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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

FLASH

#0745 0082324
Z 082315Z JAN 73 ZYH
FM DIRNSA

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

~~T O P S E C R E T UMBRA GAMMA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

SECTION ONE OF TWO
TRANSMITTED HERewith IS AN UNPUBLISHED SOUTH VIETNAMESE
MESSAGE. NORMAL DISTRIBUTION FOR THIS MESSAGE IS IN THE
GAMMA SERIES. PLEASE ADVISE IF ANY LIMITATIONS OVER
AND ABOVE EXISTING GAMMA RESTRICTIONS ARE NECESSARY.
THIS MESSAGE WAS TRANSMITTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.
VIETNAMESE (SOUTH CIPHER/
XXMMENPOIF0073908

G/00/ -73 (USVCFN)

KUS AVS AVN LER FORP/B

AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN BRIEFS SOUTH VIETNAMESE ON KISSINGER
THO TALKS OF 8 JANUARY

XXCC

FR PARIS: DELEGATION: ((AMBASSADOR)) PHAM DANG LAM 8 JAN 73 1900

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

HOANG DUC NHA IMMEDIATE 006/PDVNCH/P/M

~~SECRET~~

AS AGREED, ((DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EAST ASIA
AND THE PACIFIC WILLIAM H.)) SULLIVAN MET WITH US TODAY. THE
KISSINGER-LE DUC THO MEETING LASTED FROM 1100 HOURS UNTIL 1530
HOURS. ACCORDING TO SULLIVAN, LE DUC THO, ON THE PRETEXT OF
HAVING THE FLU, ASKED THAT THE SESSION NOT LAST MORE THAN 4 OR
5 HOURS. THE SESSION BEGAN WITH A LONG TIRADE BY LE DUC THO,
RECALLING THE EVENTS FROM OCTOBER TO THE RENEWAL OF THE
BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM. STILL, ACCORDING TO SULLIVAN, LE
DUC THO DID NOT DIRECTLY ACCUSE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT BUT MERELY
CITED REACTIONS FROM AROUND THE WORLD CONDEMNING THE BOMBING.
THE TONE OF LE DUC THO DURING THE WHOLE SESSION IS CONSIDERED BY
SULLIVAN TO BE NOT TOO EXCESSIVE. THE TWO PRINCIPAL QUESTIONS RAISED
TODAY WERE THE PROCEDURES FOR SIGNING THE ACCORD AND THE DMZ
((DEMILITARIZED ZONE)). ON THE FIRST QUESTION, KISSINGER BROUGHT
UP VARIOUS FORMULAS ALREADY PROPOSED, NAMELY:
((1)) SIGNING BY THE U.S. ((UNITED STATES)) AND THE DRV ((DEMO-
CRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM)) ACTING "IN CONCERT WITH (...)."
((2)) SIGNING BY THE PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE PARIS

*****WHSR COMMENT*****

SCOWCROFT, KENNEDY, HOWE--SENT TO HAK

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MEETING WITHOUT MENTIONING THEM BY NAME.

((3)) BILATERAL SIGNING BY THE U.S. AND THE DRV WITH SEPARATE ADHESIONS BY THE GVN ((GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM)) AND THE PRG ((PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT)).

((4)) AND FINALLY, A SIGNING IN THREE DOCUMENTS: THE FIRST INCLUDING IN THE PREAMBLE MENTION OF THE FOUR PARTIES, INCLUDING THE PRG, WILL BE SIGNED BY THE U.S. AND THE DRV; THE SECOND, WITHOUT PREAMBLE, WILL BE SIGNED BY THE GVN; AND THE THIRD, ALSO WITHOUT PREAMBLE, WILL BE SIGNED BY THE PRG.

THE THREE DOCUMENTS WILL BE ATTACHED TOGETHER, EACH PARTY RECEIVING A COMPLETE SET. KISSINGER INSISTED ON THIS LAST FORMULA, BUT LE DUC THO IS HOLDING TO A FOUR-WAY SIGNING, WITH MENTION OF THE PRG IN THE PREAMBLE.

CONCERNING THE DMZ, KISSINGER AGAIN PROPOSED ADDING A PHRASE STATING THAT NORTH VIETNAM AND SOUTH VIETNAM WILL MUTUALLY RESPECT EACH OTHER'S TERRITORIES. ON THE OTHER HAND, LE DUC THO, WHILE NOT QUESTIONING AGAIN THE STATUS OF THE DMZ, ASKED THAT THE MODALITIES FOR MOVEMENTS ACROSS THIS ZONE BE DISCUSSED. THE TWO SIDES LEFT IT AT THAT.

I ASKED SULLIVAN HOW AND WHEN KISSINGER EXPECTS TO RAISE AGAIN THE PROBLEM OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS, AS PROMISED BY PRESIDENT NIXON IN HIS LETTER OF 5 JANUARY. ((HE RECEIVED AN)) EVASIVE RESPONSE FROM SULLIVAN, WHO POINTED OUT THAT THIS QUESTION WILL BE TREATED UNDER DIFFERENT ASPECTS, FOR EXAMPLE: REGARDING THE DMZ, THE PROHIBITION OF COMMUNIST TROOP REINFORCEMENTS ((SENT)) TO THE SOUTH; RESPECT FOR THE BORDERS OF LAOS AND CAMBODIA. WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE QUESTION OF WITHDRAWAL OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS WILL NOT BE RAISED IN A DIRECT MANNER AND AS SUCH, ((NOT)) EVEN UNDER FORM REQUESTED ((VAL WITH ADDITION OF)) THE FORMULA FOR DEMOBILIZATION ON ONE-FOR-ONE BASIS AND RETURN TO THEIR NATIVE PLACES. I THEN RECALLED THE POSITION OF OUR GOVERNMENT SET FORTH IN THE LETTER OF 20 DECEMBER BY PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) AND REAFFIRMED IN THE RECENT RESPONSE OF 7 JANUARY TO PRESIDENT NIXON'S LETTER.

PROCEEDING TO THE PROTOCOL QUESTION, I ASKED SULLIVAN ABOUT THE

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

~~T O P S E C R E T~~ ~~UNBRO~~ ~~GAMMA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

FINAL SECTION OF TWO
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 MESSAGE. NORMAL DISTRIBUTION FOR THIS MESSAGE IS IN THE
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 VIETNAMESE (SOUTH CIPHER/
 XXMMENPOIF0073008
 G/DOV -73 (USVGFN)
 KUS, AYS, AMN, LFR, FORP/B.
 AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN BRIEFS SOUTH VIETNAMESE ON KISSINGER
 TWO TALKS OF 8 JANUARY
 XXCC

PRESENT STATE OF NEGOTIATIONS. ACCORDING TO SULLIVAN, THE U.S.
 DELEGATION HAS ALWAYS AVOIDED MIXING POLITICAL QUESTIONS WITH THE
 MILITARY QUESTIONS RELATED TO THE CEASEFIRE. THE U.S. DELEGATION
 PROPOSED THAT THE COMMUNIST SIDE DESIGNATE QUARTERING SITES FOR
 THEIR LARGE UNITS AT THE REGIMENTAL LEVEL. THE COMMUNIST SIDE,
 BASING THEIR (ARGUMENT) ON THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT, MAINTAINS
 THAT THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES WILL AGREE ON THE ZONES
 CONTROLLED BY EACH PARTY, WHICH NATURALLY IMPLIES POLITICAL
 CONTROL. THERE IS NOT YET ANY AGREEMENT ON THIS QUESTION. SOME
 PROGRESS (HAS BEEN MADE) ON THE PROBLEM OF CONTROL AND SUPERVISION.
 THE COMMUNIST SIDE IS NOW ENTERTAINING THE POSSIBILITY FOR THE
 ICCS ((INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR CONTROL AND SUPERVISION))
 TO PROCURE THE MEANS THAT THE PARTIES WILL NOT BE IN A POSITION
 TO FURNISH: FOR EXAMPLE, HELICOPTERS. THE COMMUNIST SIDE ALSO AGREED
 THAT THE MANPOWER OF THE ICCS CONTINGENT BE MORE THAN 250, YET
 WITHOUT GOING (CIVIL OVER) 5,000.

AS FOR THE UNDERSTANDING, OF WHICH WE ASKED TO KNOW THE TENOR,
 SULLIVAN REPLIED THAT THE QUESTIONS ARE BEING DISCUSSED AND
 THAT NO TEXT FOR THE UNDERSTANDING HAS YET BEEN DETERMINED.
 SULLIVAN ASKED US IN TURN WHETHER WE HAD RECEIVED COMMENTARIES
 FROM SAIGON ON THE DRAFT PROTOCOLS, INSISTING ON THE NECESSITY OF
 PUTTING THE FINISHING TOUCHES ON THESE PROTOCOLS AT THE SAME TIME

***** ~~T O P S E C R E T~~ ~~UNBRO~~ ~~GAMMA CONTROLLED ITEM~~ *****

SCOWCROFT, KENNEDY, HOWE--SENT TO HAK

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AS THE ACCORD, HE STRESSED THAT IF WE WAIT FOR THE SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS RAISED BY US TO BE SETTLED BEFORE MAKING KNOWN OUR POINT OF VIEW, IT WILL BE TOO LATE, LETTING IT BE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE U.S. WILL CONCLUDE THE PROTOCOLS ALONE. KISSINGER AND LE DUC THO WILL MEET TOMORROW AT 1000 HOURS. EXPERTS WILL (B VAL LIKEWISE) CONTINUE THEIR DISCUSSIONS.
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