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SAIGON, ARPIL APRIL South Vietnam's Foreign Minister said the tangled difficulties of choosing a site for preliminary talks on the Vietnam war was evidence of Hanoi's "stalling for time" a until the American Presidential election picture became clearer.

Doctor Tran Van Do, the elder statesman of the South Vietnamese government, refused to predict when preliminary talks would begin. "You'd better ask Hanci that," he smiled. He indicated, however, that he considered the preliminary Washington-Hanci talks as simply the first of a four-stage process of securing peace in South Vietnam and throughout South East Asia. The whole process would be long and drawn-out, he said, and very difficult. He said the American and South Vietnamese governments had placed no the limit on the time they would wait for Hanci to respond before escalating the bombing and the raids over North Vietnamese.

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Regarding the American elections, the fareing mi foreign minister said, "This is just one interpretation. Hanci might delay until August to wait for the Democratic convention and to see more clearly the (American) Presidential candidates." He said he did not foresee any "substantial negotiations" about the war in South Vietnam "at least before August."

This interpretation seemed seemed partially to p rest on the growing fear among South Vietnamese leaders that Senator Robert Kennedy might succeed in gaining the Democratic Party nomination and be elected as the next President of the United United States, which South Vietnamese leaders see as a major advantage for Hanoi because of the Senator's Vietnam stand. President Nguyen Van Thieu and Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky have voiced publicly similar fear, though they did not specifically with this with Hanoi's so-called delaying tactics.

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The soft-spoken, mild-mannered diplmat became rather emotionally antimated when he began discussing Senator Kennedy. "Yes, the American people want peace—but what sort of peace? You can have peace tommorrow if you give all they (Hanoi) asks for. You can have peace tommorrow if you want to sacrifice South East Asia and South Vietnam. You remember the main objective of Hanoi is to have a coalition—it is the best political way take over the South. Then you will have peace, but that will have main not fool anyone. That's a camouflaged peace....

"Will Senator Robert Kennedy accept this kind of per peace and enter history as the first American president to lose a war," the delicately-framed foreign minister asked. "Will he accept to betray the promises of three American presidents, promises to help the government of Vietnam to preserve its independence and protect its people. That's what President John Kennedy wrote in 1961 to South Vietnam. Is it possible for Robert Kennedy to surrender South Vietnam and betray his own brother?"

The foreign minister then quickly walked from the air-conditioned reception room into his immer working office, where he picked up a large volume of official documents to the South Vietnamese government. He leafed through the volume until he found the letter written on December 14, 1961, by President Johns Kennedy to then South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem. He showed in the letter words he had just quoted, "We are prepared to help the Republic of Vietnam to protect its people and to preserve its independence."

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The Foreign Minister said he did not think "anything serious" would begin on the modita negotiations front before the American elections.

"You think Hanoi wants to negotiate per peace with President Johnson, who has only nine months left?" he asked. "Hanoi may want to negotiate with the next Administration to see whom they will negotiate with. They must hope that Senator Kennedy will be closed closed elected also. But, if the trend swings towards Mister (Richard) Nixon, instead of Kennedy, and the strength of our war effort here is increased, then they might negotiate negotiate before the elections. But, I don't think it is possible to end negotiations before the elections. You will see the difficulties—the negotiations will drag on for months and months."

He said he believed & Hanoi was in a difficult position on negotiations. "Hanoi can not reject completely the preliminary talks without losing world opin the world opinion turning against it," he said, "but it is reluctant to have some productive talks at this time, so Hanoi is stalling for time, has reached no decision and the difficulty of the choice of the site is an evidence of this."

He said he believed that if Hanoi "drags on the preliminary talks and resumes the fight" then Mr. Nixon would have more chance to be elected and that they would have "nothing to win with Mr. Nixon, who is generally known as a hawk." But, the f Foreign Minister smill smiled, "maybe Hanoi will miscalculate because what Senator Kennedy says is an election platform, but if he's elected then as President he might adopt another point of view. The promise of a chance candidate is."

He did not finish the sentence, but just shrugged his shoulders and smiles.

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The Foreign Minister said he believed negotiations would evolve into a four-stage affair. The first stage of preliminary talks between Hanoi and Washington would not ental entail political matters, but would be limit limited the to the military questions regarding the cessation of the bombing over North Vietnam. He said the South Vietnamese government wanted to send a "person to those talks just to maintain of contact with the American delegation to know what's going on." He said this person, yet to be appoint appointed by the government, would not technically be considered "an observer" at the meeting. Hence, he said the South Vietnamese government was interested in a "neutral" site, for which he expressed no preference for the fifteen proposed by the American side. He believed Warsaw and Phnom Penh were not "fair proposals," he said.

The second phase, which might take place at another site, would discuss negotiations to end the Vietnam war in the South, with the participation, on one hand, of South Vietnam and her allies and on the other hand, North Vietnam and her allies. These, he called "substantial negotiations", which he did not envision beginning before August. He said he thought the war in the South would continue until final agreement would be reached, though perhaps the scale of the fighting would diminish. The Clearly, what south Vietnam wanted from Hanoi on during one of these two phases appeared to be a guarantee that North Vietnam would stop apporting and formenting the National Liberation Front in the South.

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In what appeared to be a new twist for negotiations on Vietnam, the foreign minister said he has also believed that a base to "big power," many-nation conference be held to discuss the seculity of all of South East Agia. This conference would have more nations involved, particularly American and the Soviet Union, but he noted the "difficulty on the question of the participation of the Chinese (Communists), not simply because the United States does not recognize China, but also because of "the dissension between the Russians and Chinese in the Communist world."

He said "it's very ? logical that security for South Bast Asia
lies not on only between North and South Vietnam, but it depends on the
big powers too....We must see Vietnam in the context of South Bast Asia and
in the context of world competition between the two blocs." Clearly,
the foreign minister was advocating some agreement between Russia
the Soviet Union and the United States to guarantee security in Asia even
after the Chinese Communists could deliver power nuclear weapons. "This
is up to the big powers—American and Russia. It's far beyond the will
and capability of South Vietnam. We must depend of more or less—and more
rather than less—on the agreement between the big powers. Many The
Chinese Communists even with nuclear weapons would have to take into
consideration the position of American and the Russians if they wanted to
start an nuclear wer."

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He said even if peace talks broke down, "no one has agreed on the use of nuclear weapons...because it is too dangerous for everyone, even for the Chinese."

He said he viewed the fourth stage of/would deal with the internal South Vietnamese problem of the relationship between the government and the National Liberation Front. "This is an internal question," he said. "The National Liberation Front always says they are an indigenous movement, an autonomous movement in the South, so in other words they are rebels and it's up to us (South Vietnamese government) to deal with them. What is acceptable to us and what's acceptable to them?....We do not want to destroy them. They simply must choose between North and South Vietnam. If the Communists (in the National Liberation Front) want to, they can go to the North. Of if they want to lay down their arms and join us, they'll be offered the rights of other car citizens." Asked whether car some of these non-Communist elements who laid down their arms, would be accepted into the government, he said it "depends on the competency of the individual." The named several examples of ex-Viet Cong who now have positions in the government's administration.

He cautioned about the use of the words "caelit control "coalition government." He said "sometimes it isn't the right word. You can have a coalition in a country with political parties—but not with political parties that have an armed force. If they have an armed force, can we accept to have a coalition with them, unless they drop their word. No, it's unconstitutional and unlawful, walless they drop their drop their have a coalition with them, unless they drop their drop their have a coalition with them, unless they drop their drop their have a coalition with them, unless they drop their have a coalition with them, unless they drop their have a coalition with them.

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