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HW:

The attached example of administration doublespeak is especially interesting in view of an argument advanced by Franz Schurmann a couple of days ago. He holds that the main purpose of Kissinger's trip to Peking was to persuade the Chinese NOT to intervene in the war in Vietnam. He based this mainly on two factors. One was a statement by the Chinese that the stepped up bombing of North Vietnam was a threat to China's national interest. The other is that this bombing campaign involves doing things we did only in a limited way from 1965-68 or didn't do at all: that is, we are now trying to destroy the country's physical plant -- the rail lines, the dykes, the hydroelectric dams.

Schurmann holds that the Chinese statement about their national interest being threatened alludes to this new increased bombing and that they are no more likely to sit around doing nothing than they were in 1950 when MacArthur went into North Korea and approached the Chinese border. For one thing, bombing the dykes and dams means flooding the entire Red River delta, which will result in mass starvation, which the Chinese will therefore have to help take care of. They are not going to take this, he contends, and can be expected to send in troops, if only to the extent of the 60,000 or so they had in the country between 1965 and 1968 to help keep the rail line open.

Schurmann says that in 1966 the Chinese in Paris leaked to the French the three conditions under which they would have to intervene to save Hanoi and which he says were widely accepted to reflect no more than routine Chinese self-interest. These were 1, if the U.S. bombed Chinese territory, or pursued North Vietnamese Migs to Chinese fields or bombed stockpiles along the border, or 2) if the U.S. should actually invade North Vietnam, and 3, if the U.S. destroys the North Vietnamese dyke system.

All this takes on added interest when considered against the background of the Gen. Lavelle caper. Schurmann believes Nixon has caved in to the Joint Chiefs, who have wanted to do this all along. He suggests Kissinger has been telling the Chinese, look, don't freak out, this is no threat to your security. And Chou is saying, it IS a threat to our security, we have commitments and will keep them. If you want to solve this, make peace with Hanoi and the ~~NLF~~ NLF with the 7-point peace proposal. If the bombing continues, says Schurmann, the Chinese will have to intervene whether they want to or not. If Nixon stops it, assuming he can, the Chinese may hold off. But it's up to Nixon.

jdw

# Kissinger Mum On China Trip

WASHINGTON — (AP) — Presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger said today after returning from Peking that there is still no clear indication of Hanoi interest in serious negotiations to end the Vietnam War.

Kissinger said also in briefing newsmen at the White House that all major nations favor an end to the Indochina War, and that he did not ask China's leaders to intervene with Hanoi.

His three and a half days of talks with Premier Chou En-lai and other Chinese leaders, was "primarily an exchange of views," and "not a request on our part to the People's Republic to do anything."

He said that in 14 hours of formal talks and another six hours of informal chats, the primary purpose was to discuss U.S.-Chinese questions and exchange views on international affairs. Both sides found the talks useful, he said.

Kissinger specifically predicted "slow but steady progress" will be made in U.S.-Chinese trade, and he forecast steady if not spectacular progress in the coming months in setting up more cultural exchanges between the two countries.

On the Vietnam issue, Kissinger said there was no clear sign yet of Hanoi interest in serious negotiations.

"We have not yet had any clear indication, but we are pursuing the subject and when we do have it we'll resume negotiations and it will

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be announced," Kissinger said.

He said Hanoi's leadership currently is reviewing its policy. The Nixon Administration aim is to bring matters to a point where substantive diplomatic negotiations can be held, he said.

He said that, when serious negotiations do take place, it is the U.S. view that they should be between the U.S. and North Vietnam directly, at the Paris conference table or elsewhere.

He said the U.S. recognizes that Hanoi's leaders, having fought for so long for their cause, won't surrender their destiny to others by having others negotiate a settlement in their behalf.

Before the briefing by Kissinger, the White House issued a joint statement that said Kissinger and the Chinese leaders had held "extensive, earnest and frank" talks.

The four-sentence U.S.-Chinese statement on Kissinger's five days of discussions with Premier Chou En-lai and other Chinese leaders in Peking gave no details on the substance of the talks.

Kissinger returned to Washington yesterday and promptly reported to President Nixon.

The text of the joint U.S.-Chinese statement as issued by the White House:

"Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China and other Chinese officials held discussions with Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, assistant to the U.S. President for the national security affairs and his party, from June 19 to 23, 1972.

### Talks

"The talks were extensive, earnest and frank.

"They consisted of concrete consultations to promote the normalization of relations between the two countries and an exchange of issues of common interest.

"Both sides agreed on the usefulness of the consultations which were foreseen in the Sino-U.S. joint communique of February, 1972, and on the desirability of continuing them."

# 'Bombed Dikes' Disputed

### Washington

A number of well informed critics of the Vietnam war, including some men still serving in the government, said in interviews yesterday that there is no evidence to support repeated assertions by Hanoi the United States has been deliberately bombing dikes and dams in North Vietnam.

The interviews were conducted in response to renewed charges by the North Vietnamese that the waterways in the North are being systematically destroyed by U.S. bombs.

### TARGETS

Vo Van Sung, a member of the North Vietnamese delegation at the peace talks, told a news conference in Paris Thursday that U.S. aircraft had attacked dikes 68 times from April 10 through June 10, dropping 665 bombs along the Red river and other waterways.

"I know for a fact that the target lists do not include dikes," one well-informed former official said. "If we wanted to bomb them, we would."

This official, who just recently left the government, said that the United States has "too little to gain from such a risk." The source, who had access to most intelligence material while in the government, added that the occasional bombing of a dike, whether by error or because of a pilot's sheer violation of rules, was impossible to rule out.

### SERGEANTS

"In fact," he said, "we had some photos earlier this year of dikes that were hit, but I just can't believe it was done by policy."

Two former photo intelligence specialists for the Air Force also said that to their knowledge the waterways of North Vietnam were never targeted for destruction.

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