

EYES ONLY

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LORD
NEGROANTE

TOP SECRET SENSITIVE

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1972 JUN 25 AM 6 48

T O P S E C R E T SENSITIVE 250955Z OCT 72 VIA CAS CHANNELS(BUNKER)
FROM: AMBASSADOR BUNKER SAIGON 0234 IMMEDIATE
TO: THE WHITE HOUSE, EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY FOR HENRY A. KISSINGER
REF: WHS 2295

DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS

1. ON BALANCE, IT SEEMS TO ME THERE ARE MORE FACTORS IN FAVOR OF NOT REPEAT NOT GOING TO HANOI THAN FOR GOING THERE UNLESS YOU WERE TO GO WITH THIEU'S PRIOR KNOWLEDGE AND ACQUIESCENCE. ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, I SEE THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS INVOLVED:
 - THERE IS A FEELING SHARED BY THIEU AND OTHERS IN THE GVN THAT THEY HAVE BEEN TO A DEGREE SHUNTED ASIDE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND HAVE BEEN RELEGATED TO A LESS IMPORTANT STATUS THAN THE DRV. YOUR GOING TO HANOI WILL AUGMENT THIS FEELING.
 - IT CAN LEAD TO A SUSPICION, IF NOT ON THE PART OF THIEU AT LEAST FAIRLY WIDELY IN THE GVN AND AMONG THE PUBLIC, THAT IT IS EVIDENCE THAT WE ARE DETERMINED TO MAKE A DEAL WITH THE OTHER SIDE EVEN AT THE GVN'S EXPENSE.
 - THAT IT GIVES THE DRV ADDED STATURE AT A TIME WHEN THEY ARE STEADILY LOSING GROUND ON THE BATTLEFIELD.
 - THAT IF THE DRV IS REALLY WILLING TO MAKE SOME CONCESSIONS IN THE INTEREST OF GETTING A SETTLEMENT, IT WILL BE AS READY TO DO SO IN PARIS AS IN HANOI.
 - IT MIGHT LOOK TO SOME PARTICULARLY SUSPICIOUS VIETNAMESE A LITTLE LIKE THE MCGOVERN PLOY OF GOING TO BEG FOR THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS.
2. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE ARE:
 - THE PROBABILITY THAT OUR GAINING THE ESSENTIAL TWO OR THREE WEEKS WOULD BE ENHANCED BY GOING TO HANOI.
 - THE POSSIBILITY THAT BY GOING THERE YOU MIGHT GET A MORE FAVORABLE DECISION MORE RAPIDLY THAN BY FORCING LE DUC THO TO GO TO PARIS.
3. YOU WILL KNOW BETTER THAN I HOW MUCH WEIGHT TO GIVE TO THE SOVIET VIEW. ON BALANCE, IF YOU FEEL THAT YOU CAN GAIN THE NECESSARY TIME I WOULD GREATLY FAVOR THE PARIS ROUTE. IT WILL RUN LESS RISK OF CAUSING APPREHENSION, DOUBT AND SUSPICION HERE.
4. WARM REGARDS.

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

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State Dept. review completed

MORI/CDF C05079766