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NORTH VIETNAM

DRV EMBASSY IN PEKING REJECTS REPORT ON PEACE COMMENTS

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Hanoi VNA International Service in English 0248 GMT 24 Oct 72 B

[Text] Hanoi VNA October 24--The press bureau of the DRV Embassy in the People's Republic of China yesterday issued a statement refuting an unfounded report by the REUTER correspondent in Peking.

The statement reads: "In connection with the report made by the correspondent of REUTER in Peking on 21 October about 'North Vietnamese diplomats in Peking' having said on the evening of the same day that 'a major development was possible in the next 2 or 3 days' and about the lot of Nguyen Van Thieu, etc., the press bureau of the DRV Embassy in Peking is authorized to declare that this report is a sheer fabrication."

MEMORANDUM OF NGUYEN THANH LE 18 OCT PRESS CONFERENCE

Paris VNA in Vietnamese to VNA Hanoi 1450 GMT 19 Oct 72 B--FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Memorandum of Nguyen Thanh Le Press conference held in Paris on 18 October]

[Text] [Passage indistinct] to inform you that in the past 6 months the South Vietnam liberation armed forces put out of action more than 300,000 enemy troops.

Along with the Vietnamese people's victories, the Cambodian people, under the leadership of Head of State Sihanouk, and the Lao people, under the leadership of Prince Souphanouvong, have registered enormously great victories. Since March 1970, according to still incomplete figures, the Khmer liberation armed forces and people have put out of action some 300,000 enemy troops. During the 4 years when Mr Nixon stepped up the special war in Laos, the Lao liberation armed forces and people annihilated 100,000 enemy troops. The number of U.S. and Lao rightist aircraft downed or destroyed during the past 4 years is 1,420.

Thus, on the Indochinese battlefields--in North and South Vietnam, in Cambodia, in Laos--the Nixon administration and its lackeys have suffered extremely heavy losses. The morale of the puppet troops in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos is deteriorating. Let me give an example: On an average, some 10,000 troops of the Saigon puppet army have deserted each month. However, in July and August 1972, the number of desertions was 40,000, representing a force of three divisions. This shows that the Saigon troops more and more hate and oppose the war that the Nixon administration and Nguyen Van Thieu are deliberately prolonging.

The war that Mr Nixon is conducting, prolonging and expanding is the longest war in the history of the United States. It is the most costly war in U.S. history after World War II. By now, U.S. war expenses in Vietnam and other Indochinese countries have amounted to \$250 billion. During Mr Nixon's 4 years in power alone, he has spent some \$100 billion for the Vietnam war.

With regard to losses in manpower--that is, the number of Americans killed or wounded in the Vietnam war--according to U.S. figures which are lower than the true figures, there have been some 400,000 casualties, which is higher than the casualties sustained in World War I, much higher than those sustained in the Korean war, and second only to those sustained in World War II.

So far, the U.S. aggressors have used 15 million tons of bombs and shells against the people of Vietnam and those of the other Indochinese countries. That is the highest tonnage ever seen in the history of the war by mankind.

In short, the war that Mr Nixon is conducting, prolonging and expanding is the longest, most costly, and most unpopular war in history that uses the most modern means to oppose a people who cherish peace, independence and freedom. However, the more the Nixon administration pursues, intensifies and expands the war, the heavier setbacks it sustains. The longer Mr Nixon prolongs the war of aggression, the more he stains the honor of the United States and the more losses will be incurred in American manpower and materials.

As long as the Nixon administration pursues the war of aggression, the entire Vietnamese people from the north to the south will resolutely oppose U.S. aggression. As long as the Nixon administration pursues the "Vietnamization" policy and as long as it entertains the illusion of achieving neocolonialism in South Vietnam, the entire people of Vietnam will resolutely fight back. The Vietnamese people deeply cherish peace, but it must be peace in genuine independence and freedom.

Up to now in the negotiations we have pointed to our very serious stand and have showed the highest degree of good will. If the Nixon administration stubbornly clings to its position of neocolonialism, refusing to end the war of aggression and refusing to respect the Vietnamese people's basic national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, it will have to bear the full responsibility for the prolongation of the war.

I have finished, If you have any questions to ask, I am ready to answer them.

Washington STAR: Why are you holding a press conference immediately after Mr Kissinger's departure from Paris?

Answer: I am holding this press conference to inform you of our great victory. On 17 October, the North Vietnam army and people shot down the 4,000th plane.

Question: Have they shot down 4,000 or 4,002 planes?

Answer: At 0005 hours on 17 October, they shot down the 4,000th plane. By now, however, they have shot down more, bringing the total to 4,002. And the 4,000th plane downed was an F-111 brought down over Vinh Phu, north of Hanoi.

Redmont (Westinghouse Broadcast Corporation): After your victories, can one understand that the United States has agreed to negotiate seriously and has changed its policy toward Mr Thieu's regime and the three-segment government of national concord?

Answer: As of today, 18 October, we must still say that Mr Nixon still refuses to end the war of aggression, refuses to abandon the warlike Vietnamese traitor Nguyen Van Thieu. Mr Nixon's 16 October statement pointed all the more to his extremely erroneous and stubborn position.

Randal (Washington POST): Will you introduce your colleague sitting at your left?

Answer: This is Mr Doan Huu, an aide of our delegation.

Randal: Has he just come? What for?

Answer: He has come to help us in press matters. Mr Nguyen Co Thach has gone on an inspection tour of the administration of a number of our embassies in Europe and Asia. After leaving Paris, Mr Thach will continue to inspect a number of other embassies.

Bousquet (ORTF): The fact that you mentioned the military problem gives me the impression that the negotiations have stalled over the military question. Is that right?

Answer: During the past 4 years of negotiations, since 25 January 1969, the Vietnam problem has not been settled. And the Nixon administration has maintained its stubbornness and inflexibility regarding the two key and fundamental questions.

Bousquet: Can you tell me what these two key questions are?

Answer: They are the military and political questions.

Sedbon (REUTER): In L'HUMANITE today, 18 October, there was an article saying "According to observers in Hanoi, there was something new, something positive, in recent private talks." Do you have any idea about this?

Answer: I regret very much that there has not been anything new to report to you.

Valery: Last time Mr Kissinger wanted to meet Mr Le Duc Tho, but Mr Le Duc Tho could not meet him because he was busy. Mr Kissinger only wanted to talk with Mr Le Duc Tho. Why, then, did he come to Paris yesterday to talk with Mr Xuan Thuy. Has Mr Xuan Thuy's position changed, or did Mr Kissinger talk with Mr Xuan Thuy about some matter?

Answer: So far, Minister Xuan Thuy has always been the head of our delegation, a competent representative of our government to the negotiations with the U.S. side.

Kalisher: Recently your side said that the positions of the two parties remained far apart. Can you say the same thing today as you would say 3 weeks from now?

Answer: Up to now, the Vietnam problem has not been settled.

Sedbon (REUTER): That is indeed a fact. But that was not an answer to my colleague's question. And I would like to return to my question just now about the L'HUMANITE article to which you did not reply, either.

Answer: I cannot answer for the author of the L'HUMANITE article, because one has the right to express one's opinions. So far, the Nixon administration has clung to the position of aggression and neocolonialism. I did not see anything different in Mr Nixon's statement of 16 October. In a word, Mr Nixon of 16 October, 17 October, and 18 October 1972 has been the same as Mr Nixon of mid-October, early October, or of September 1972.

Paul Bicharat (France-Inter): Was today's press conference planned in advance? Is it connected with the private meeting between Mr Kissinger and Mr Xuan Thuy yesterday?

Answer: I have just told you the purpose of our press conference.

Paul Bicharat: According to press opinion and to reports from Washington, there seems to be a ray of hope, but you said that there is nothing at all?

Answer: Had Mr Nixon positively responded to the 11 September statement of the PRG, not only would there be a ray of hope but a cluster of light. Unfortunately, so far there has been no such cluster of light.

Bousquet (ORTF): Could you tell us about the main military and political points that the negotiations are discussing.

Answer: In order to save wasting time at today's press conference, please reread the transcripts of the previous press conferences.

Bousquet: If Mr. Thieu accepted a three-segment government of national concord, would you agree to his participation in this government?

Answer: Everybody knows what kind of man Thieu is. The entire people of Vietnam demand that Mr Nixon stop supporting and stop maintaining Nguyen Van Thieu. In this connection, I would like to draw your attention to one point: The Nixon administration is using Nguyen Van Thieu to broadcast Mr Nixon's extremely inflexible position. This is the trick of throwing stones without revealing one's hand in an attempt to evade one's responsibility before public opinion.

Paul Bicharat: You said that Mr Nixon has responded negatively to your proposal. Can you be explicit about which of Hanoi's points he gave a negative to?

Answer: Mr Nixon's 16 October statement clearly reflected his stand, which is very obdurate and has not changed.

Paul Bicharat: In the negotiations with Mr Kissinger, have you noticed anything that reminds you of Mr Nixon's 16 October statement?

Answer: I have nothing to add to the observations I made earlier, that is to say, the Nixon administration is very obdurate.

Michel Badainre (French Television, First Channel): After a political solution is reached, the implementation of this solution will meet many difficulties in Saigon. How do you view the transitional period following the establishment of the administration and the duration of this period?

Answer: We fully approve the PRGRSV's statement of 11 September.

Mme Lewis (New York TIMES): One knows how Saigon reacts to peace rumors. I do not know what the people in Hanoi, the civilians in the street think of these rumors.

Answer: The Vietnamese people and the army in Hanoi and all over North Vietnam consistently uphold vigilance to the utmost.

Randal: EXPRESS magazine published a photo showing two aides of Mr Kissinger talking for 6 hours with Mr Minh Vy after the Kleber conference. Is this accurate? If the negotiations are not progressing, why was there such a meeting between Mr Kissinger's aides and Mr Vy, who is the number two man of your delegation?

Answer: I can assure you that besides his meeting with Mr Porter at the Kleber conference Mr Vy did not meet with any other person on that day. As for the private talks with the U.S. side, as I have told you many times, these are only one form of negotiations.

Kalisher: If it was not Mr Vy, could you tell us about Mr Xuan Thuy's schedule of reception that day?

Answer: On that day, Mr Le Duc Tho did not receive anyone and Mr Xuan Thuy, as I have told you, was indisposed and could neither attend the conference nor receive anybody.

Sullivan (Baltimore SUN): If it was not Mr Vy, could it be some officials in your delegation who had talked with the Americans from 1500 to 1000 [as received] hours?

Answer: I have said that our leaders on 12 October did not meet with any guests. As for the private meetings with various people of the American delegation, these are nothing but a form of talks and do not represent an important issue.

Segui (French Television, Second Channel): The United States wants to stress secret diplomacy. Do you set any hopes for this secret diplomacy?

Answer: The private meetings only constitute one form of negotiations. The essential thing is the substance.

Valery: The other day at Orly Airport, Mr Le Duc Tho said that there were still difficulties to solve. Does this mean that something had been achieved and it is necessary to continue?

Answer: Mr Le Duc Tho did not declare so to the press. As for his analysis of the negotiations, I already conveyed this to you at the beginning of the press conference.

Sedbon: Is it correct that as long as the end to the war is not signed, the Vietnam problem will not be solved?

Answer: Mr Nixon's statement of 16 October once again reflected his erroneous and obdurate stand.

Miss Lydie Nicaise (ORTF): How do you conceive the French role in the negotiations?

Answer: We warmly thank the French Government. The French people are an extremely hospitable host country. General de Gaulle's speech in 1966 carries numerous correct points.

Redmont: Can one say that peace is not near?

Answer: Until now, Mr Nixon has been intensifying the war in both parts in Vietnam. There is no indication whatsoever as to Mr Nixon's willingness to end the war of aggression--the most costly war in men and resources, the longest, and the most unpopular in American history.

Renart (LE FIGARO): Was Mr Kissinger's return to Paris a surprise to you?

Answer: I have no comments on the private form of meeting.

Oka (CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR): What will become of the French role after a settlement is concluded?

Answer: I believe that my answer to Miss Lydie Nicaise was extremely explicit.

Decornoy (LE MONDE): You previously asked that the United States help overthrow Mr Thieu and at present you demand that it stop supporting him. These two demands have different meanings. Is it correct that if the United States now ceases supporting Thieu, this will be enough to extricate the negotiations from deadlock?

Answer: First of all, our stand is to fully support the 11 September statement, which gives the basis for correctly solving the South Vietnam problem. Secondly, based on Mr Nixon's activities, we see that he still maintains Thieu. Between Mr Nixon and Thieu, there is the relationship of a master toward his lackey. Between the master and his lackey, things may not run smoothly, yet the U.S.-Thieu relationship remains that of master and lackey. Mr Nixon is using Thieu as an efficient spokesman to voice his adamant stand.

Paul Bicharat: We are following a vicious circle. Can you be explicit and say whether or not something is being done?

Answer: I have answered this question on several occasions. If the United States positively responds to the 11 September statement, it will be possible to solve the Vietnam issue immediately. There are sufficient conditions. However, the entire responsibility for a settlement not being reached belongs to Mr Nixon.

We have known the highest degree of good will. But our people are highly vigilant and if Mr Nixon persists in pursuing the war of aggression, we are determined to resist U.S. aggression.

Mme Lewis: Are you waiting for Mr Kissinger's return?

Answer: We have no program for the immediate future.

Gunzburg (AFP): If so far, Mr Nixon has refused to abandon Mr Thieu, does he reject the tripartite government?

Answer: In his 16 October speech, Mr Nixon did his best to maintain Thieu and oppose the creation of a tripartite government of national concord.

Sedbon: I would like to ask you one thing. You say that it is necessary to create a tripartite government in order to solve the problem. I would like to know if in your opinion the PRGRSV is prepared to participate in a government of national unity. Is there any difference between national concord and national unity?

Answer: The PRGRSV adheres to its stand expressed in the 11 September statement.

Segui (Second Channel): After an overall agreement, what will the behavior of the North Vietnamese army in the south be?

Answer: You probably know that since 1968, the United States has constantly raised the so-called problem of "the North Vietnamese army in the south." At the last session, the U.S. delegate again raised this problem. We have unremittingly and resolutely rejected this extremely erroneous allegation of the Nixon administration.

Randal: One has the impression that you are being deceived by Mr Nixon and Mr Kissinger with private talks that are favorable to them. Why do you still continue to hold private talks with them? How can you explain this?

Answer: Throughout the past 4 years, we have ceaselessly pointed out the bellicose nature, stubborn attitude, and perfidious tricks of the Nixon administration. Mr Randal should reread our 12 October statement at Kleber and the 12 October statement of our Foreign Ministry and he will then see more clearly. The private talks are only one fo

Mme Lenart: Does what you have said so far concern the public negotiations or the secret ones? And does this encompass the private talks on 17 October?

Answer: Our observations are current in all aspects.

VNA Report

Hanoi VNA International Service in English 0245 GMT 24 Oct 72 B

[Text] Hanoi VNA October 24--Answering questions of pressmen concerning the Vietnam negotiations, Nguyen Thanh Le, spokesman of the delegation of the DRV Government to the Paris conference on Vietnam, on October 23 said:

As we have declared many times, at the present time there are already all conditions for a quick settlement of the Vietnam issue. For our part, our position is correct, logical and reasonable. We have shown maximum good will.

However, up to now, the Vietnam question (?has) not been resolved, the war is being prolonged and intensified. In these circumstances, world opinion cannot but ask the following question: Is the Nixon administration really desirous of serious negotiations or is it continuing its manoeuvres aimed at deceiving public opinion?

If the negotiations do not reach results, if the war in Vietnam goes on, the Nixon administration must bear full responsibility.

TEXT OF JEAN LACOUTURE INTERVIEW WITH PHAM VAN DONG

Paris VNA in French to VNA Hanoi 1407 GMT 18 Oct 72 B--FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

["Text of Jean Lacouture's Article in the 17 October 1972 NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR"--VNA heading]

[Text] Pham Van Dong: "To Think That We Are Going To Establish Communism in Saigon Is To Commit Fatuous Nonsense...."

He is the caveman, with a very high brow, standing erect as a challenge, with a determined chin and a burning look. He has a way of sitting with his legs spread and his hands resting on his knees like a peasant to whom one would come to claim his land, and to face you then with a face which is not that of a timorous mandarin....

With his way of attacking words [words indistinct], making them resound like strokes of gong, with his hoarse although refined language, with his laughter which bursts out after your questions, hearty and resonant, and with his wide gestures and well polished manners, he is an interlocutor with an exceptional force of concentration, taking heed of the least nuance and correcting his speech as his thinking progresses.

Yet he likes to charm and knows how to find for the French guest unexpected citations. To anyone who praises his smile which lightens his face like the smile on the face of his "Uncle" Ho Chi Minh not so long ago, he answers by quoting "Les Nourritures Terrestres" and Andre Gide's liking for smiles illuminating faces--quotation [words indistinct]

But it is through another feature that I would like to give an idea of Mr Pham Van Dong's tone. As we recalled his long stay at the convict prison on Poulo Condor, from 1939 to 1945, he had this to say: "It was there that I knew, except for President Ho, my best companions.... We spent there wonderful years!"

[Jean Lacouture] Twenty-seven years after the birth of the DRV, do its founders, among whom you are one, believe they have accomplished the task they assigned themselves?

Pham Van Dong: In the present stage of struggle, we can consider that we have done much, not only for our own people, but also for many others. The harvest is not only for us. Only imperialism is the loser in this matter. Look where its relations with the socialist camp, with the third world, with the peoples who cherish their independence now stand. To this, we have contributed effectively.

As far as we are concerned, and which is the essential thing, we have not struggled nor suffered in vain. The price is dear, but what we have obtained is even dearer: Our nation's rights, safeguarding the north, the liberation of the south, the prospect of inevitable reunification, the role that Vietnam plays in the development of the region and beyond....

Our victories are not only quantitative, calculable. They are qualitative: They tend to the vitality of our people, who have surpassed themselves in a war waged not only against men but against nature, the environment, the economic and cultural sphere. A people capable of that prove that they are made not only to survive but to bloom, to develop themselves, and to live as they will.