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DOS Review Completed.

TOP SECRET 220325Z NOV 72 SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES
ONLY VIA BUNKER CHANNELS
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
TO : AMBASSADOR BUNKER
CITE: WHS 2253

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE/EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

NOVEMBER 21, 1972
TO AMBASSADOR BUNKER, SAIGON.

TO: AMBASSADOR BUNKER, SAIGON FLASH
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

1. TODAY'S SESSION LASTED FOUR AND A HALF HOURS, DURING WHICH WE HEARD THE NORTH VIETNAMESE RESPONSE TO ALL THE CHANGES WE SUBMITTED THE FIRST DAY. THEY ACCEPTED A FEW CHANGES WHICH WERE SLANTED PRIMARILY IN THE DIRECTION OF PRESERVING U.S. PRESTIGE OR REPRESENTED TECHNICAL IMPROVEMENTS. THEY WERE VERY TOUGH ON ALL SIGNIFICANT SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, MAKING NO CONCESSIONS ON ANY OF THE MAJOR CHANGES. INDEED THEY GREATLY HARDENED THEIR POSITIONS ON THE POLITICAL CHAPTER, CIVILIAN PRISONERS, AND U.S. CIVILIAN PERSONNEL TO BE WITHDRAWN FROM SOUTH VIETNAM. IN THESE AREAS THEY RETURNED TO EARLIER, SOMETIMES PRE-OCTOBER 8, POSITIONS.

2. THEIR APPROACH OBVIOUSLY REFLECTED IN PART THE TYPICAL COMMUNIST TACTIC OF HARDENING THEIR POSITION SO AS TO NEUTRALIZE THE MANY CHANGES WE ARE REQUESTING. NEVERTHELESS IT IS CLEAR THAT WE HAVE VERY DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS AHEAD OF US WHICH WILL KEEP US HERE FOR SEVERAL DAYS. WE MEET AGAIN NOVEMBER 22 AT 2:30 P.M. FOLLOWING MY RETURN FROM BRUSSELS WHERE I AM MEETING INDONESIAN PRESIDENT SUHARTO, PRIMARILY ABOUT HIS COUNTRY'S ROLE IN THE ICCS.

3. WHILE I WAS ON THE WAY TO BRUSSELS, HAIG MET WITH SOUTH VIETNAMESE AMBASSADORS HERE AND EMPHASIZED THE CRITICAL JUNCTURE WE ARE NOW IN. HE REVIEWED THE RESULTS OF THE SESSION IN DETAIL AND EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR THE GVN TO FOCUS ON CRUCIAL ISSUES AND DROP LESS ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS. HE STRESSED THE ABSOLUTE REQUIREMENT FOR PUBLIC UNITY AND FAST PRIVATE COOPERATION SO THAT WE CAN WORK TOGETHER EFFECTIVELY THIS WEEK. HE ALSO PRESSED THEM SPECIFICALLY FOR THEIR IMMEDIATE VIEWS ON THE ICCS AND FOUR-PARTY MILITARY COMMISSION PROTOCOLS WHICH WE WILL HAVE TO TABLE IN THE NEXT DAY OR SO. HE ONCE AGAIN UNDERLINED THE PRESIDENT'S DETERMINATION TO COMPLETE THE AGREEMENT, AFTER MAKING MAXIMUM EFFORTS TO IMPROVE IT. HE UNDERLINED THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE FATAL CONSEQUENCES OF OUR FAILURE TO ARRIVE AT A SUCCESSFUL AGREEMENT.

4. PLEASE DO WHATEVER YOU CAN AT YOUR END TO CONTINUE YOUR EFFORTS TO IMPRESS UPON THE GVN THE NEED TO WORK WITH US RAPIDLY AND EFFECTIVELY DURING THIS FINAL NEGOTIATING ROUND.

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