ANY DISADVANTAGE AS TO WHETHER IT BE SPECIFIED IN THE FORM OF A FOOTNOTE THAT THE PREAMBLE DOES NOT IMPLY RECOGNITION OF THE ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ARE MENTIONED THEREIN.

KISSINGER AND THO AGREED ON ANOTHER SESSION TOMORROW AFTERNOON AT 1500 HOURS.

WE ASKED KISSINGER TO STATE PRECISELY HIS THOUGHTS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE 90 DAYS TO BE ALLOWED WITH REGARD TO DEMOBLIZATION, WHICH HE PROPOSED YESTERDAY AND WHICH THO HAD REJECTED. KISSINGER CONFIRMS THAT THIS 90-DAY DELAY WAS INDEED PROPOSED BY HIM. HIS INTENTION IS TO TIE THEREBY THE DEMOBILIZATION TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE POLITICAL ISSUES ((FOR WHICH)) THE SAME DELAY HAS IN EFFECT BEEN FORESEEN IN ARTICLE 12.A. (NEW). HOWEVER, NOW THAT SAIGON AND HANOI ARE REJECTING THIS DELAY, THE QUESTION NO LONGER PRESENTS ITSELF.

WHEN ASKED ABOUT LE DUC THO' ATTITUDE DURING TODAY'E SESSION, KISSINGER ANSWERED THAT ALTHOUGH THO DISPLAYED COMPLETE INTRANSIGENCE ON THE QUESTION OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS "HE CONTINUES TO REJECT CATEGORICALLY THE FORMULA 'NON-EOUTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS' AS WELL AS ((ANY)) MENTION OF 'RETURN TO NATIVE PLACES'."

KISSINGER THINKS THAT HE WILL BE ABLE TO OBTAIN FROM THO:

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1. DELETION OF "ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE;"

2. RELINQUISHMENT OF THE DEMAND FOR DISCUSSION ON A NEW STATUS

FOR THE DMZ;

3. RENUNCIATION OF THE REQUEST FOR WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN

CIVILIAN PERSONNEL; ((AND))

CLASSIFIED

4. PERHAPS SOME CONCESSION ON THE QUESTION OF RECIPROCAL NON-VIOLATION OF TERRITORY.

CLASSIFIED

MAKING THE POINT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, KISSINGER TOLD US: "IN THE NEXT 48 HOURS, WE WILL REACH THE POINT OF EITHER BREAKING UP OR ACCEPTING WHAT WE COULD ACHIEVE AT THAT TIME."

CLASSIFIED

RETURNING TO OUR VITAL PROBLEMS, HE INSISTED ON THE FACT THAT HE HAS SEIZED EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO RAISE THESE QUESTIONS AGAIN AND AGAIN. NOTHING BUT THE QUESTION OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS OCCUPIED FOUR SESSIONS DURING THE PRESENT ((SERIES OF)) MEETINGS. HE PROMISED TO CONTINUE TO STRUGGLE WITH THIS SAME PROBLEMS.

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YET HE PERSISTS IN TELLING US IN ALL SINCERITY AND IN CONFIDENCE THAT THERE IS HOPE OF OBTAINING SATISFACTION ONLY ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

1. CONCERNING MENTION OF THE PRG IN THE PREAMBLE, ADD A FOOTNOTE

SPECIFYING THAT THIS MENTION DOES NOT SIGNIFY RECOGNITION OF THE PRG.

2. ON ARTICLE 1, THE POSSIBILITY OF OBTAINING SOMETHING IN

EXCHANGE FOR A RETURN TO THE FORMER WORDING, ((AS)) DEMANDED BY

NORTH VIETNAM. (KISSINGER BELIEVES THAT (B VAL INASMUCH) AS THERE

IS A REFERENCE TO THE GENEVA (B VAL ACCORDS) OF 1954, THE PHRASE HAS
NO MORE BASIS THAN (1WDG)) CLAUSE OF STYLE).

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TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ SECTION TWO OF THREE

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

XXMMENP02-0072344

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

SOUTH VIETNAMESE REPORT KISSINGER BRIEFING AFTER EIGHT DECEMBER

MEETING WITH NORTH VIETNAMESE IN PARIS

XXCC

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#71

THE REPLACEMENT OF WAR MATERIEL (ALREADY AGREED TO IN PRINCIPLE BY NORTH VIETNAM).

4. ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CNRC ((COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD)), THE ONLY POSSIBLE CONCESSION ON THE PART OF NORTH VIETNAM IS THE OMISSION OF THE WORDS "ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE," ASIDE FROM ABANDONING "MAINTENANCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE AND THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE" IN THE LIST OF FUNCTIONS OF THIS ORGANIZATION.

5. ADOPTION OF THE EDITION OF THE NEW ARTICLE 15 ON THE DMZ AS WORDED IN THE MODIFIED DRAFT AGREEMENT, ((WHICH WAS)) THE SUBJECT OF OUR CABLE NO. 31/PDVN/TM DATED 23 NOVEMBER.

6. IMPROVEMENT OF THE RELATIVE DISPOSITIONS OF CAMBODIA AND LAOS FROM THE STANDPOINT OF STRENGTHENING THE REQUIREMENT FOR NORTH VIETNAM TO RESPECT THE GENEVA ACCORDS OF 1954 AND 1962.

7. THE POSSIBILITY OF REDUCING THE DELAY BETWEEN THE CEASE-FIRE IN VIETNAM AND THE CEASE-FIRE IN LAOS AND CAMBODIA.

WE THEN PRESENTED TO KISSINGER THE MEMO ENUMERATING THE SEVEN POINTS CONTAINED IN YOUR MESSAGE WHILE STRESSING THE SCOPE OF THE CONCESSION WHICH WE WILL BE READY TO MAKE (C VAL ON THE SUBJECT OF) ARTICLE 8.C. IF WE OBTAIN SATISFACTION ON ALL OF THE POINTS WHICH WE HAVE RAISED.

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THAT OUR GOVERNMENT WAS NOW DISPLAYING THE WILL TO COOPERATE WITH THE
U.S. GOVERNMENT EVEN THOUGH ON MANY POINTS OUR POSITION REMAINS
UNCHANGED.

KISSINGER THEN MADE POINT-BY-POINT COMMENTS:

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ON THE DELETION OF "ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE," KISSINGER
REPEATED THAT ALL THAT WE COULD HOPE IS THAT THIS TERM WILL NO
LONGER BE INCLUDED IN ARTICLE (B VAL 12) A. (NEW).

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FOR THE REST, CONCERNING THE CNRC, ((HE REITERATED)) THE
IMPOSSIBILITY OF OBTAINING ANY CHANGE OTHER THAN REMOVING THE
((FOLLOWING)) FUNCTIONS FROM THIS ORGAISM: "MAINTENANCE OF THE
CEASE7FIRE AND PRESERVATION OF THE PEACE."

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ON ARTICLE 1, KISSINGER BELIEVES THAT, FOR THE REASONS BROUGHT
OUT ABOVE, WE WILL ULTIMATELY FIND A WAY TO AGREE TO THE
FORMER WORDING, ON CONDITION THAT NORTH VIETNAM OFFER SOMETHING IN
RETURN. KISSINGER ((MADE KNOWN HIS)) PLAN TO PROPOSE, SHOULD THE
OCCASION ARISE, ANOTHER FORMULA: "THE U.S.A. AND OTHER COUNTRIES
(B VAL SHALL) RESPECT, ETC.," AND ASKED OUR OPINION.

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ON ARTICLE 15, KISSINGER REMINDED ((US)) THAT THE WORD "PERMANENT"
DOES NOT APPEAR IN PARAGRAPH 6 OF THE FINAL DECLARATION OF THE
1 GENEVE CONFERENCE OF 1954 AND THAT, CONSEQUENTLY, WE CANNOT REQUEST
REFERENCE TO THE GENEVA ACCORD OF 1954 WHILE AT THE SAME TIME DEMANDING

BOUNDARY." ACCORDING TO KISSINGER, REFERENCE TO THE 1954 GENEVA ACCORD
IS MORE IMPORTANT TO US THAN THE INSERTION OF THE WORD "PERMANENT."

KISSINGER PROMISED TO INSIST AGAIN ON "RESPECT EACH OTHER'S

TERRITORY," BUT HE THINKS IT USELESS TO RETURN TO THE QUESTION ((OF

THE)) REFERENCE TO ARTICLE 24, IN VIEW OF THE INTRANSIGENCE OF

NORTH VIETNAM. MOREOVER, IN HIS OPINION, THE REFERENCE TO ARTICLE

24 IS EVEN DISADVANTAGEOUS FOR US, FOR IN TERMS OF THIS ARTICLE, THE

ARMED FORCES OF EACH PARTY WILL BE HELD TO RESPECT THE TERRITORY

PLACED UNDER THE MILITARY CONTROL OF THE OTHER PARTY. IN VIEW OF

THE PRESENT MILITARY SITUATION IN THE FIELD, THIS ARTICLE WILL

LIMIT OUR FREEDOM OF ACTION.

AS FOR MENTION OF THE PRG, KISSINGER REMINDED US WHAT HE HAD

JUST TOLD US ABOUT THE CATEGORICAL REFUSAL BY NORTH VIETNAM TO THE

DELETION OF THIS MENTION FROM THE PREAMBLE. TO AVOID IMPLICATION OF

THE RECOGNITION OF THE PRG, THE ONLY SOLUTION IS THE FOOTNOTE

SUGGESTED ABOVE. (B VAL KISSINGER) ADDED THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO

EXCLUDE THE PRG FROM THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR THE (C VAL

TWOFOLD) REASON THAT THE AGREEMENT WILL BE CONCLUDED BETWEEN ALL

PARTIES AT THE ((PLENARY)) MEETINGS IN PARIS AND THAT MOSCOW AND

PEKING WILL NEVER PARTICIPATE IN THE CONFERENCE IF THE PRG IS

EXCLUDED.

CONCERNING THE MODALITIES OF THE SIGNING, KISSINGER BELIEVES THAT

THE FORMULA PROPOSED BY SAIGON IS MORE ADVANTAGEOUS THAN A FOUR-
PARTY SIGNING. IN EFFECT, THE GOVERNMENT OF ((SOUTH)) VIETNAM
WILL ((DEMONSTRATE)) NO OBJECTION TO E
GNING ON THE SAME DOCUMENT

AS THE PRG. ON THE OTHER HAND, IN THE DECLARATION OF ADHERENCE, WE
WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE RESERVATIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE STATUS OF
THIS ORGANIZATION. NONETHELESS, MENTION OF THE PRG WILL BE UNAVOIDABLE

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TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

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~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ FINAL SECTION OF THREE

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

XXMMENP03F0072344

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

SOUTH VIETNAMESE REPORT KISSINGER BRIEFING AFTER EIGHT DECEMBER

#71

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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

MEETING WITH NORTH VIETNAMESE IN PARIS

XXCC

IN THE PREAMBLE OF THE AGREEMENT. IT WILL BE UP TO US TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE TWO FORMULAS "THE U. S. GOVERNMENT, ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ((SOUTH)) VIETNAM" (B VAL OR) "THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, WITH THE CONCURRENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ((OUTH)) VIETNAM, ETC." IN HIS OPINION, THE FORMULA "WITH THE CONCURRENCE" COMMITS US LESS. FURTHER, THE U.S. WILL, IN THIS CASE, DECLARE, IN AN UNEQUIVOCAL MANNER, THAT THE U. S. DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE PRG.

REGARDING THE WITHDRAWAL OF NVA ((NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY)) TROOPS IN TWO PHASES, KISSINGER, IN VIGOROUS TERMS, STRESSED ONCE AGAIN THAT THERE IS NOTHING WHICH CAN BE DONE ABOUT IT-"NO POSSIBILITY WHATSOEVER."

WITH REGARD TO ARTICLE 8.C., BEFORE KISSINGER COULD MAKE HIS COMMENTS, WE DREW HIS ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT THE COMMUNIST SIDE SEEMS TO ATTACH THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE UPON THE OBTAINING OF THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AT THE SAME TIME AS ((THE RELEASE OF)) POW'S. IT IS LOGICAL THEREFORE TO ASK THEM THE MAXIMUM IN EXCHANGE FOR THE OMISSION OF THIS ARTICLE.

KISSINGER RECOGNIZED THAT WE HAVE MADE AN EFFORT BUT THAT, IN THE EYES OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE, THE IMPORTANCE OF ARTICLE 8.C. WOULD NOT JUSTIFY SUCH CONCESSIONS AS AN AGREEMENT BY HANOI TO WITHDRAW

PROPOSED THE OMISSION OF ARTICLE 8.C. IN EXCHANGE FOR THE WITHDRAWAL
OF 100,000 NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS. THIS PROPOSAL WAS NOT TAKEN

SERIOUSLY BY LE DUC THO, WHO FOUND THAT THE WITHDRAWAL OF 100,000

TROOPS TO BE TOO HIGH A PRICE WITHOUT, IN ANY CASE, COUNTERPROPOSING

ANOTHER FIGURE. KISSINGER THINKS THAT IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO

TREAT THIS QUESTION ON A DE FACTO BASIS: SHOULD WE AGREE, KISSINGER

WILL LEAVE LE DUC THO TO UNDERSTAND THAT IN THE EVENT HANOI WITHDRAWS

A CERTAIN NUMBER OF ITS TROOPS, SAIGON WILL FREE A CERTAIN NUMBER

OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

KISSINGER ASKED US TO GIVE HIM SAIGON* ANSWERS BEFORE HIS

MEETING AT 1500 HOURS TOMORROW WITH LE DUC THO, ON THE FOLLOWING

POINTS:

1. CONCERNING THE MODALITY OF THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT,

WHICH OF THE TWO FORMULAS DO WE PREFER, "ON BEHALF" OR "WITH THE CON-

CURRENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ((OUTH)) VIETNAM," IT BEING UNDER-

STOOD THAT THE SAME FORMULA WILL BE APPLIED TO THE COMMUNIST

SIDE?

2. DO WE AGREE TO THE PURE AND SIMPLE DELETION OF "ADMINISTRATIVE

STRUCTURE?"

3. DO WE AUTHORIZE KISSINGER TO TREAT THE QUESTION OF ARTICLE

8.C. ON A DE FACTO BASIS, AS PROPOSED ABOVE?

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4. DO WE AGREE TO RETURN TO THE FORMER WORDING OF ARTICLE 1, AND

WHAT CONCESSION DO WE WANT TO ASK IN EXCHANGE, EXCEPT ON POINTS
ALREADY CATEGORICALLY REJECTED BY NORTH VIETNAM?

WE KEENLY STRESS THE NECESSITY OF ANSWERING US BEFORE 1400 HOURS
TOMORROW. WE PARTICULARLY DRAW YOUR ATTENTION ON THIS PHRASE OF
KISSINGER'S: "IN THE NEXT 48 HOURS, ETC."

REGARDING THE RECENT MEETING WITH ((FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER
MAURICE)) SCHUMANN AND ((PRESIDENT GEORGES)) POMPIDOU, KISSINGER,
IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION WE ASKED HIM, REPLIED THAT THESE MEETINGS
TOOK PLACE AT THE REQUEST OF THE FRENCH, WHO WISHED TO KNOW THE
PRESENT STATE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

XXHH

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#0661

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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ZNY MMNSH

Z 090935Z DEC 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

XXMMENP01F0072344

3/00/VND/T -72

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL TO MEET IN SAIGON; INSTRUCTIONS TO BE

SENT TO PARIS NEGOTIATOR LATER

XXCC

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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1977

FR SAIGON: PRESIDENT'E OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

#72

CLASSIFIED

HOANG DUC NHA 9 DEC 72 1600

TO PARIS: ((SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION)); AMBASSADOR PHAM DANG

LAM FLASH 2921/PTT/BT

CLASSIFIED

I AM IN RECEIPT OF YOUR TELEGRAM NO. 050.

THE NSC ((NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL)) IS GOINT TO MEET AND YOU
CAN COUNT ON A CABLE OF INSTRUCTIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IF THERE
IS A DELAY, TRY TO GET KISSINGER TO UNDERSTAND. REGARDS.

XXHH

CLASSIFIED

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#0663

CLASSIFIED

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U S GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

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ZCZCEXD650

ZZ [REDACTED] #3078 3441635

ZNY MMNSH

Z 091630Z DEC 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

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IN ALL OTHER CASES, THIS MATERIAL MUST BE MAINTAINED UNDER DELTA
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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH
XXMMENP01FO072344
3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

SAIGON FORWARDS INSTRUCTIONS TO PARIS NEGOTIATOR IN RESPONSE
TO KISSINGER QUERIES OF 8 DECEMBER

XXCC

FR SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;
((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

HOANG DUC NHA 9 DEC 72 2020

TO PARIS: ((SOUTH VIETNAMESE
DELEGATION)); AMBASSADOR
PHAM DANG LAM FLASH 3474/PTT/BT/TM

TOP SECRET.

REFERENCE YOUR CABLE NR. 50/PDVN:

THE DECISIONS OF PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) REGARDING THE POINTS TO ANSWER KISSINGER ((ARE)):

1. CONCERNING THE MODALITY FOR SIGNING, WE DO NOT ACCEPT THE FORMULA "ON BEHALF" (C VAL OR) ((THE FORMULA)) "THE THE CONCURRENCE." WE ARE STICKING STRONGLY TO OUR FORMULA; NAMELY, THAT THE PRG ((PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT)) SHOULD PLAY NO PART IN THE AGREEMENT, NEITHER IN THE PREAMBLE NOR IN THE SIGNING. SHOULD THEY AGREE ON A TEXT FOR THE AGREEMENT ON MODALITY, THE SIGNING COULD BE BY THE TWO SIDES, THAT IS, THE GVN ((GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM)) AND THE USG ((U.S. GOVERNMENT)) ON ONE SIDE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF NORTH VIETNAM AND THE NLF ((NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT)) ON THE OTHER, IT BEING AGREED THAT THE PREAMBLE WOULD BEGIN WITH "THE PARTIES AT THE CONFERENCE." AS FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PRG IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, WE MAINTAIN JUST AS STRONGLY OUR CATEGORICAL OPPOSITION. IF THE PRG PARTICIPATES AS A GOVERNMENT, THE GVN WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE; BECAUSE THE PARTICIPATION OF THE GVN AT THE SIDE OF THE PRG WOULD BE EQUIVALENT TO OUR SANCTIONING THE PRG.((1))

2. THE OMISSION, PURE AND SIMPLE, OF "ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE" IS NOT ENOUGH. IN CONFORMITY WITH OUR 17 NOVEMBER((2)) MEMO CONCERNING THE NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE CNRC ((COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD)), IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE ((FOLLOWING)) BE OMITTED: THREE EQUAL SEGMENTS OF THE CNRC, ((REFERENCE)) TO LOWER ECHELONS, GENERAL ELECTIONS, ETC.

3. THE QUESTION OF TREATING ARTICLE 8.C. ON THE BASIS OF A DE FACTO WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS IS INADMISSABLE. THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE IS THAT THE NVA ((NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY)) (C VAL MUST) BE WITHDRAWN TO NORTH VIETNAM AFTER THE CEASE-FIRE. OUR POSSIBLE RELINQUISHMENT OF ((ARTICLE)) 8.C. IS A VERY GREAT SACRIFICE, WHICH (B VAL WOULD NOT BE) (C VAL CONSENTED TO) UNLESS ALL OF (C VAL OUR) PROPOSALS ARE ACCEPTED BY THE OTHER SIDE.

4. WE MAINTAIN OUR WORDING ON ARTICLE ((1 WD G)), BUT (B VAL INSTEAD) OF "AS RECOGNIZED (B VAL BY)" USE "AS STIPULATED IN." THE ARTICLE ((SHOULD)) READ AS FOLLOWS: "ALL COUNTRIES SHALL RESPECT THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, UNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF VIETNAM AS STIPULATED IN THE 1954 GENEVA ACCORDS ON VIETNAM."

5. CONCERNING ARTICLE 15 ON THE DMZ ((DEMILITARIZED ZONE)), WE FIRMLY MAINTAIN OUR POSITION; THAT IS, WE HOLD TO THE WORDS "PERMANENT," "RESPECT EACH OTHER'S TERRITORY," AND THE REFERENCE TO ARTICLE 24 OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENT. TO ABANDON THE WORD "PERMANENT" WOULD BE LIKE GRANTING NORTH VIETNAM THE RIGHT TO ONE ((UNIFIED)) VIETNAM UNDER THE HEGEMONY OF HANOI.((3))

((1)) AT 091431Z DEC, AMBASSADOR PHAM DANG LAM SENT THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO HOANG DUC NHA IN SAIGON: "REFERENCE YOUR TELEGRAM NR. 3474/PTT. THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN YESTERDAY ((8 DECEMBER)) SPOKE OF THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT ONLY BY THE U.S.

AND THE DRV ((DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM)) IN THE NAME OF THE PARTIES TO THE PARIS CONFERENCE, WITH SEPARATE ACCESSIONS BY THE GVN AND THE NLF. TODAY'S ((9 DECEMBER)) INSTRUCTIONS SEEM TO IMPLY A SIGNING BY ((ALL)) FOUR ((PARTIES)). PLEASE CLARIFY."

((2)) GARBLED IN TEXT; COULD READ 17, 18, OR 19 NOVEMBER.

((3)) THIS MESSAGE WAS NOT SIGNED OFF BY THE ORIGINATOR HOANG DUC NHA; IT IS THUS POSSIBLE THAT THERE WILL BE ADDITIONAL TEXT TO THIS MESSAGE LATER. IF FURTHER TEXT IS RECEIVED; IT WILL BE ISSUED AS SOON AS RECEIVED.

TI 9 DEC 72 1318Z

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#3078

~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

NNNN

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

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ZZ [REDACTED] #3084 3441717

ZNY MMNSH

Z 091715Z DEC 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

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THIS MESSAGE WAS TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH
XXMMENP01FO072344
3/00/VND/T -72

SAIGON ATTEMPTS TO CLARIFY POSITION ON POSSIBLE SIGNING OF AGREEMENT

XXCC

FR SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;
((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT)) HOANG

DUC NHA 9 DEC 72 2350

TO PARIS: ((SOUTH VIETNAMESE
DELEGATION)); AMBASSADOR PHAM DANG
LAM FLASH 3475/PTT/BT

REFERENCE YOUR TELEGRAM NR. 51.

WE WISH TO CLARIFY FOR YOU THAT IN THE EVENT OF AGREEMENT
ON THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT, THE MODALITY FOR SIGNING WOULD BE
THE "TWO SIDES" FORMULA. ON THE ONE SIDE THERE WOULD BE THE USG
((UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT)) AND THE GVN ((GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH
VIETNAM)), THAT IS, THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENTS, AND ON THE OTHER
SIDE ((WOULD BE)) THE GOVERNMENT OF NORTH VIETNAM AND THE NLF
((NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT)). THE NLF IS CONSIDERED AS COMPRISING
PART OF THE COMMUNIST SIDE AND WILL BE DESIGNATED AS THE NLF,
NOT AS THE PRG. NUMERICALLY, THERE WOULD BE FOUR SIGNATURES, BUT
THERE WOULD BE NO MENTION OF THE PRG IN THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT.
THE PREAMBLE WOULD BEGIN WITH "THE PARTIES TO THE CONFERENCE,
ETC." THIS IS IN ORDER TO AVOID MENTION OF THE PRG IN THE TEXT
OF THE AGREEMENT. THIS FORMULA IS AN ACCURATE APPLICATION OF OUR
BASIC PRINCIPLE OF CATEGORICAL NON-RECOGNITION OF THE PRG. REGARDS.

TI 9 DEC 72 1606Z

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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Z 100425Z DEC 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ SECTION ONE OF TWO

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VIETNAMESE(SOUTH) FRENCH

XXMMENP01-0072345

3/00/DOLL-VND/T

-72

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CLASSIFIED WORK SHEET

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

#75

SOUTH VIETNAMESE NEGOTIATOR IN PARIS INFORMS SAIGON OF KISSINGER

BRIEFING FOLLOWING NINE DECEMBER MEETING WITH NORTH VIETNAMESE

XXCC

FR PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR)) PHAM DANG

LAM 9 DEC 72 2300

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT' OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL)) ASSISTANT HOANG

DUC NHA IMMEDIATE 52/PDVN/TM

TOP SECRET.

THIS MORNING AFTER OUR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION, WE IMMEDIATELY INFORMED DR. ((HENRY A.)) KISSINGER OF THE IMPORT OF THE RESPONSES OF THE GVN ((GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM)) ON THE FOUR QUESTIONS PUT BY HIM YESTERDAY WHILE PROMISING TO GIVE HIM A MEMORANDUM AS SOON AS WE RECEIVED THE COMPLETE TEXT OF THE MESSAGE COMING FROM SAIGON. AS THE MESSAGE ARRIVED AFTER HIS DEPARTURE FOR HIS MEETING WITH LE DUC THO, WE ASKED A MEMBER OF HIS DELEGATION TO TAKE OUT MEMORANDUM TO HIM IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SESSION.

THIS EVENING AFTER HIS MEETING WITH LE DUC THO, WHICH ENDED AT 1830 HOURS, KISSINGER INVITED US TO COME TO SEE HIM AT 2015 HOURS. HE TOLD US THAT HE HAD INDEED RECEIVED OUR MEMORANDUM, BUT THAT HE WOULD FIRST GIVE US AN ACCOUNT OF THE SESSION. HE DESCRIBED TODAY'S MEETING AS ((BEING)) WITHOUT PROGRESS:

LE DUC THO RAISED ONCE AGAIN THE QUESTION OF ARTICLE 8.C. DEMANDING,

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MOREOVER, THAT THE 3-MONTH DELAY FORESEEN IN THIS ARTICLE BE REDUCED

TO 2 MONTHS. HE CONTINUED TO ((B VAL LODGE COMPLAINTS)) ((WITH A VIEW TO)) THE DEPARTURE OF FOREIGN CIVILIAN PERSONNEL.

ON THE DMZ ((DEMILITARIZED ZONE)), LE DUC THO NO LONGER INSISTS ON THE ADDITION OF THE PHRASE "NORTH VIETNAM AND SOUTH VIETNAM WILL DISCUSS ON ((IC)) THE STATUS OF THE DMZ" BUT ((HE)) PROPOSES ANOTHER SIMILAR FORMULA, NAMELY "NORTH VIETNAM AND SOUTH VIETNAM WILL AGREE ON REGULATIONS ON MOVEMENTS ACCROSS THE DMZ."

CLASSIFIED
CONCERNING DEMOBILIZATION, LE DUC THO AGREES ONLY TO REPLACE THE 90-DAY DELAY WITH "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE."

CLASSIFIED
AS FOR KISSINGER, HE BROUGHT UP FOR DISCUSSION THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY US. ((THEY WERE)) AGAIN REJECTED BY LE DUC THO. KISSINGER INFORMED US THAT, CONTRARY TO HIS ((EARLIER)) EXPECTATIONS, HE IS REMAINING IN PARIS TO MEET LE DUC THO AGAIN ON MONDAY. IN THE EVENT OF ANY PROGRESS, THERE WOULD BE ANOTHER SISSION ON TUESDAY. IN ANY CASE, HE WILL RETURN TO WASHINGTON TUESDAY EVENING.

CLASSIFIED
THERE WILL BE NO SESSION TOMORROW ((UNDAY)), BUT U.E. AND NORTH VIETNAMESE EXPERTS WILL COMPARE THE TESTS OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT ((HELD BY)) BOTH SIDES.

AS PROMISED, THE VIETNAMESE LANGUAGE TEXT PROVIDED BY NORTH VIETNAM WILL BE SENT TO US.

KISSINGER INFORMED US THAT GENERAL ((ALEXANDER M.)) HAIG IS LEAVING

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PARIS THIS EVENING TO REPORT ON THE STATUS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS TO

PRESIDENT NIXON.

KISSINGER THEN BROUGHT UP OUR MEMORANDUM. WITH AN AIR

OF BEING VISIBLY DISAPPOINTED AND IN A DISCOURAGED TONE, HE SAID

SIMPLY: "I DO NOT KNOW WHAT TO SAY." THEN HE ADDED THAT HE HAD PUT

ASIDE ALL OF HIS AFFAIRS IN WASHINGTON IN ORDER TO DEVOTE ALL OF

HIS TIME TO TRY TO OBTAIN THE BEST POSSIBLE AGREEMENT. BUT EACH

TIME HE CONSULTS US ON NEGOTIATION TACTICS, SAIGON TELLS HIM TO

PRESENT THE SAME DEMANDS ALREADY CATEGORICALLY REJECTED BY NORTH

VIETNAM. (C VAL UNDER) SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES HE DOES NOT KNOW WHAT

TO DO. HE REMINDED US THAT UP TILL (B VAL NOW) HE HAS SPARED NO

EFFORT IN DEFENDING OUR POSITION. HE BELIEVES THAT ON CERTAIN POINTS--

FOR EXAMPLE, (B VAL OMISSION) OF THE TERM "ADMINISTRATIVE

STRUCTURE"-- THE RESULTS OUGHT TO HAVE SATISFIED US. HE REFERRED TO

THE MEETINGS HE HAD IN WASHINGTON WITH (C VAL SPECIAL ASSISTANT)

NGUYEN PHU DUC, WHO WAS OPPOSED TO BOTH THE TERM "ADMINISTRATIVE"

AND THE TERM "STRUCTURE". NOW THAT HE HAS OBTAINED THE

ELIMINATION OF THESE TWO TERMS, HE HEARS THAT IT IS INSUFFICIENT.

TI 9 DEC 72 2339Z

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#0657

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FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: MR. D. MCMANIS FOR A SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ FINAL SECTION OF TWO

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

XXMMENP02F0072345

3/00/DOLL7VND/T -72

SOUTH VIETNAMESE NEGOTIATOR IN PARIS INFORMS SAIGON OF KISSINGER

BRIEFING FOLLOWING NINE DECEMBER MEETING WITH NORTH VIETNAMESE

XKDC

FORESEEING WHAT COULD (B VAL COME ABOUT) IN THE NEXT ((FEW)) DAYS,

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#75

WITH THE UNUSUAL PROLONGING OF KISSINGER'S STAY IN PARIS (THE FIRST TIME SUCH A STAY HAS LASTED MORE THAN A WEEK), AND WITH THE PRECIPITOUS RETURN OF HAIG TO WASHINGTON, WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT NEXT WEEK'S MEETINGS COULD WELL BE THE LAST.

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TI 9 DEC 72 2339Z

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ZNY MMNSH

Z 111525Z DEC 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

XXMMENP01F0072346

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

AVS, AVN, KUS, LFR/FORP/B, D.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION REQUESTS INSTRUCTIONS ON POSSIBLE REPLY TO STATEMENT BY FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER

XXCC

FR PARIS: DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR))

PHAM DANG LAM 11 DEC 72

TO SAIGON: ((FOREIGN MINISTRY)) -- 533/PDVN/MAE/95

SECRET

((FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTRY)) MAURICE SCHUMANN RECENTLY SAID, "IT IS CLEAR THAT, IN GENERAL, EVERYONE FEELS THAT FRANCE MUST PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE AND MOREOVER, EVERYONE THINKS FRANCE WILL HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF VIETNAM; AND HOWEVER MUCH IS ASKED OF US, WE WILL AGREE TO IT." HANOI AND THE NLF ((NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT)) HAVE ALREADY REACTED VERY FAVORABLY TO THIS STATEMENT. FOR HANOI, "THERE IS ONE COUNTRY WHICH WE PREFER IN ALL SPHERES: THAT ((COUNTRY)) IS FRANCE." THE NLF WENT EVEN FURTHER: NGUYEN THI BINH HAS ASKED THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO EXERT PRESSURE ON THE U.S. THE FRENCH PRESS CONSIDERS OUR SILENCE TO DATE AS RETICENCE TOWARDS FRANCE. I REQUEST INSTRUCTIONS ((AS TO)) WHETHER WE SHOULD MAKE DEMARCHES OR ANY STATEMENTS FOLLOWING SCHUMANN'S STATEMENT.

TI 11 DEC 72

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~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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DE #3058 34 61850

ZNY MMNSH

Z 111840Z DEC 72

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN: MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

EXCLUSIVE FOR DELTA CONTROL OFFICER

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)

XXMME NP 01F0072346

3/00 DOLL-VND/T -72

FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS FORWARDED FROM SAIGON TO PARIS NEGOTIATOR
IN RESPONSE TO KISSINGER QUERIES OF 8 DECEMBER

xxdc

FR SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;
(PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT)) HOANG
DUC NHA 9 DEC 72

TO PARIS: ((DELEGATION;)) AMBASSADOR
PHAM DANG LAM ((FLASH)) 3474/PTT/BI/TM

MOREOVER, ((1)) ((ANY)) REFERENCE TO THE FINAL DECLARATION OF THE GENEVA (B VAL CONFERENCE) IS INAPPROPRIATE, FOR IT HAS NO LEGAL VALUE.

6. IN CONCLUSION, PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) AFFIRMS ONCE AGAIN THAT AS LONG AS OUR THREE VITAL PROBLEMS - NAMELY, THE WITHDRAWAL OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS, THE NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE CNRC ((COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD)), AND OUR OPPOSITION TO THE ((B VAL MENTION)) OF THE PRG ((PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT)) AS A GOVERNMENT - ARE NOT RESOLVED, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ARRIVE AT AN AGREEMENT. ON THE POINT OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS, IF ((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER THINKS THAT THERE IS "NO POSSIBILITY WHATSOEVER," WE ALSO THINK THAT AS LONG AS THERE IS NO REASONABLE AND ACCEPTABLE FORMULA TO RESOLVE THIS QUESTION, AS WELL AS THE TWO OTHER VITAL QUESTIONS, ((B VAL THERE IS)) "NO POSSIBILITY WHATSOEVER" NEITHER ((SIC)) OF ACCEPTING THE COMMUNIST DEMANDS.

PLEASE UNDERSCORE THE TOTAL INTRANSIGENCE OF THE COMMUNISTS
IN REFUSING TO DEAL WITH OUR VITAL PROBLEMS.

ALSO, THE QUESTION OF "THE NEXT 48 HOURS, ETC.," IS NO CONCERN OF OURS.

((1)) LAST PART OF MESSAGE 3474/PTT/BI/TM OF 9 DEC 72, NOT PREVIOUSLY AVAILABLE.

XXHH
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#3058

#77

~~WHITE HOUSE ONLY~~

~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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TO WHITE HOUSE

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH --

#78

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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-460-250

CLASSIFIED SOUTH VIETNAMESE NEGOTIATOR FORWARDS KISSINGER SUGGESTION

TO PRESIDENT THIEU

FR PARIS: SOUTHVIETNAMESE DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR))

PHAM DANG LAM 11 DEC 72 2200

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT' OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

HOANG DUC NHA FLASH 55/PDVN/TM

CLASSIFIED TOP SECRET.

WITH REGARD TO PRESIENT ((THIEU')) MESSAGE TOMORROW

CLASSIFIED BEFORE PARLIAMENT, ((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER HAS EARNESTLY

ASKED THAT WE ADVISE PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) OF THE FOLLOWING:

IN VIEW OF LE DUC THO' ATTITUDE THESE PAST FEW DAYS,

AND PARTICULARLY AT TODAY'E SESSION WHERE THE NORTH

CLASSIFIED VIETNAMESE APPEARED TO SHOW A DESIRE TO AWAIT A PRETEXT

FOR THROWING UPON THE GVN ((GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM))

THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR A POSSIBLE BREAK-DOWN ((IN THE

NEGOTIATIONS)) AND THUS PROVOKING A GENERAL OUTCRY

CLASSIFIED AGAINST US AMONG U. . PUBLIC OPNION,

KISSINGER VENTURES TO SUGGEST THAT IN PRESIDENT

((THIEU'S)) MESSAGE TOMORROW HE APPROACH THE MATTER

OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENERAL TERMS WITHOUT MAKING

SPECIFIC PROPOSALS. THIS IS IN ORDER THAT, IN THE CASE

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DATE 08-01-01 BY 60322 UCBAW

CLASSIFIED SECRET

CLASSIFIED

THE SYMPATHY OF U.E. PUBLIC OPINION BY THEN STATING THAT

HE IS READY TO HELP THE U. . TO RECOVER ((TS)) POW'E.

KISSINGER STRESSES THAT HE IS MAKING THIS

SUGGESTION NOT WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF INTERVENING IN

CLASSIFIED

EXTREMIS IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS, BUT BECAUSE HE FEELS

THAT IT IS IN OUR INTEREST.

I WILL REPORT ON ((TODAY')) MEETING IN THE FOLLOWING

MESSAGE.

CLASSIFIED

TI 11 DEC 72 2124Z

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~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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ZNY MMNSH

Z 120745Z DEC 72 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR. D. MCMANIS/FOR A SERIES CHECK)

ZEM

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

3/00/DOLL-VND/T-72

DR KISSINGER BRIEFS SOUTH VIETNAMESE ON ELEVEN DECEMBER

MEETING WITH LE DUC THO

FR PARIS: VIETNAMESE DELEGATION; AMBASSADOR PHAM DANG LAM

#79

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3/00/DOLL-VND/T-72

-- 11 DEC 72 2330

TO SAIGON: OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT: HOANG DUC NHA

FLASH 56/PDVN/TM

TOP SECRET

HERE IS WHAT KISSINGER TOLD US FOLLOWING HIS MEETING TODAY WITH
LE DUC THO. NO PROGRESS AT ALL. LE DUC THO RETURNED ((1 WD G)) ON

THE QUESTION OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN CIVILIAN PERSONNEL. THE

ONLY CONCESSION, IF IT CAN BE CALLED THAT, IS THAT LE DUC THO

AGREES TO THE U.S.' INSTITUTING A "SEPARATE UNDERSTANDING" TO

WITHDRAW THESE PERSONNEL WITHIN TWO MONTHS. AS FOR THE DMZ

((DEMILITARIZED ZONE)), LE DUC THO REPLIED THAT HE HAD NOT YET

RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS FROM HANOI. THINGS STOPPED THERE FOR THE

MOMENT. WHEN HE AGAIN SPOKE, KISSINGER SUGGESTED TAKING UP THE

QUESTION OF THE PROCEDURES FOR SIGNING. AFTER A DISCUSSION, LE

DUC THO LET IT BE UNDERSTOOD THAT HE WOULD AGREE TO THE FOLLOWING

PROCEDURE: THE U.E. GOVERNMENT AND THE DRV((DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF

VIETNAM)) WILL SIGN THE ACCORD WITH THE PREAMBLE BEGINNING WITH

"THE U. . GOVERNMENT IN CONCERT WITH THE GVN((GOVERNMENT OF

VIETNAM)) ETC., ETC., THE DRV IN CONCERT WITH THE PRG((PROVISIONAL

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT)) ETC., ETC." IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE

SIGNING THE U.S. WILL MAKE A STATEMENT CLEARLY EMPHASIZING THAT

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TOP SECRET

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IT DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE PRG. THE GVN WILL SIGN ALONE ANOTHER
TEXT OF THE ACCORD, WITH THE PREAMBLE CUT OFF. THE NLF ((NATIONAL
LIBERATION FRONT)) WILL ALSO SIGN ALONE A THIRD, COUNTERPART
TEXT OF THE ACCORD, THAT IS TO SAY, WITHOUT PREAMBLE AND MENTION
OF THE PRG. THE THREE DOCUMENTS CONSTITUTE THE ACCORD. THUS,
THERE WILL NOT BE A CEREMONY OF A FOUR-PARTY SIGNING. THE ACCORD
REQUIRING THE GVN' SIGNATURE WOULD BE RETURNED TO US BY YOU
ONCE IT WAS SIGNED. AFTER HIS REPORT, KISSINGER GAVE US HIS
IMPRESSION OF LE DUC THO AND COMPANY WHOM HE FOUND TODAY LITTLE
INCLINED TO DISCUSS SERIOUSLY, CERTAIN AS THEY ARE THAT TIME IS
ON THEIR SIDE. THEY OPENLY SPECULATED ON THE INEVITABLE AND
IMMINENT CONFRONTATION BETWEEN SAIGON AND WASHINGTON. ((AMBASSADOR))
PORTER, WHO WAS PRESENT FOR THE FIRST TIME, WAS ENTIRELY OF THE
SAME OPINION. IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT KISSINGER MADE THE SUG-
GESTION WHICH WAS THE SUBJECT OF OUR MESSAGE NUMBER 55/PDVN/IM.
HE IS SORRY THAT THE U.E. GOVERNMENT AND THE GVN WERE NOT ABLE TO
REACH A ((1 WD G)) JOINT POSITION. THAT WOULD HAVE ALLOWED PLACING
THE BLAME FOR A BREAK ON NORTH VIETNAM, SHOULD THE OCCASION ARISE.
HE ((DR. KISSINGER)) INFORMED US THAT IN ANY CASE HE WILL LEAVE
PARIS FOR WASHINGTON IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS MEETING WITH LE DUC THO,
WHICH IS SCHEDULED FOR 1500 HOURS TOMORROW. HE WILL LEAVE AMBASSA-
DORS PORTER AND SULLIVAN TO MEET IN THE MORNING WITH XUAN THUY AND

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TOP SECRET - COMINT - SECURITY INFORMATION

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NGUYEN CO THACH TO SEE IF THERE IS A POSSIBILITY FOR PROGRESS.

IF NEED BE, SULLIVAN WILL STAY IN PARIS FOR TWO MORE DAYS TO
DISCUSS THE PROTOCOL.

SO WE CAN REPLY TO THE U. . DELEGATION, PLEASE GIVE US INSTRUCTIONS
ON THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

1. OUR REACTION VISAVIS THE PROCEDURES FOR SIGNING, AS OUTLINED
ABOVE. FOR OUR PART WE RECALLED THE FOUR-PARTY SIGNING PROCEDURE
AND THE NON-MENTION OF THE PRG AS PROPOSED BY THE GVN, REFERENCE
YOUR MESSAGE NUMBER 3474/PTT/BI/TM. KISSINGER REPLIED THAT IT IS
ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE TO GET A FOUR-PARTY SIGNING AND NOT TO
MENTION THE PRG IN THE PREAMBLE AND IN THE SIGNATURE;
2. COMMENTS FROM OUR GENERAL STAFF ON THE NEW TEXTS OF THE
PROTOCOLS, REFERENCE OUR MESSAGE NUMBER 53/PDVN/TM((1));
3. OBSERVATIONS ON THE VIETNAMESE TEXT OF THE DRAFT ACCORD,
SAME REFERENCE AS ABOVE;
4. YOUR ADVICE ON LE DUC THO'E PROPOSAL TO INCLUDE THE CLAUSE ON
THE REPATRIATION OF FOREIGN CIVILIAN PERSONNEL IN A SEPARATE
UNDERSTANDING RATHER THAN IN THE TEXT.

((1)) MESSAGE IN QUESTION, WHICH IS IN PROCESS, IS THE COMPLETE
VIETNAMESE TEXT OF THE DRAFT ACCORD.

TI 12 DEC 72 0452Z

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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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ZZ #3001 3480255

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Z 130245Z DEC 72 ZYH

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TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DAVID MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH
XXMMENP01F0072348
3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

AMBASSADOR PORTER BRIEFS SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION ON TWELVE DECEMBER MEETINGS WITH NORTH VIETNAMESE

XXCC

FR PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION;

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TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;
 ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT)) HOANG
 DUC NHA FLASH 57/PDVN/TM

TOP SECRET

TODAY IT WAS PORTER WHO GAVE US A BRIEFING ON THE THREE MEETINGS BETWEEN HIM AND SULLIVAN ON ONE SIDE AND XUAN THUY AND NGUYEN CO THACH ON THE OTHER, THE SECOND BETWEEN U.S. AND NORTH VIETNAMESE EXPERTS, AND FINALLY THE MEETING BETWEEN KISSINGER AND LE DUC THO, WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE AFTERNOON FROM 1500 TO 1945 HOURS. AS FOR THIS LAST MEETING, PORTER REPORTED THAT THERE WAS NO CHANGE IN THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ATTITUDE. LE DUC THO REFUSED ALL CHANGES TO ARTICLE 15 ON THE DMZ ((DEMILITARIZED ZONE)). HE AGAIN BROUGHT UP THE QUESTION OF ARTICLE 8 C ON POLITICAL DETAINEES AND ARTICLE 5 RELATIVE TO FOREIGN CIVILIAN PERSONNEL, STATING THAT IF HE KEPT COMING BACK TO THESE POINTS IT WAS BECAUSE WE OURSELVES ARE RAISING NEW PROBLEMS. AS FOR THE PORTER-XUAN THUY MEETING, IT WAS DEVOTED TO CLARIFYING THE UNDERSTANDING ON LAOS AND CAMBODIA. ACCORDING TO PORTER, THE QUESTION IS NOT YET RESOLVED BECAUSE OF NUMEROUS DIFFICULTIES, ESPECIALLY ON LAOS. FINALLY, THE U.S. AND NORTH VIETNAMESE EXPERTS CONTINUED WITH THE COMPARISON OF THE ENGLISH AND VIETNAMESE TEXTS.

CONTRARY TO THE DECISION MADE YESTERDAY BY KISSINGER TO RETURN IMMEDIATELY TO WASHINGTON AFTER THIS AFTERNOON'S MEETING, A NEW AND SHORT MEETING WILL BE HELD TOMORROW IN THE MORNING, FOLLOWING WHICH KISSINGER WILL LEAVE PARIS.

NO DATE IS SET FOR THE RESUMPTION OF THE KISSINGER-LE DUC THO MEETINGS. HOWEVER, PORTER MADE IT CLEAR THAT THIS IS NOT A BREAK: WASHINGTON WILL STAY IN TOUCH WITH HANOI TO SEE "WHAT WE CAN DO WITH THEM." FROM NOW ON IT WILL THUS BE THROUGH NORMAL DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS BETWEEN SAIGON AND WASHINGTON THAT WE WILL OBTAIN INFORMATION ON THE PROGRESS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. FOR THIS PURPOSE AMBASSADOR ((TRAN KIM)) PHUONG WILL HAVE TO GET IN TOUCH WITH THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND COMMUNICATE AFTERWARDS WITH OUR GOVERNMENT.

BEFORE LEAVING PARIS, KISSINGER INSTRUCTED PORTER TO REPEAT TO US WHAT HE HAS ALREADY TOLD US SEVERAL TIMES. HERE IN SUBSTANCE IS HIS MESSAGE: "THROUGH THREE WEEKS OF CONTACTS IN PARIS VERY LITTLE OF A CONSTRUCTIVE NATURE COMES FROM SAIGON. FREQUENTLY HE (KISSINGER) IS LEFT WITHOUT ANY GUIDANCE. THE SPECIAL BRIEFINGS HE GAVE PRODUCE NO RESULT." WE REPLIED STRESSING THE FACT THAT OUR POSITION ON THE PROBLEMS OF SUBSTANCE HAS BEEN FULLY STATED, IN PARTICULAR IN OUR PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT NIXON. IT WAS STRESSED IN THIS LETTER AS WE HAVE DONE OURSELVES IN VARIOUS MEMORANDA, THAT IT IS USELESS TO BRING UP QUESTIONS OF DETAIL WHEN PROBLEMS OF SUBSTANCE ARE NOT YET RESOLVED. PORTER ADDED THAT KISSINGER COMPLAINED "THAT THERE WAS LACK OF RESPONSE FROM SAIGON TO WASHINGTON EVEN AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL." AS FOR PRESIDENT NIXON'S INVITATION TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT THIEU, WE HAVE ALREADY EXPLAINED TO KISSINGER THE REASON OUR CHIEF OF STATE IS NOT YET IN A POSITION TO REPLY TO IT.

OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT THINGS HAVE REACHED A DECISIVE STAGE. WASHINGTON NOW SEEMS TO HAVE DECIDED TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH HANOI WITHOUT CONSULTING US. AMBASSADOR PHUONG AND AMBASSADOR ((VUONG VAN)) BAC ARE WAITING INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT. PARTICULARLY AMBASSADOR PHUONG WHO WANTS TO KNOW WHETHER HE IS TO RETURN DIRECTLY TO WASHINGTON OR VIA SAIGON.

XXHH

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#80

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH

XXMMENP01F0072348

3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72

SAIGON SAYS NOTHING MORE TO DISCUSS UNTIL "VITAL POINTS" RESOLVED; PHUONG TO GO TO SAIGON BEFORE RETURNING TO WASHINGTON, BAC TO GO BACK TO LONDON FROM PARIS

XXCC

FR SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;
((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))
HOANG DUC NHA 13 DEC 72 1640
TO PARIS: ((SOUTH VIETNAMESE
DELEGATION)); AMBASSADOR PHAM
DANG LAM FLASH 2965/PTT/BT/M

WE WISH TO CONFIRM TO YOU THAT OUR GOVERNMENT STILL HOLDS THE POSITION THAT AS LONG AS THE VITAL POINTS ARE NOT RESOLVED IT IS USELESS TO DISCUSS DETAILS.

PLEASE TELL AMBASSADOR ((TRAN KIM)) PHUONG TO TAKE THE FIRST PLANE FOR SAIGON, I REPEAT, SAIGON. AMBASSADOR ((VUONG VAN)) BAC WILL RETURN TO LONDON.

PRESENT THE IDEAS OF PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) IN ((HIS)) MESSAGE CONCERNING THE TRUCE IN YOUR SPEECH TOMORROW ((AT THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE PEACE TALKS)). MAKE MUCH OF THE STIR CREATED BY THIS OFFER IN THE PRESS ETC. ...

REGARDS.

TI 13 DEC 72 0920Z

XXHH

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~~DELTA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

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Z 131810Z DEC 72 ZYH

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH)
XXMMENP01F0072348
3/00/DOLL-VND/T -72
AVS,LFR/FORP/B.

THIEU RESPONDS TO PARIS DELEGATION QUERY RE SOUTH VIETNAMESE STANCE ON FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER'S STATEMENT

XXCC

FR SAIGON: OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT;
(PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SECRETARY)
HOANG DUC NHA 12 DEC 72 2030H
TO PARIS: (DELEGATION); AMBASSADOR
PHAM DANG LAM FLASH 3499/PTT/BT/M
SECRET.

PURSUANT TO YOUR TELEGRAM NR. 533, PRESIDENT ((THIEU))'S IDEAS ARE AS FOLLOWS.

THE ROLE OF FRANCE IN SOUTH VIETNAM IS NOT A PROBLEM FOR US, CONSIDERING THE GOOD RELATIONS OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE HAD FOR A LONG TIME. IF THE PROBLEM ARISES NOW, WE WILL HAVE TO REEVALUATE OUR RELATIONS. THE COMMUNISTS RESPONDED SOLELY FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES AND THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT MUST REALIZE THAT.

TI 12 DEC 72 1322Z

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TO WHITE HOUSE

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VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) FRENCH --

SOUTH VIETNAMESE REPORT KISSINGER DEPARTURE FROM PARIS;

AMBASSADOR LAM TO PRESENT THIEU'S IDEAS AT REGULAR

THURSDAY PEACE TALKS SESSION ON 14 DECEMBER

FR PARIS: SOUTH VIETNAMASE DELEGATION; ((AMBASSADOR))

PHAM DANG LAM 13 DEC 72 2200

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT' OFFICE; ((PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT))

HOANG DUC NHA FLASH 58/PDVN/TM

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#83

TOP SECRET.

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((DR. HENRY A.)) KISSINGER DEPARTED ORLY ((AIRPORT)) THIS EVENING AT 2100 HOURS AFTER HIS MEETING WITH LE DUC THO. HE TOLD US BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE THAT NOTHING NEW CAME OUT OF THIS MEETING. THE COMMUNISTS ARE STILL SEEKING TO GAIN TIME.

CLASSIFIED

IN A BRIEF STATEMENT TO THE PRESS AT THE AIRPORT HE ((KISSINGER)) MERELY SAID THAT HE WOULD STAY IN CONTACT WITH LE DUC THO IN ORDER TO DETERMINE WHETHER ANOTHER MEETING IS NECESSARY. HE ALSO TOLD US THAT IT WAS NOT KNOWN IF AND WHEN HE WILL RETURN TO PARIS. NEVERTHELESS, HE SAID EXPLICITLY THAT THIS WAS NOT A BREAK-DOWN, AND THAT HE DID NOT FORESEE AN IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT BEFORE CHRISTMAS.

CLASSIFIED

CONCERNING THE ((AVENUE)) KLEBER SESSION ((OF THE PEACE TALKS)) TOMORROW, I WILL PRESENT THE IDEAS OF PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) ON THE TRUCE, THE OPENING OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE VIETNAMESE PARTIES, AND THE LIBERATION OF POW'S.

CLASSIFIED

AMBASSADOR ((THAN KIM)) PHUONG WILL LEAVE PARIS TOMORROW MORNING AND WILL ARRIVE IN SAIGON FRIDAY EVENING BY AIR VIETNAM FLIGHT 687 FROM BANGKOK. AMBASSADOR ((VUONG VAN)) BAC RETURNED TO LONDON TODAY.

TH 13 DEC 72 2202Z

#0651

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