

*Nouvel Obs.
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L121111 FIRST OF TWO TAKES--LE DUC THO INTERVIEW
PARIS LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR IN FRENCH 12-18 JUL 71 PP 22-23 L
(PHILIPPE DEVILLERS AND JEAN LACOUTRE INTERVIEW WITH LE DUC
THO UNDER THE HEADING "A HIGH-RANKING LEADER OF NORTH VIETNAM
REVEALS TO LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR THE DETAILS OF THE PEACE OFFENSIVE";
FIRST TWO PARAGRAPHS ARE EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION)

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((TEXT)) M. LE DUC THO, "SPECIAL ADVISER" OF THE DRV DELEGATION,
HAS RETURNED TO PARIS AFTER A ONE 1-YEAR ABSENCE, ON THE EVE OF
NADANE NGUYEN THI BINK'S STATEMENT WHICH HAS JUST CHANGED THE FACTS
OF THE INDOCHINA WAR AND HAS GIVEN RISE FOR THE FIRST TIME TO

HOPES FOR A "POSSIBLE" PEACE. HE RECEIVED US AT THE NORTH
VIETNAMESE DELEGATION'S RESIDENCE AT CHOISY-LE-ROI, STATING THAT THE
REPRESENTATIVES OF LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR WERE THE FIRST WHOM HE HAS
ACCEPTED TO RECEIVE SINCE HIS RETURN TO FRANCE.

A MEMBER OF THE VIETNAMESE WORKERS PARTY (LAI DONG)
POL ITBUNG, IT IS SAID THAT M. LE DUC THO OCCUPIES FIFTH PLACE IN
THE POLITICAL HIERARCHY OF NORTH VIETNAM, WHERE HE HAS PLAYED IN
RECENT YEARS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE FIELD OF "IDEOLOGICAL
CONTROL." HE HAS BEEN "SPECIAL ADVISER" OF THE HANOI DELEGATION
IN PARIS SINCE 1968 NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTYEIGHT.

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OUR FIRST QUESTION IS RELATED TO THE PRELIMINARY STATEMENT MADE
BY OUR INTERLOCUTOR ON ARRIVING IN PARIS ON 24 TWENTYFOUR JUNE:
"THINGS HAVE CHANGED A LOT IN ONE 1 YEAR." WHAT DID YOU MEAN BY
THAT?

((ANSWER)) WHAT HAS CHANGED, ABOVE ALL, IS THE MILITARY SITUATION
ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF INDOCHINA. AT THE TIME OF MY DEPARTURE FROM
PARIS, LAST YEAR, THE AMERICANS WERE BEGINNING, WITH THEIR SAIGON
PUPPETS, THEIR MILITARY INTERVENTION IN CAMBODIA. THIS WAS A VERY
IMPORTANT EVENT IN THAT THE WAR WAS BEING EXTENDED TO THE WHOLE OF
INDOCHINA. THEN, AT THE BEGINNING OF 1971, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND
SEVENTYONE, THERE WAS THE INCURSION IN LOWER LAOS, CARRIED OUT
ESSENTIALLY BY SAIGON TROOPS, AT THE SAME TIME AS A NEW OPERATION
IN NORTHEAST CAMBODIA AND FOLLOWING A RESUMPTION OF THE BOMBING OF
NORTH VIETNAM--WHICH THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAD PLEDGED TO
RENOUCE, IN OCTOBER 1968, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTYEIGHT. THUS
WAS APPLIED THE NIXON DOCTRINE WHICH SETS THE INDOCHINESE
FIGHTING AMONG THEMSELVES.

THE RESULTS OF THESE VARIOUS OPERATIONS HAVE BEEN SET OUT BY YOU
IN ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, WHICH I HAVE READ.
THOSE DEFEATS HAVE STRICK THE BACKBONE OF THE AMERICAN FORCES, THE
VERY PRINCIPLE ON WHICH THIS "NIXON DOCTRINE" IS BASED. IT WAS
A QUESTION OF ISOLATING CAMBODIA AND LAOS, DESTROYING THE
REVOLUTIONARIES, AND REINFORCING THE PUPPETS. BUT IT IS NOTT A
MATTER OF AN AMERICAN DEFEAT ALONE, IT IS ALSO A MATTER OF GREAT
FACTORIES FOR THE INDOCHINESE PEOPLES WHO HAVE LIBERATED THE SOLOVENS
PLATEAU IN LAOS AND THE FOUR PROVINCES OF NORTHEAST CAMBODIA.

THESE IMPORTANT MILITARY EVENTS HAVE HAD REPERCUSSIONS IN THE
UNITED STATES WHICH HAVE CHANGED THE DOMESTIC ASPECTS OF THE
SITUATION. FOLLOWING THE OPPOSITION DIRECTED AGAINST THE INVASION

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OF CAMBODIA, THERE WAS THE ONE ORGANIZED AGAINST THE INCURSION IN LAOS. NEVER BEFORE IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES HAS THERE BEEN SUCH A WIDESPREAD AND PROFOUND OPPOSITION, SINCE IT IS NOW WINNING OVER FORMER COMBATANTS, THE ARMY, AND EVEN THE AIR FORCE, AND ONE SEES EVEN SUPERIOR OFFICERS RENOUNCE THEIR UNIFORM IN ORDER TO BREAK SOLIDARITY WITH THE WAR.

THROUGHOUT 1971 NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTYONE THE SITUATION HAS WORSENED FOR NIXON: UNEMPLOYMENT, PRICE INCREASES, BALANCE OF PAYMENTS CRISIS, AND MONETARY CONFLICTS. AS REGARDS POPULAR PRESSURE, THIS IS BEING REVIVED AS A RESULT OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PENTAGON DOCUMENTS WHICH REVEAL TO PUBLIC OPINION THE REAL ORIGINS OF THE INDOCHINESE CONFLICT, AND PARTICULARLY THE PREDOMINANT ROLE PLAYED BY RICHARD NIXON. NEVER BEFORE HAS THE UNITED STATES BEEN IN SUCH A BAD POSITION. WE HAVE IN VIETNAM AN EXPRESSION WHICH INDICATES THAT IT IS JUST AS DIFFICULT FOR SOMEONE TO ADVANCE AS TO RETREAT. THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT IS IN COMPLETE CONTRADICTION IN CLAIMING SIMULTANEOUSLY TO REINFORCE HIS PUPPETS IN THE SOUTH AND WITHDRAW HIS TROOPS. IF HE TRIES TO ACCELERATE THE WITHDRAWAL HE THREATENS THE VIETNAMIZATION. IF HE SLOWS DOWN THE WITHDRAWAL, HE THREATENS HIMSELF. THERE IS A MAN WHO IS QUITE EMBARRASSED....

WAS HE NOT FORCED TO ADMIT HIMSELF THAT NEVER BEFORE IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES HAD A WAR BEEN MORE SAVAGE AND MORE DIFFICULT? I WILL ADD THAT NO OTHER WAR HAS EVER COST HIS COUNTRY A MORE SHAMING DEFEAT. CAN HE REDRESS THE SITUATION BETWEEN NOW AND THE END OF HIS PRESIDENTIAL TERM? I BELIEVE THAT HIS ENTIRE LIFE WOULD NOT BE SUFFICIENT....

((QUESTION)) GIVEN THIS SITUATION, IS THE PROPOSAL MADE ON 1 ONE JULY BY MADAME BINH IN THE NAME OF THE PRG AIMED FUNDAMENTALLY AT AGGRAVATING THE CONTRADICTIONS WITH WHICH M. NIXON IS STRUGGLING? OR DOES IT AIM AT MAKING POSSIBLE AMERICAN DISENGAGEMENT?

((ANSWER)) MADAME BINH'S PROPOSAL AIMS AT PROVING OUR GOODWILL AND MANIFESTING OUR DESIRE TO FIND A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT TO THE CONFLICT. AS FOR THE EMBARRASSMENT WHICH IT COULD BRING TO M. NIXON, ASK HIM THAT!

((QUESTION)) IS THIS PROPOSAL THE RESULT OF AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE PRG AND YOURSELVES? DOES IT REFLECT A COMMON VIEW OF THE SOLUTIONS TO THE CONFLICT?

((ANSWER)) OBVIOUSLY. AN INITIATIVE OF THIS KIND CAN ONLY RESULT FROM A COMPREHENSIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION. THAT IS WHY I HAVE COME TO PARIS TO STUDY THIS SITUATION WITH M. XUAN THUY AND MADAME

BINH: PARIS IS A CITY WHERE INFORMATION SOURCES ARE NUMEROUS, WHERE ONE IS IN TOUCH WITH INTERNATIONAL OPINION, AND WHERE ONE CAN JUDGE THE OPPORTUNESS OF A DECISION, THE FAVORABLE MOMENT. IN ORDER TO DO THIS IT IS NOT SUFFICIENT TO CONSIDER WHAT IS HAPPENING IN VIETNAM OR IN THE UNITED STATES BUT ALSO IN THE WORLD AS A WHOLE.

12-18 JUL MORE KM/AIRY 13/1146Z JUL

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LID-157 ONLY ADD 151111--LE DUC THO INTERVIEW

PARIS LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR IN FRENCH 12-13 JUL 71 PP 22-23 L XXX AS
A WHOLE.

((TEXT)) ((QUESTION)) IT HAS BEEN SAID IN THIS CONNECTION THAT THE PRG OFFER MAY HAVE BEEN PRECEDED BY DISCREET SOUNDINGS AND SUPPORTED OR CONVEYED THROUGH THE MEDIATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL PERSONALITY LIKE N. CEAUDESCU, WHO HAS JUST BEEN VISITING HANOI AND PEKING?

((ANSWER)) THE PRESS HAS ECOED THESE HUMORS. THIS BEING A MATTER CONCERNING VIETNAM, I CAN TELL YOU, HOWEVER, THAT WE ARE ACTING AS OUR OWN MASTERS. THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE HAVE MADE THEIR DECISIONS TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERESS OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AND OF WORLD PEACE. THEY HAVE FORMULATED THEIR OFFER AT THE MOMENT WHICH APPEARED THE MOST APPROPRIATE TO THEM.

((QUESTION)) THERE HAVE BEEN QUESTIONS WHY SUCH A GLOBAL SOLUTION OF INTEREST TO BOTH ZONES OF VIETNAM AND CONCERNING THE REUNIFICATION AND THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE WAS PRESENTED BY THE PRG ALONE....

((ANSWER)) THE PRG WAS THE NORMAL SPOKESMAN IN CONNECTION WITH A SOLUTION TO PROBLEMS WHICH CONCERN PRIMARILY THE SOUTH: IS THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION NOT THAT OF THE GOVERNMENT IS SAIGON?

((QUESTION)) ONE OF MADAME BINH'S POINTS, HOWEVER, DEALS WITH THE DIPLOMATIC AND STRATEGIC PROPOSAL OF THE NORTH, SPECIFYING THAT THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC WILL ENTER INTO NO ALLIANCE AND ACCEPT NO PROTECTION, AND DEFINING A KIND OF STATUS OF NEUTRALITY FOR THE NORTH. IS IT POSSIBLE TO SEE THERE A KIND OF EXTENSION TO THE DRV OF THE REGIME OF NEUTRALITY WHICH THE PRG IS CLAIMING FOR SOUTH VIETNAM?

((ANSWER)) OUR STAND CONFORMS WITH THE 1954 NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTYFOUR GENEVA ACCORDS. ALTHOUGH THE DRV IS A SOCIALIST STATE, AND BELONGING TO THE SOCIALIST CAMP, IT REJECTS ALL FOREIGN BASES AND ALL ALLEGIANCE TO A MILITARY ALLIANCE, AS HAS BEEN STIPULATED IN THE 1954 NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTYFOUR GENEVA ACCORDS ON VIETNAM. WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THOSE PROVISIONS IT COULD BE SAID THAT THE DRV IS IN A CERTAIN WAY NEUTRAL ON THE MILITARY PLANE.

((QUESTION)) BUT HOW WOULD YOU BE ABLE TO HARMONIZE THESE TWO KIND OF NEUTRALITIES, ONE MORE LIMITED THAN THE OTHER, AT THE TIME OF REUNIFICATION?

((ANSWER)) WE ARE THINKING ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION. AS REGARDS THE FUTURE, ALL THIS WILL BE DISCUSSED BETWEEN THE TWO VIETNAMESE PARTNERS ON AN EQUAL BASIS. I WOULD LIKE TO REMIND YOU THAT N. XUAN THUY HAS RECALLED IN A RECENT STATEMENT THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO RESPECT THE INDEPENDENCE AND NEUTRALITY OF SOUTH VIETNAM.

((QUESTION)) IS THERE NOT A DANGER THAT THE FOREIGN AID, INCLUDING AMERICAN AID, WHICH SOUTH VIETNAM WOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT, IN ACCORDANCE WITH MADAME BINH'S PROPOSAL, WOULD VIOLATE THIS INDEPENDENCE AND NEUTRALITY BY FAVORING THE RETENTION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM IN THE SOUTH?

((ANSWER)) MADAME BINH HAS STRESSED THAT THE SOUTH IS NOT PREPARED TO BECOME A "RED COLONY." BUT IT IS NOT SOCIALIST. THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT IT SHOULD BE INDEPENDENT.

((QUESTION)) CONCERNING THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN SAIGON, THE PRG TEXT NO LONGER SPEAKS ABOUT "COALITION GOVERNMENT" BUT OF A GOVERNMENT OF "NATIONAL CONCORD." IS THERE A CHANGE OF SIGNIFICANCE, OR ORIENTATION, IN THIS?

((ANSWER)) THE PRG WANTED TO STRESS OUR DESIRE TO ENCOURAGE A VERY BROAD UNION AND REPRESENTATION OF THE VARIOUS TRENDS OF THE POPULATION OF THE SOUTH. THIS IS WHAT THE WORD "CONCORD" MEANS, IS IT NOT?

((QUESTION)) IT HAS ALSO BEEN NOTICED THAT IN YOUR EXCLUSIONS AGAINST CERTAIN PERSONALITIES, ONLY GENERAL THIEU IS MENTIONED NOW, AND NO LONGER GENERALS KY AND KHIEN. DOES THIS INDICATE A CHANGE IN YOUR VIEWS?

((ANSWER)) YOU KNOW THAT THE LATTER TWO PERSONALITIES ARE WORTH AND WHAT THEY REPRESENT. THE PRESIDENT ALONE COUNTS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. HE IS THE ONE WHO COMMANDS AND ASSUMES RESPONSIBILITY; HE IS THE ONE WHO SYMBOLIZES THE REGIME. THE OTHERS DO NOT MATTER.

((QUESTION)) LIKE THE TRAN BUI KHIEN MAY 1969 NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTYNINE PROPOSAL, THE BINH PLAN SPECIFIES THAT THE QUESTION OF THE PRESENCE OF VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES IN SOUTH VIETNAM WILL BE SETTLED BETWEEN THE VIETNAMESE SIDES. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT SEEMS TO MAKE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN A CEASE-FIRE BETWEEN THE POPULAR FORCES AND THE AMERICANS, ON ONE HAND, AND BETWEEN THOSE SAME POPULAR FORCES AND THOSE OF THE SAIGON ADMINISTRATION ON THE OTHER. IF THE FIGHTING CONTINUES BETWEEN THE VIETNAMESE, WILL THE AMERICANS NOT FIND A PRETEXT TO DELAY THE EVACUATION? AND IF THERE IS NO CEASEFIRE BETWEEN THE VARIOUS VIETNAMESE FORCES IN THE SOUTH, HOW WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE TO NEGOTIATE BETWEEN THEM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GOVERNMENT OF CONCORD?

((ANSWER)) AS FAR AS THE AMERICAN FORCES ARE CONCERNED, OUR POSITION IS CLEAR. FROM THE MOMENT THAT A DEADLINE FOR THEIR TOTAL EVACUATION IS ANNOUNCED, THEY WILL CEASE TO BE ATTACKED AND THE PRISONERS WILL BE FREED. A GENERAL CEASE-FIRE IN THE SOUTH CAN ONLY COME AS A RESULT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL CONCORD. BUT WERE A NEW GOVERNMENT SHOWING A SPIRIT OF PEACE TO BE FORMED IN SAIGON, DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE STRUGGLE WOULD REALLY CONTINUE? IT IS NOT THE VIETNAMESE WHO ARE INCLINED TO FIGHT; THEY ARE FORCED TO.

((QUESTION)) WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE REACTION OF AMERICAN SPOKESMEN TO MADAME BINH'S OFFER? IS IT NOT A QUESTION OF POSITIVE ASPECTS, OF "GROUND FOR DISCUSSION?"

((ANSWER)) THOSE REACTIONS ARE STILL RATHER VAGUE. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHAT THE "POSITIVE ASPECTS" OF OUR PROPOSALS ARE, AND THOSE WHICH ARE "COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE." WE WILL JUDGE THOSE REACTIONS WHEN THIS IS SPECIFIED, AND NOT BEFORE. WE HAVE HAD ENOUGH OF A PHRASEOLOGY WHICH USES THE WORD PEACE MORE OFTEN THAN THAT OF WAR BUT WHICH EXPRESSES ITSELF IN MORE BOMBS AGAINST VIETNAM AS A WHOLE SINCE H. NIXON HAS BEEN SITTING IN THE WHITE HOUSE THAT UNDER PRECEDING ADMINISTRATIONS. WE WILL JUDGE THE AMERICANS BY THEIR ACTIONS.... 12-13 JUL ENDALL KH/AINEY 15/1224Z JUL

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7/12/71

0121722 VIETNAMESE UNION IN FRANCE SUPPORTS PROGRSV PROPOSAL -
LIBERATION PRESS AGENCY ((CLANDESTINE)) IN ENGLISH TO EAST EUROPE,
AND THE FAR EAST 1531 GMT 12 JUL 71 B
(TEXT)) SOUTH VIET NAM JULY 12 GPA--THE VIETNAMESE RESIDENTS UNION IN

FRANCE ON JULY 3 THREE SENT A MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT NGUYEN HUU THO
OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION
AND OF THE ADVISORY COUNCIL OF THE RSVN PRG AND PRESIDENT HUYNH
TAN PHAT OF THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET NAM FULLY SUPPORTING THE SEVEN-POINT NEW
PEACE INITIATIVE PUT FORTH BY MINISTER NGUYEN THI BINH AT THE PARIS
CONFERENCE. AFTER STRESSING THAT THE SEVEN-POINT INITIATIVE HAS
CREATED FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE U.S. TO END ITS WAR OF
AGGRESSION IN SOUTH VIET NAM, AND DEMANDING THE U.S. TO SERIOUSLY
AND ACTIVELY RESPOND TO THE NEW PEACE INITIATIVE OF THE RSVN PRG,
THE MESSAGE SAID:

"ALL OVERSEAS VIETNAMESE BELONGING TO DIFFERENT CIRCLES AND
POLITICAL TENDENCIES HAVE WARMLY WELCOMED THE JULY ONE 1ST
STATEMENT. ON BEHALF OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF OUR ORGANIZATION,
WE FULLY SUPPORT THE NEW PEACE INITIATIVE OF THE PROVISIONAL
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET NAM, AND
CONSIDER IT A CORRECT BASIS TO SOLVE THE VIET NAM ISSUE. WE PROMISE
TO WIDELY DISSEMINATE THE SPIRIT AND CONTENTS OF THE STATEMENT AND
IN THE SPIRIT OF NATIONAL CONCORD, TO ENLARGE FURTHER THE UNITY
AMONG OVERSEAS VIETNAMESE OF DIFFERENT POLITICAL TENDENCIES AND
RELIGIONS, TO TURN OUR THOUGHT TO THE FATHERLAND AND MAKE OUR
CONTRIBUTION TO THE ENTIRE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST THE U.S.
AGGRESSORS, FOR NATIONAL SALVATION. WE PROMISE TO WIN MORE
SUPPORT FROM THE FRENCH PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE OF OTHER COUNTRIES
FOR THE JUST CAUSE OF OUR NATION, AND FURTHER STRENGTHEN OUR BROTHERLY
RELATIONS WITH THE LAO AND CAMBODIAN RESIDENTS IN FRANCE FOR THE COMMON
CAUSE OF THE THREE INDOCHINESE PEOPLES". 121531 PURHAR/WILSON YC
12/2124Z JUL