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PL 86-36/50 USC 3605

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#8521/8302 0152152
Z 152150Z JAN 73 ZYH
FM DIRNSA

TO WHITE HOUSE (ATTEN MR DY MCMANIS FOR SERIES CHECK)

~~T O P S E C R E T UMBRA~~ ~~GAMMA 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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THE WHITE HOUSE ONLY.

VIETNAMESE (SOUTH) CIPHER/ENGLISH

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G/00/ -73 (USVNFA)

AVN,KUS/FORP/.

SVN EMISSARY REPORTS 12 JANUARY CONVERSATION WITH GENERAL HAIG
XXCC

FR WASHINGTON: EMBASSY:

BUI DIEM 12 JAN 73((1)).

TO SAIGON: PRESIDENT'S OFFICE;

COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF
STATE FOR INFORMATION,

MR. HOANG DUC NHA URGENT 08/C/HD/37/TLX

KINDLY REPORT THE FOLLOWING TO PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) IMMEDIATELY.
WE HAVE BEEN AROUND CONSTANTLY THESE DAYS MEETING QUIETLY WITH AS
MANY PEOPLE AS WE CAN INCLUDING THE INFLUENTIAL SENATORS AND MOULDERS
OF OPINION, AND I WANT TO REPORT BACK TO PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) OUR
FEELINGS AND TENTATIVE CONCLUSION AFTER OUR STAY HERE. BUT,
BEFORE HAVING TIME TO DO IT, I FEEL THAT I HAVE TO REPORT TO THE
PRESIDENT RIGHT AWAY, BEFORE I LEAVE FOR PARIS THIS AFTERNOON, THE
CONVERSATION I HAD WITH GENERAL ((ALEXANDER M.)) HAIG HALF AN HOUR
AGO.

GENERAL HAIG IS NOW AT THE PENTAGON, BUT HE TOLD ME THAT HE

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

HAK, SCOWCROFT, KENNEDY, HOWE, WILL BE WENT TO HAIG ONLY IF DESIRED.

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WAS WITH PRESIDENT NIXON LAST NIGHT AND I THINK THAT IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT HE IS AT THE PENTAGON HE IS STILL VERY CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH VIETNAM. IN FACT, HE TOLD ME THAT IN CASE THERE IS A TENTATIVE AGREEMENT IN PARIS, HE HAS TO GO TO SAIGON. GENERAL HAIG SAID THAT HE IS VERY CONCERNED BECAUSE: "WE ARE ON THE VERGE OF LOSING EVERYTHING WE TRIED TO DO TOGETHER UP TO NOW." HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE ARE PERHAPS SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PRESIDENT NIXON AND PRESIDENT THIEU BUT IN HIS OPINION THESE DIFFERENCES ARE NOT VERY LARGE BECAUSE BOTH ARE COMMITTED TO SOME BASIC PROVISIONS. FOR INSTANCE, NO COMMUNIST TAKE-OVER IN SOUTH VIETNAM, NO STATE CAN PROJECT ITS AMBITION OVER ITS BORDER. HE SAID THAT THE PROBLEM OF THE DIFFERENCES IS ONE THING BUT THE OTHER IMPORTANT THING IS THE FACT THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS THE IMPRESSION THAT PRESIDENT THIEU IS DRAWING BACK FROM WHAT HAD BEEN AGREED UPON BEFORE.

ACCORDING TO GENERAL HAIG, PRESIDENT NIXON IS "UPSET BECAUSE HE HAS THE IMPRESSION THAT PRESIDENT THIEU IS DEPRIVING HIM OF THE ABILITY OF HELPING PRESIDENT THIEU", AND THAT TO SOME EXTENT PRESIDENT THIEU DOES NOT TRUST HIM. HE IS IN FACT DISTURBED. GENERAL HAIG WENT ON TO SAY THAT SOMEHOW WE WENT OFF THE TRACK. AT THIS I INTERRUPTED GENERAL HAIG AND SAID THAT BY THE TIME DR. ((HENRY A.)) KISSINGER AND HIMSELF BROUGHT THE OCTOBER DRAFT TO SAIGON, WE VIETNAMESE FELT THAT THEY DID NOT CONSULT US IN ADVANCE. GENERAL HAIG BY THEN ADMITTED THAT "IT WAS A BAD MISTAKE, A BAD ERROR ON OUR PART." GENERAL HAIG SAID THAT PRESIDENT THIEU MISREAD DR. KISSINGER AND IT WAS DR. KISSINGER'S OWN FAULT. "ALL THAT IS PAST NOW," SAID HAIG, "AND NOW WHAT IS THE OUTLOOK." ACCORDING TO HAIG, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS NO FLEXIBILITY. IF "THE COMMUNISTS WOULD AGREE TO THE DMZ ((DEMILITARIZED ZONE)) LANGUAGE, TO THE MODALITIES OF SIGNING THE AGREEMENT, PRESIDENT NIXON WOULD PROCEED.

GENERAL HAIG SAID THAT HE THINKS THAT HE HAS NO DOUBT ABOUT THE DETERMINATION OF PRESIDENT NIXON TO PROCEED. PRESIDENT NIXON WOULD CALL PUBLICLY ON PRESIDENT ((THIEU-- TO JOIN HIM AND IF BY THIS TIME PRESIDENT THIEU REJECTS IT THEN "THAT WILL BE THE END AND THE ABANDON((MENT)) OF VIETNAM". I REPORT HERE IN THIS CABLE ALMOST VERBATIM THE WORDS FROM GENERAL HAIG FOR THE PRESIDENT'S CONSIDERATION BECAUSE I FEEL DEEPLY IN MY HEART THAT I HAVE TO DO

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

~~TOP SECRET UMBRA GAMMA CONTROLLED ITEM~~

FINAL SECTION OF TWO
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SVN EMISSARY REPORTS 12 JANUARY CONVERSATION WITH GENERAL HAIG
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SO. AS FAR AS TO WHAT EXTENT PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) WOULD TAKE IT INTO
 CONSIDERATION, IT IS BEYOND MY JUDGEMENT. I ASKED GENERAL HAIG
 ABOUT THE PRESENT COMMUNIST ATTITUDE. HE SAID THAT HIS JUDGEMENT
 IS THAT DEFINITELY THAT WILL COME TO AN AGREEMENT. I ASKED THEN
 ABOUT THE TIME FRAMEWORK AND HE SAID THAT IT COULD BE VERY QUICK,
 IMPLYING THAT IT IS POSSIBLE IT WILL COME BEFORE THE INAUGURATION
 DATE. I LEAVE WASHINGTON THIS AFTERNOON FOR PARIS AND WILL BE
 THERE FRIDAY MORNING. I AM TRYING NOW TO SORT OUT IN MY HEAD SOME
 CONCLUSIONS OF MY OWN FROM THIS ROUND OF TALKS HERE, AND PERHAPS
 BY THE TIME WE ARRIVE IN PARIS AND AFTER TALKING TO DR. KISSINGER
 AND SULLIVAN I ((WILL)) HAVE TO ASK FOR AUTHORIZATION FROM PRESIDENT
 ((THIEU)) TO COME BACK TO REPORT DIRECTLY TO HIM. I FEEL THAT THE
 FATE OF OUR COUNTRY IS AT STAKE NOW AND IT IS MY DUTY TO REPORT TO
 PRESIDENT ((THIEU)) AS SOON AS POSSIBLE ABOUT MY FEELINGS, MY
 CONCLUSIONS, AND RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT TO HIM EVENTUALLY MY
 IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS.

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((1)) NOT PREVIOUSLY AVAILABLE.

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