MEMO FOR: GENERAL HAGAN

AI: 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 8/20/73 F9301179
By NARA, Date 9/17/73
SA99
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SECRET/SENSITIVE

December 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: HENRY A. KISSINGER
FROM: RICHARD T. KENNEDY
SUBJECT: Thieu's Comments on Agreement

Thieu asked 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 that the US was acting only in consideration of its own interests and abandoning South Vietnam as an ally.

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.

Thieu 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."

Thieu 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. 12356, Sect. 3.4
NSC 12/29/92 F92-1404
By NARA, Date 5/5/93
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FILE GROUP TITLE
WH NSC FILES: VIETNAM COUNTRY FILES

FOLDER TITLE
VIETNAM DEC. 1972

A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy.
B. National security classified information.
C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual’s rights.
D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person.
E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information.
F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes.
G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.
H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.
NINTH ADD 02 (THIENU 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 SO-CALLED WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. MILITARY PERSONNEL FROM THIS AREA.

BUT I HAVE 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 INDEPENDENCE 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, BUT 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 RATIONALIZE 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 GOVERNMENT 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, THIS HOPING TO MAKE THE AMERICANS PRESSURE THE RVN.

THE RVN DOES NOT PLACE OBSTACLES 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. POW'S. THE RVN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT HESITATE AT ANY OVERALL AND LASTING CEASE-FIRE LEADING TO NEGOTIATIONS (DOEER THUONG THUYET). IF THIS CEASE-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 GOVERNMENT 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 UNILATERAL 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 WJ/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, HAVE TO CALL ON THE UNITED STATES
FIRST AND THEN OTHER ALLIED COUNTRIES TO ASSIST 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 23 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 MATIMRED
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.

MORE)

12 DEC 09 23Z 4.1/68

813 11
RIS 11

SEVENTH ADD 2 (THIRD 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 UNITED STATES TO UNILATERALLY SIGN AN AGREEMENT. IF WE, THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, DID NOT ACCEPT 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.

ITEM REMOVED FROM THIS FILE FOLDER

A RESTRICTED DOCUMENT OR CASE FILE HAS BEEN REMOVED FROM THIS FILE FOLDER. FOR A DESCRIPTION OF THE ITEM REMOVED AND THE REASON FOR ITS REMOVAL, CONSULT DOCUMENT ENTRY NUMBER A-206 ON EITHER THE DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD (GSA FORM 7279 OR NA FORM 1421) OR NARA WITHDRAWAL SHEET (GSA FORM 7122) LOCATED IN THE FRONT OF THIS FILE FOLDER.