

***** T O P S E C R E T - C O D E W O R D ***** S C O P Y

FLASH

Z 052030Z JAN 73 ZYH

FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTN MR DY MCNANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA~~ ~~GAHNA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

SECTION ONE OF TWO

WARNING.. THIS REPORT CONTAINS GAMMA COMINT OF AN
EXTREMELY SENSITIVE NATURE. IT IS TO BE SEEN ONLY
BY INDIVIDUALS FORMALLY CLEARED FOR GAMMA AND
HAVING A STRICT NEED-TO-KNOW FOR THE SUBJECT
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WILL NOT BE USED IN ANY PUBLICATION, MESSAGE OR
BRIEFING UNLESS IT REMAINS UNDER GAMMA CONTROLS.

TRANSMITTED HERewith IS AN UNPUBLISHED MESSAGE.

NORMAL DISTRIBUTION FOR THIS MESSAGE IS IN THE GAMMA SUBSERIES.
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

XXMMENP01-0073005

6/00/ -73 (USYNFN)

AVS:KUS/FORP/B.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE AMBASSADOR REPORTS ON MEETING WITH HENRY KISSINGER

XXCC

FR WASHINGTON: EMBASSY: AMBASSADOR

TRẦN KIM PHUONG

TO SAIGON: FOREIGN MINISTRY;

FOREIGN MINISTER TRAN VAN LAM,

PRESS SECRETARY HOANG DUC HNA URGENT 01/C/TKP/006/TLX/1973

I HAVE THE HONOR TO REPORT THAT I HAD A 1 HOUR MEETING WITH DR. KISSINGER TODAY FROM 1130 HOURS TO 1230 HOURS. I

ASKED HIM ABOUT HIS COMMUNICATIONS WITH LE DUC THO DURING THE PERIOD FROM 18 DECEMBER TO 30 DECEMBER WHEN THE WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCED THE RESUMPTION OF TALKS. KISSINGER SAID THAT THERE HAS BEEN AN EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES BUT ONLY FOR THE PURPOSE OF RESUMING NEGOTIATIONS IN PARIS. NO POINT OF SUBSTANCE HAS BEEN DEALT WITH IN THOSE MESSAGES. KISSINGER SAID THAT HE HAS INFORMED HANOI THAT:

1. IN THE NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS, TALKS MUST BE SERIOUS.
2. PROTOCOLS SHOULD BE PURELY TECHNICAL, REFLECTING

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FAITHFULLY THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT AND HANOI SHOULD NOT TRY TO INJECT POINTS OF SUBSTANCE IN THE PROTOCOLS. WITH REGARD TO THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT, KISSINGER SAID IN THE NEXT ROUND HE WOULD TRY THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

1. HE WOULD RAISE AGAIN THE ISSUE OF WITHDRAWAL OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS, BUT AGAIN HE CAUTIONS US NOT TO HAVE MUCH HOPE FOR A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME.

2. HE WOULD REJECT THE NVN DEMANDS TO CHANGE THE WORDING OF ARTICLE 15 ON THE DMZ AND TO INTRODUCE DISCUSSIONS ON REGULATIONS OF MOVEMENT ACROSS THE DMZ. IF HE COULD KEEP THE WORDING OF ARTICLE 15 AS IT IS NOW THE 12 DECEMBER DRAFT HE WOULD CONSIDER IT SATISFACTORY.

3. HE WOULD GO BACK TO MODALITIES ON SIGNING WHICH WERE ONCE PROPOSED AND LATER REJECTED BY LE DUC THO. THAT MEANS THE SIGNING OF THREE SEPARATE DOCUMENTS: ONE WITH THE PREAMBLE BY "USG IN CONCERT WITH GVN" AND BY "GOVN IN CONCERT WITH PRG". THE OTHER TWO DOCUMENTS WITHOUT PREAMBLE WILL BE SIGNED SEPARATELY AND RESPECTIVELY BY GVN AND PRG. KISSINGER WOULD BE SATISFIED IF LE DUC THO ACCEPTED AGAIN THIS PROCEDURE.

KISSINGER MAKES IT CLEAR TO ME THAT HE HAS RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRESIDENT NIXON TO PROCEED AHEAD WITH THE AGREEMENT IF HE COULD GET SATISFACTION ON THE DMZ LANGUAGE AND ON THE MODALITIES OF SIGNING. HERE I REMIND HIM OF PRESIDENT THIEU'S LETTER BROUGHT BACK BY GENERAL HAIG AND REMIND HIM OF OUR TWO CONDITIONS SET FORTH IN THE LETTER. KISSINGER ANSWERED ME THAT VERY LIKELY PRESIDENT NIXON WILL NOT REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER. I TOLD KISSINGER THAT HE CANNOT USE TERMS "IN CONCERT WITH THE GVN" IN THE PREAMBLE UNLESS THERE IS PRIOR APPROVAL BY OUR GOVERNMENT OF THE TEXT. HE SAID THAT OF COURSE THERE WILL BE CONSULTATIONS AGAIN, ONCE AND IF THE TEXT CAN BE FINALIZED. HE SAID ALSO THAT IT WOULD BE DISASTROUS FOR US IF WE COULD NOT GO ALONG WITH THE AGREEMENT. HE SAID HE MAY BE SAVED AGAIN BY THE INTRANSIGENCE OF NVN BUT EVEN SO THE AMERICAN CONGRESS WILL CERTAINLY TAKE STRONG MEASURES IF THERE IS NO AGREEMENT. KISSINGER TOLD ME THAT IT IS A PITY THAT SAIGON DOES NOT TRUST HIM. HE IS NOT A FOOL AND HE KNOWS THAT LIKELY THE OTHER PROVISIONS WILL NOT WORK AND THE WHOLE THING WILL PROBABLY BE TANTAMOUNT TO A PURELY MILITARY CEASE-FIRE. HE ASKED ME WHAT IS THEN THE DIFFERENCE AS COMPARED WITH THE SITUATION CREATED BY A SEPARATE DEAL BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. I ANSWERED THAT IN THE SECOND CASE WE WOULD NOT BE BOUND BY THE PROVISIONS OF ANY AGREEMENT AND THEREFORE WE WOULD NOT HAVE TO GIVE THEM ANY TERRITORY, WOULD NOT HAVE TO ACKNOWLEDGE EVEN BY IMPLICATION THEIR EXISTENCE AS PRG, AND WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO HIT THEM WHEREVER THEY ARE. KISSINGER LISTENS AND DOES NOT COMMENT ON THAT.

XXHH

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FM DIRNSA

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

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

FINAL SECTION OF TWO
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G/007 -73 (USVNFN)

AVS KUSYRORPYO.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE AMBASSADOR REPORTS ON MEETING WITH HENRY KISSINGER
XXCC

I THEN RAISED THE QUESTION WHETHER IN THE NEXT ROUND OF
NEGOTIATIONS IN PARIS, WE WILL HAVE DEBRIEFINGS BY AND CONSULTATIONS
WITH HIM EVERY NIGHT AS IN THE LAST TWO ROUNDS IN PARIS. I HAD
TO RAISE THIS QUESTION BECAUSE AT THE END OF THE LAST ROUND,
AMBASSADOR PORTER TOLD US THAT THERE WILL BE NO MORE DEBRIEFINGS
AND CONSULTATIONS FOR THE TASK FORCE AND IF WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE
ANY INFORMATION, I WOULD HAVE TO GO TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT USING
THE STANDARD CHANNEL TO GET IT. DR. KISSINGER TOLD ME THAT HE
WOULD HAVE TO CHECK WITH PRESIDENT NIXON FOR THE QUESTION OF
BRIEFINGS TO AND CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR TASK FORCE. HE SAID
PRESIDENT NIXON FEELS DISAPPOINTED ABOUT THAT BECAUSE OF LACK
OF RESPONSE, LACK OF REACTION, AND LACK OF COOPERATION FROM
THE TASK FORCE. I TOLD DR. KISSINGER THAT AMBASSADOR BUNKER
WAS MAKING THE SAME COMPLAINT TO PRESIDENT THIEU AND PRESIDENT
THIEU HAS ALREADY PERSONALLY EXPLAINED TO AMBASSADOR BUNKER
THAT THE TASK FORCE GOT THE INSTRUCTION NOT TO GET INTO DETAILS
UNLESS THE QUESTION OF PRINCIPLES HAS BEEN SETTLED. KISSINGER
SAID THAT HE WOULD CHECK WITH PRESIDENT NIXON ON WHETHER THERE

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WILL BE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE TASK FORCE IN PARIS AS BEFORE AND IF PRESIDENT NIXON AGREES WITH THAT, WHO WILL CONDUCT CONSULTATIONS, KISSINGER HIMSELF OR AMBASSADOR PORTER. HE PROMISES TO GIVE ME AN ANSWER ON FRIDAY.

THAT IS ALL FOR THE TIME BEING ABOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AGREEMENT. KISSINGER RAISED SOME SIDE ISSUES WHICH WILL BE REPORTED IN MY NEXT CABLE. I HAVE ONLY MRS. THANH LICH TO DO BOTH CIPHERING AND TRANSMISSION. PLEASE KINDLY RELAY THIS CABLE TO AMBASSADOR PHAM QANG LAN, PARIS.

XXHH

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