SA 99 A-201

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SECRET/SENSITIVE

October 4, 1972

MEMO FOR:

Al: This is the matter which I discussed with you and then per your request passed on your instructions to Carver (see Helms' note attached). You recall we asked that the contact be requested to probe Mrs. Binh's view of the course the negotiations might take and what the DRV and PRG were seeking. We also wanted to know what plans they might have for future POW activity. We also asked that the contact imply at an appropriate point that the military activity level could increase after the election.

RTK

Attachments

SECRET/SENSITIVE

(DF)

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12356, Sect. 3.4

NSC 8/20/93 F9301179

By MC: NARA, Date 9/17/93

SA99

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

SECRET/SENSITIVE

December 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

HENRY A. KISSINGER

FROM:

RICHARD T. KENNEDY

SUBJECT:

Thieu's Comments on Agreement

1.3(4)(4)

SANITIZED

Jasked Thieu if the US was pressuring the GVN to sign the "Dr. Kissinger/Le Duc Tho" agreement and Thieu responded, "Of course." Thieu added that the US would be in a very difficult position if it signed a separate accord, as this would indicate hat the US was acting only in consideration of its own interests and acandoning South Vietnam as an ally.

1.3(0)(4)

Thieu agreed that it would not be possible for the US to retaliate against North Vietnam if the Kissinger/Tho agreement were violated since the US would not risk having new POW's.

agreed that the US appeared to be ''paralyzed'' over the matter of its 500 POW's and Thieu observed that when a big power was willing to sacrifice 17 million people for the sake of 500 men, that marked the ''end of power.''

1.3(w/4)

Thieu, JANIZED felt the situation created by the signing of the agreement would be worse than the one resulting from the 1954 Geneva Agreements. He said he had told you that the ceasefire, the return of POW's and the absence of a Communist-imposed government in South Vietnam might look good from 15,000 miles away but the way the problem of a Communist-imposed government had been handled in the agreement would enable the Communists to have a Communist government in South Vietnam within six months.



-SECRET/SENSITIVE

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12355, Sect. 3.4

NSC 12/29/92 F92-1404

NARA, Date 5/5/93

SA 99 (Part)



DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT] DOCUMENT DOCUMENT DATE RESTRICTION SUBJECT/TITLE OF CORRESPONDENTS NUMBER **TYPE** "Attention Sinclair ... " 12/10/72 B Telegram Ipg. A-206

FILE GROUP TITLE

VIETNAM COUNTRY FILES FILES: WH NSC

BOX NUMBER

FOLDER TITLE

DEC. 1972 VIETNAM

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BIS 15

NINTH ADD 02 (THIEU SPEECH TEXT)

XXX NOT HAVE SURVIVED.

(TEXT) THEREFORE I DEEM IT NECESSARY TODAY TO SAY CLEARLY THAT THE RVN MUST CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR ITS INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM, SURVIVAL AND PEACE. THE RVN DOES NOT HESITATE TO CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE, BUT IT NEEDS ASSISTANCE TO FIGHT ALONE, BECAUSE THIS IS THE ONLY WAY IT CAN SAVE ITSELF. THE RVN HAS BEEN READY TO ASSUME ITS RESPONSIBILITY AND TO REDUCE THE BURDEN OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OVER THE PAST YEARS. THE RVN PEOPLE WILL CONTINUE TO ASSUME MORE AND MORE RESPONSIBILITIES UNTIL THEIR ALLIES ARE COMPLETELY FREE OF THEIR BURDEN.

I HAVE OFTEN EXPRESSED MY IMPRESSIONS AND VIEWS ON THE SD-CALLED WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. MILITARY PERSONNEL FROM THIS AREA. BUT I MAVE ALSO ASSERTED THAT ALONG WITH THE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. PERSONNEL THE UNITED STATES MUST CONTINUE TO PROVIDE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE SMALL AND UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES IN THE AREA SO THEY MAY FIGHT TO DEFEND THEIR OWN ENDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM AND ASSIST ONE ANOTHER UNTIL THE TIME THE UNITED STATES REALIZES THAT IS NO LONGER BOUND BY THIS RESPONSIBILITY. THE RVN CASE IS NOT UNIQUE, BECAUSE THERE ARE MANY SIMILAR CASES FROM EUROPE TO ASIA.

WHETHER IT WANTS TO OR NOT, THE UNITED STATES
HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD.
BIT IT MUST KEEP THIS RESPONSIBILITY FOREVER IF IT DOES NOT WANT THE FREE WORLD TO FALL INTO THE COMMUNISTS' HANDS.
THEREFORE THE RVN PEOPLE ONLY WANT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO CONTINUE TO BE THE LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD, TO CONTINUE TO CORRECTLY PURSUE ITS POLICY OF ASSISTING THE SMALL COUNTRIES SO THEY MAY USE THEIR OWN BLOOD AND BONES AND GRADUALLY RESORT TO THEIR OWN STRENGTH TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AND TO GRADUALLY RELIEVE THE BURDEN FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I DEEM IT NECESSARY FOR OUR PEOPLE, NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND GOVERNMENT TO ONCE AGAIN ASSERT THAT THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE ARE NOT A WARLIKE PEOPLE, THAT THE RVN COVERNMENT DOES NOT WANT TO PROLONG THE WAR, NOR DOES IT WANT TO PUSH ITS PEOPLE ONTO THIS PATH. THE RVN DOES NOT LACK GOOD WILL IN SERIOUS TALKS. IT IS ONLY THAT THE COMMUNIST SIDE DOES NOT WANT TO TALK WITH THE RVN AND TRIES TO GRAB AT THE AMERICANS TO NEGOTIATE, THUS HOPING TO MAKE THE AMERICANS TRESSURE THE RVN.

THE RVN DOES NOT PLACE OBTACLES TO PARTIAL OR OVERALL POW EXCHANGE PLANS. ON THE CONTRARY, WE HAVE UNILATERALLY AND INCONDITIONALLY RELEASED COMMUNIST POW'S ON MANY OCCASIONS AND HAVE MADE MANY CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR THE RELEASE OF U.S. FOW'S. THE RVN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT HESITATE AT ANY OVERALL AND LASTING CEASE-FIRE LEADING TO NEGOTIATIONS (DOER THUWOWNG THUYEETS), IF THIS CAEASE-FIRE CAN BE GUARANTEED.

THE RVN GOVERNMENT IS NOT AN OBSTACLE TO PEACE, AS MANY PEOPLE HAVE DELIBERATELY CLAIMED. EVERYONE KNOWS AND ADMITS THAT FOR MANY YEARS THE RVN HAS SET FORTH MANY BROAD-MINDED INITIATIVES AND CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR ENDING THE WAR. BUT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE ALWAYS REJECTED OUR PROPOSALS. THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE COVERNMENT AND PEOPLE HAVE DONE EVERYTHING POSSIBLE AND SEIZED EVERY OPPORTUNITY--FROM SMALL TO GREAT EVENTS, FROM A SHORT-TERM CEASE-FIRE TO A PROPOSAL FOR A BROADER CEASE-FIRE, FROM THE INILATERAL RELEASE OF POW'S TO THE PROPOSAL FOR AN EXCHANGE OF POW'S, FROM THE OFFICIAL PEACE TALKS TO THE ACCEPTANCE OF SECRET TALKS ANYWHERE AND AT ANY TIME TO DISCUSS ANY QUESTION--TO RESTORE PEACE.

(MORE)

12 DEC 1055Z W.1/RG

THESE ARE THE VERY POINTS THAT OUR PEOPLE, NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND GOVERNMENT WANT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE U.S. CONGRESS AND GOVERNMENT TO UNDERSTAND CLEARLY, SO THAT THEY CAN DISTINGUISH OUR LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS FROM THE COMMUNISTS' UNREASONABLE AND INSIDIOUS DEMANDS.

WE CONSIDER IT UNNECESSARY TO RECALL HERE IN WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES WE, THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, HAS TO CALL ON THE UNITED STATES FIRST AND THEN OTHER ALLIED COUNTRIES TO ASSIS US IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE COMMUNIST AGGRESSORS TO PROTECT SOUTH VIETNAM'S INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM AND THE MOTIVES AND NOBLE IDEALS THAT MADE ALL THESE ALLIED COUNTRIES ASSIST US AND ACCEPT GREAT SACRIFICES IN THE SOUTH. NOW WE MUST HAVE THE RIGHT TO BE PROUD OF THE FACT THAT WE DID NOT PROVE OURSELVES COMPLETELY UNWORTHY OF THIS ASSISTANCE.

THE PROOF IS THAT IN ONLY 3 YEARS, ALMOST ONE-HALF MILLION AMERICAN TROOPS HAVE WITHDRAWN. THIS IS UNPRECEDENTED IN THE HISTORY OF WAR, BECAUSE 28 YEARS AFTER PEACE WAS RESTORED IN EUROPE THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN MORE THAN 300,000 TROOPS THERE, AND 18 YEARS AFTER PEACE WAS RESTORED IN KOREA SCORES OF THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN TROOPS ARE STILL THERE.

WE MUST ALSO TAKE PRIDE IN THE FACT THAT OUR ARMY HAS MATURED WITH THE VIETNAMIZATION PLAN AND HAS DEFEATED THE AGGRESSOR COMMUNIST TROOPS MANY TIMES. IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE VIETNAMIZATION PLAN, ONLY THE VIETNAMIZATION OF OUR AIR FORCE REMAINS AS THE LAST TASK TO BE DONE.

12 DEC 0923Z WJ/GE

wid 11

BIS 11

EVENTH ADD 2 (THIEN SPEECH TEXT)

XXX REJECTED THIS PROPOSAL.

(TEXT) THEREFORE THE COMMUNISTS ARE STILL PURSUING THEIR PERFIDIOUS SCHEME OF USING SEVERAL HUNDRED POW'S TO FORCE THE INITED STATES TO UNILATERALLY SIGN AN AGREEMENT. IF WE, THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, DID NOT ACCEP AN UNREASONABLE FORMULA ALLOWING NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS TO STAY IN THE SOUTH, IN ADDITION TO THE POINTS THE UNITED STATES MUST CARRY OUT, THE COMMUNISTS WOULD AT LEAST DEMAND THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT END ITS MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID TO THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM.

IN BRIEF, UP TO NOW EVERYONE SEES THAT ONLY THREE THINGS CAN HAPPEN: FIRST, THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM MUST ACCEPT THE COMMUNISTS' PEACE SOLUTION IN WHICH THE TWO VITAL PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTH--A FORMULA FOR THE FUTURE OF SOUTH VIETNAM'S INTERNAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS AND THE PRESENCE OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM-HAVE NOT BEEN SOLVED IN A JUST AND REASONABLE WAY. SECOND, THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM DOES NOT ACCEPT THIS UNFAVORABLE SOLUTION AND THE COMMUNISTS DO NOT ACCEPT THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM'S JUST, SENSIBLE AND REASONABLE STAND AND STUBBORNLY MAINTAIN THEIR UNREASONABLE DEMANDS. THIRD, THE COMMUNISTS CONTINUE TO DESPICABLY EXPLOIT THE PROBLEMS REGARDING U.S. POW'S AND H.S. TROOP WITHDRAWAL TO CREATE AN IMPRESSION AMONG THE AMERICAN AND WORLD PEOPLES THAT WE, THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, ARE THE OBSTACLE TO THE CEASE-FIRE, PEACE, RETURN OF POW'S AND SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT AND THEREBY CAUSE CONTRADICTION AND DISINITY WITH THE UNITED STATES AND OREATE PRESSURE FORCING THE H.S. GOVERNMENT TO UNILATERALLY SIGN AN AGREEMENT ON THE RELEASE OF (U.S.--FRIS) POW'S IN EXCHANGE FOR ENDING THE BOMBING AND MINING OF THE NORTH, FOR H.S. TROOP WITHDRAWAL AND FOR AN END TO H.S. MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID TO THE SOUTH.



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