

All filed POWs unless noted otherwise.

file 8 Nov 71

file 8 Nov 71

Private meetings, U.S.-North Vietnam, as given in Nixon address of 25 Jan 72; text filed Nix Ad 26 Jan 72.

- 31 May 71 - U.S. offers to agree to deadline for withdrawal of all U.S. forces.
- 26 Jun 71 - Offer rejected by North Vietnamese; they propose 9-point plan; at open meeting, 1 Jul 71, offer 7-point Vietcong plan.
- 12 Jul 71 - Kissinger asks which plan should be responded to. They say/private (no date given) 9-point plan because it covers all Indochina, including Laos and Cambodia; public Vietcong 7-point plan is limited to Vietnam.
- (26 Jul 71)- Listed by Kissinger; possibly reply above was given on this date?
- 16 Aug 71 - U.S. offers new plan.
- 13 Aug 71 - Offer rejected by North Vietnamese.
- (11 Oct 71)- Nixon sends private message to North Vietnamese containing new elements; urges meeting 1 Nov between Kissinger ~~xxxxxxx~~ and Tho or "other appropriate official from Hanoi."
- (25 Oct 71)- North Vietnamese suggest 20 Nov 71.
- (17 Nov 71)- North Vietnamese say Tho is ill; U.S. offers to meet Tho as soon as he recovers, or immediately with "any other authorized leader who could come from Hanoi."
- (25 Jan 72)- ~~xxxxxxx new proposal~~ Nixon announces terms of new proposal, described by Kissinger as "essentially the proposal we made Oct 11, to which we have never had a response."
- (8 Nov 71 - Gen. Lavelle begins unauthorized bombing in North Vietnam, which is continued until 8 Mar 72.

Dates of private U.S.-North Vietnamese meetings as given by Kissinger in press conference, 26 Jan 72; filed Nix Ad 27 Jan 72.

1969 } 1970 }	dates not given	1969 } 1970 }	6 meetings
1971	31 May 26 Jun 12 Jul 26 Jul 16 Aug 13 Sep	1971	6 meetings

See also article by Don Oberdorfer, "Kissinger Played Major Role in '68 Bombing Halt, Talks," Washington Post 27 Jun 72, filed POWs.

See entry under date of 8 Mar 72, on unauthorized bombing of North Vietnam which began 8 Nov 71.

8 Nov 71

(Seymour Hersh, NYTimes 18 Sep 72, gives date as 7 and 8 Nov 71.) Filed Nix Ad/Lavelle.)

3

" ..... As [Gen.] Lavelle saw it, the men under him were obliged to carry out his orders, but he felt free to defy, or 'interpret' the orders of his commander-in-chief, the President, and his other superiors, as he pleased - not knowing, incidentally, that precisely\*at the time he started the bombing, the President had Henry Kissinger trying to open up peace negotiations with Le Duc Tho of North Vietnam in Paris."

(8 Nov 71)

7

James Reston, New Orleans States-Item, 15 Jun 72 - ~~filed THIS FILE~~  
Nix Ad (Lavelle)

~~ALSO~~ NY TIMES, 14 JUN 72,  
NIX AD (LAVELLE)

memo on

\*See/dates of private U.S.-Vietnamese meetings, as given by Nixon in address 26 Jan 72.

"On November 8, the first day of the raids cited by General [John D.] Ryan and at a time when the United States was awaiting a reply on talks from Hanoi, three North Vietnamese airfields were hit in what Pentagon sources say were unauthorized attacks."

SFChronicle, Washington Post Svc.,  
16 Jun 72, filed Nix Ad (Lavelle)

19 Dec 71  
(23 Feb 72)

Xuan Thuy, chief of North Vietnamese delegation in Paris, meets for two hours with former ~~South~~ foreign minister of South Vietnam, Tran Van Do. The meeting, ~~was~~ confirmed 23 Feb 72 by both the North Vietnamese delegation and Mr. Do, is "believed to have been the first private North-South contact to be made public since the peace talks began in 1967." "The South Veitnamese delegation would not directly confirm that Mr. Do had acted on behalf of President Thieu's Government but pointed to President Thieu's statement last month [Jan 72] saying he had asked some South Vietnamese to establish contact with the Communists." Mr. Do, ~~NYTimes 24 Feb 72, filed POWs~~ ~~in telephone interview~~ 23 Feb 72, says [from Saigon? - unclear] the meeting had accomplished nothing.

NYTimes 24 Feb 72, filed POWs

All POW file unless otherwise noted.

10 FEB 1972

6

Paris, Feb. 10 - The United States refused at the Vietnam peace talks here today to agree to a date for the next session. It accused the North Vietnamese of organizing a three-day rally in nearby Versailles to place "intolerable" pressure on the negotiators.

Henry Giniger, NYTimes 11 Feb 72

10 Feb, Paris time

[U.S. and South Vietnam confirm refusal to hold peace talks this week. Regular Thursday session would have been 17 Feb.]

Washington Post Spc in SFChronicle ,  
16 Feb 72

(17 Feb)

~~Handwritten signature~~

Honolulu, 18 Feb - ..... Secretary of State William F. Rogers ... said in response to newsmen's questions that the U.S. government has no confirmation of a report that Le Duc Tho, the Hanoi official who conducted secret negotiations with presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger, would arrive in Peking a day before Nixon. Rogers offered no support for speculation that the North Vietnamese official would be meeting with Nixon or other Americans in Peking: .....

AP (Honolulu dateline? - check), 18 Feb 72  
Filed Nix Ad

<sup>72</sup>  
18 Feb, Honolulu time

(7)

[Nixon in Peking, 21 to 28 Feb.]

<sup>72</sup>  
21 to 28 Feb, Peking time

(8)

23 Feb 72, Saigon time

Lieut. Gen. Nguyen Chanh Thi, whose ouster as commander of Military Region I in the northern part of South Vietnam touched off the Buddhist riots in 1966, and who had been living in exile in Washington for six years, returns to Saigon; is forbidden to leave plane, on personal order of President Thieu, "who apparently feared he might become a focus for increased opposition." Plane is ordered to take off with only Gen. Thi as a passenger.\* In Washington, American officials say Gen. Thi is being flown to Guam and then to Honolulu; his diplomatic passport had expired 31 Dec [71?] but he could be permitted to enter the United States as a political refugee; officials say "we are checking on his status."

NYTimes 24 Feb 72

PAW-XM

\*Plane is a Boeing 747 jet, and was forced to leave behind 189 American soldiers to have been flown ~~to~~ ~~the~~ out on leave.

North Vietnamese delegation in Paris make public the fact that Xuan Thuy, chief of North Vietnamese delegation in Paris, had held private two-hour discussion with Tran Van Do, former foreign minister of South Vietnam, 19 Dec 71. See entry for that date.

NYTimes 24 Feb 72, filed POWs

23 Feb 72, Paris time

Paris (undated) - North Vietnam and the Viet Cong staged an unprecedented walkout at the Vietnam peace talks today in protest against recent U.S. bombings of North Vietnam. It was the first time in the three-year history of the talks that a delegation had walked out after a session started.

AP, SFXaminer 24 Feb 72

72  
24 Feb, Paris time

(11)

[Before final banquet in Peking, hosted by Nixon, he and Chou met privately for about an hour, although they had originally planned on three hours; no satisfactory explanation given for the change.]

Max Frankel, NYTimes, Peking, 26 FEB  
Stanley Karnow, Washington Post, Peking,  
26 Feb

Filed China file

[Hongkong Standard says Nixon met with North Vietnamese leaders in Peking during a "missing hour" in Nixon schedule.]

AP, Hong Kong, 26 Feb 72

[Correspondents at banquet note "sudden coolness" in contrast to "expansive friendliness" of Chou banquet and other occasions, and suggest some difficulty had arisen.]

Max Frankel, Peking, NYTimes 26 Feb 72  
Thomas E. Ross, Peking (undated),  
SFXaminer 26 Feb 72  
Both in China file

[Frankel says last main course of the meal was cleared precisely at 9 p.m., or 8 a.m. 25 Feb New York time. Assuming dinner began at 7 p.m. Peking time 25 Feb, meeting would have taken place before this time - or before 11 a.m. Paris time 25 Feb.]

72  
25 Feb, Peking time

(12)

25 Feb, Peking time

25 Feb, Peking time  
25 FEB Paris time

*[Handwritten mark]*

SEE 6 MAR 72

7 6 Mar 72 (Saigon time?)

Assistant Secretary of State Marshall Green  
 [on an 11-nation tour to brief Asian nations on  
 Nixon's talks with Chinese leaders] "~~delivered to the~~  
~~to President Nguyen Van Thieu yesterday [6 Mar] and~~  
~~referred to the United States scheduled meeting~~  
 & "assured President Thieu that 'there had been no  
 secret contacts between the United States and North  
 Vietnam under any form and by any persons during the  
 China visit.' Many people here [Saigon] had speculated  
 that Mr. Nixon or Henry A. Kissinger ... had met secretly  
 in Peking with North Vietnamese leaders.

"Mr. Thieu's nephew and closest political  
 confidant, Hoang Duc Nha, who went to Washington last week  
 to learn details of Mr. Nixon's trip, has reportedly  
 arrived in Paris. There was speculation in Saigon that  
 Mr. Nha might try to get in touch with the North Vietnamese,  
 as former Foreign Minister Tran Van Do did last December."  
 [See 24 NYTimes 24 Dec 71, filed POWs.]

Fox Butterfield, NYTimes 7 Mar 72  
 filed Nix Ad

72

7 Mar Paris time

[Joint statement by U.S. and South  
 Vietnamese delegations, Paris, say session of 9 Mar  
 postponed until 16 Mar because of walkout by other  
 side at last session 24 Feb.]

UPI, Paris (undated) SF Examiner 8 Mar 72



During the period between 8 Nov 71 and 8 Mar 72, Gen. John Lavelle (commander of U.S. air forces in Vietnam), ignoring official policy, ordered 28 missions involving 147 strikes by individual planes against unauthorized targets in ~~Vietnam~~ North Vietnam, calling them protective reaction strikes. During that time the North Vietnamese repeatedly insisted that the U.S. was engaging in such bombing, and Administration spokesmen vigorously denied it.

8 ~~Mar~~ 72 (Vietnam time?)

Transcript, KPFA News, ~~file~~ 12 Jun 72  
filed ~~Indochina~~ NIX AD (LAVELLE)

[Paris, 15 Mar - North Vietnam and <sup>NLF</sup> Viet Cong agree to session 16 Mar, ~~ix~~ and meeting takes place.]  
AP Paris, in NYTimes 16 Mar

<sup>72</sup>  
15 Mar Paris time

Saigon, South Vietnam, March 16 (AP) -  
A large increase in enemy attacks in South Vietnam  
was reported today by the Saigon command.

NYTimes 17 Mar 72  
Filed Indochina

72  
16 Mar, Saigon time

(17)

~~Tellers~~  
FEB 17  
24  
MAR 2  
9  
16  
23  
30  
APR 6  
13  
20  
27

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

Memo made from tape of KPFA News: Item on  
Gen. John D. Lavelle says that "investigation  
conducted on 28 unauthorized air strikes over  
North Vietnam last winter led to Gen. Lavelle's  
recall from Vietnam on March 23rd." Source not given.\*

NYTimes Service, as carried by  
SFChronicle, says "The investigation was completed  
on March 23, [Gen. John D.] Ryan testified, and  
Lavelle was promptly ordered back to Washington .... "

Since KPFA gave no source, do not know  
whether March 23 was actual date Lavelle was recalled,  
or KPFA's misinterpretation of date as given by  
NYTimes.

KPFA, SFChronicle 13 Jun 72  
Filed Indochina; POWs; Nix Ad (LAVELLE)

\*More accurately, if source was given I do not  
remember it.

(23 Mar 72 ?)

23 Mar 72

(18)

Paris, March 23 - The United States declared an indefinite suspension of the Paris peace conference on Vietnam today [because other side showed no willingness for "serious discussions"].

John L. Hess, NYTimes 24 Mar

72  
23 Mar, Paris time

(19)

Transcript, Nixon press conference on suspension of talks.

NYTimes, 15 Mar

24 Mar, Washington time

Paris - ..... Mme. Binh, the Vietcong Foreign Minister, returned to Paris after a seven-month absence from negotiations here, ready to proclaim a "free" South Vietnam regime. But the day before her return the United States broke off negotiations. ....

C.L. Sulzberger, NYTimes 19 Apr 72

[~~listed in excerpt, POW file as  
filed Indochina/Comment, but cannot  
find.~~ FILED POWS

[?] 24 Mar 72

(20)

Hong Kong, March 29 (Reuters) - North Vietnam has called on the United States to return to the Paris peace conference..... The North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry in a statement yesterday, distributed by [the official North Vietnamese press agency] today, said the United States must attend the conference regularly and negotiate the Vietnam issue seriously.

NYTimes, 29 Mar 72

Paris, March 29 - North Vietnam said today that it was waiting for the United States to take the initiative in resuming the stalled peace talks here.

NYTimes, 30 Mar 72

Washington - ..... Newsmen noted that the offensive began on March 30, South Vietnamese time ....

NYTimes Svc, in SFChronicle 14 Apr 72

72  
28, 29 Mar, Hong Kong time

21

29 Mar, Paris time

72  
30 Mar, South Vietnamese time

22

Saigon - (UPI) - North Vietnamese infantry with heavy artillery support broke through the western corner of South Vietnam's defense line below the Demilitarized Zone today and pushed the defenders back toward Quang Tri, 16 miles below the DMZ. ....

SF Examiner, 31 Mar 72  
Filed Indochina

Washington - ... Newsmen noted that the offensive began on March 30, South Vietnamese time ...

Washington, April 13 - President Nixon's secret April 1 offer to resume negotiations with the North Vietnamese reportedly included a major condition: that Hanoi suspend its new offensive against South Vietnam.

.... [The State Department spokesman, Robert J. McCloskey] said it was an 'allowable conclusion' that the United States hoped that the North Vietnamese would call off their drive, then under way one day, in response to the note.

Other officials expressed the view, however, that the note was designed more to provide President Nixon with an advance defense against criticism of his decision to suspend the Paris negotiations and intensify American bombing in the war zone.

Terence Smith, NYTimes 14 Apr 72

72  
31 Mar, Saigon time?

30?

31, Washington time?

(23)

7

72  
1 Apr, Washington time

(24)

Saigon, Monday, April 3 - South Vietnamese forces abandoned the northern half of Quang Tri Province to a North Vietnamese force, estimated at 12,000 to 15,000 men, that was still advancing southward yesterday behind tanks and intense artillery barrages. A cloud cover has made American and South Vietnamese bombing ineffective since Thursday [30 Mar, Saigon time].

The only south Vietnamese positions still holding in the northern part of the province last night were at Dongha city, Quang Tri city, and the Quang Tri combat base, all reported under heavy attack.

Craig R. Whitney, NYTimes 3 Apr 72  
Filed Indochina

72  
3 Apr, Saigon time  
~~Washington time~~

2 Apr, Saigon time  
~~Washington time~~

2 Apr, Saigon time  
~~Washington time~~

Paris - (UPI) - North Vietnam said yesterday that President Nixon offered secretly to resume negotiations at the stalled Paris peace talks, but took back his offer after Hanoi had accepted it.

..... [The statement by the Hanoi delegation to the talks] acknowledged Hanoi received a private message April 2\* from the U.S. delegation offering to resume the conference last Thursday [13 Apr].

.....

The North Vietnamese responded favorably on April 6, the statement said, but on the same day received a second American message, again through private channels, canceling the offer.

The Hanoi statement did not make clear if the cancellation came after or before the North Vietnamese message of acceptance was relayed to the American delegation.

U.S. Ambassador William J. Porter disclosed on his return here Thursday [13 Apr] from consultations in Washington, that Nixon on April 1 had ordered that a private message offering to resume the talks be sent to the communists.

"The only response to this overture came in the form of a mushrooming invasion of the Republic of South Vietnam by North Vietnamese troops ... " Porter said.

SF Examiner, 16 Apr 72

\* (Over)

72  
? Apr, Paris time?  
~~Apr, Hanoi time?~~

? Apr, Paris time?  
~~Apr, Hanoi time?~~

1 Apr, Washington time?

Paris, April 4 - North Vietnam and the Vietcong sought today to reopen the suspended peace talks but were indignantly turned down by the United States and South Vietnam.

The Communist delegations proposed that there be a meeting Thursday "as usual." In announcing the allied refusal, Nguyen Trieu Dan, the Saigon Spokesman, said: "It is ridiculous to talk about wanting to negotiate while carrying out an invasion."

Henry Giniger; NYTimes, 5 Apr 72

72  
4 Apr, Paris time

(27)

Washington, April 6 - Le Duc Tho, a member of the North Vietnamese Politburo, has sent word to President Nixon through a delegation of American labor leaders [who recently visited Hanoi] that he would like to resume his secret peace negotiations with Henry A. Kissinger, Congressional sources said today.

Philip Shabecoff, NYTimes 7 Apr 72

(Date not given, but before 6 Apr 72)

(28)

Genl John Lavelle fired and demoted  
this date.

7 Apr 72

(29)

Transcript, KPFA News 12 Jun 72  
filed ~~Indochina~~ NIX AD (LAVELLE)  
NYTIMES, 17 MAY 72  
FILED NIX AD (LAVELLE)

Paris, April 13 - ..... In another development,  
an official French delegation returning from Hanoi reported  
/ that Le Duc Tho, a key figure in past negotiations,  
declared in an interview last Friday [7 Apr] that he would  
leave immediately for Paris as soon as the United States  
showed a willingness to negotiate.

John L. Hess, NYTimes 14 Apr 72

72  
7 Apr, Hanoi time?

(30)



Washington, April 16 - ..... Gen. John W. Vogt, Jr. ... was dispatched from Washington a week ago to take charge of the Seventh Air Force in Saigon.

William Beecher, NYTimes 17 Apr 72  
Filed Nix Ad

~~(S)~~

(9 APR<sup>72</sup>?)

(31)

Washington, April 17 - ..... Gen. Vogt steps in for Gen. John D. Lavelle, whose replacement, for reasons of "ill health," was suddenly announced by the Pentagon last week. ....

[Profile on Gen. Vogt.] NYTimes,  
~~18 Apr 72, filed Nix~~  
18 Apr 72  
Filed Nix Ad (LAVELLE)

Paris, April 12 - ..... A formal demand presented by the Communists this morning for resumption of the suspended conference was again turned down by the United States.

Henry Giniger, NYTimes 13 Apr 72

<sup>72</sup>  
12 Apr, Paris time

(32)

Paris, April 12 - France today backed Vietnamese Communist demands for the resumption of the peace talks here.

Henry Giniger, NYTimes 13 Apr 72

Washington, April 12 - The State Department today called in a senior French diplomat to express its official displeasure over France's call for an immediate resumption of the Paris talks.

NYTimes 13 Apr 72

Washington - ..... In midmorning the State Department had described the French request as an even handed move to get all parties back to the conference table.

..... But within two hours, the department changed its view and criticized the French.

SF Examiner 12 Apr 72

(Interesting slip made by Nixon at press conference 30 Jun, when he gave the date of "April 13th, Thursday" as that for resumption of Paris talks, instead of the correct date, 13 Jul.)

Transcribed excerpt, press conference, 30 Jun 72.

72  
12 Apr, Paris time

33

12 Apr, Washington time

12 Apr, Washington time

72  
(13 Apr)

34

The decision to order the raids on Haiphong and Hanoi came sometime Friday night [14 Apr] or yesterday morning [15 Apr] when the President was in Ottawa, well-placed sources said. \*

William Beecher, <sup>WX</sup>NYTimes 17 Apr 72

[Story above also says: "Spokesmen for the White House, the State Department and the Pentagon declined to offer a rationale for the raids into the heartland of North Vietnam. .... 'There's a heavy dose of diplomacy involved in the Hanoi-Haiphong strikes,' one Pentagon official said."]

~~xx~~ \*(Have note on story by William Beecher, NYTimes 18 Apr - supposedly filed Nix Ad, but cannot find - in which he says that, until the evening of 14 Apr, the decision had been not to strike these areas.)

Danang, South Vietnam, April 17 (Reuters) - Brig. Gen. Alexander M. Haig Jr. visited the northern part of South Vietnam today to assess the military situation. ....

General Haig, second in command to Henry A. Kissinger, the President's national security adviser, arrived in Saigon Saturday [15 Apr].

NYTimes 18 Apr 72

Filed Nix Ad (LAVELLE)

72 Washington  
14 Apr, Ottawa time

(35)

72  
15 Apr, Saigon time?

(36)

The North Vietnamese called their worst day Sunday, April 16, when heavy attacks were renewed on the Haiphong and Hanoi areas.

Anthony Lewis from Haiphong,  
NYTimes 18 May 72  
filed Indochina

16 Apr 72 (Hanoi time?)

(37)

Paris, April 17 - North Vietnam offered a possibility of new secret peace talks today if the United States would halt its air attacks and resume the regular weekly sessions of the Paris conference.

..... Xuan Thuy, Hanoi's chief negotiator at the peace talks here, said at a news conference that Le Duc Tho ... would return to Paris if the United States agreed to the two conditions he specified.

Henry Giniger, NYTimes 18 Apr

[~~in~~ Bracketed insert in above dispatch, as carried by SFChronicle (added by the Chronicle?): "Last night the Associated Press in Saigon reported U.S. bombing of North Vietnam suspended in the Hanoi-Haiphong area and greatly reduced in the southern panhandle while awaiting a political response from Hanoi. .... In Washington, however, State Department officials said they had no knowledge of a bombing cutback.)

NYTimes Svc, SFChronicle 18 Apr 72

72  
17 Apr, Paris time

(38)

SF

17 Apr ~~Saigon~~ time  
17 Apr, Saigon time

~~17 Apr~~

Chronology temporarily discontinued at this point  
for lack of time.

17 Apr 72

(39)

If resumed, check also Nix Ad and Indochina  
filed.

Text of Nixon address 8 May 72.  
SFChronicle 9 May 72

8 May 72

(40)

check Nixon TV and radio address, 8 May 72

Kissinger press conference 9 May 72

In Hanoi proper no bombs have fallen in the last three days, though there have been frequent alerts. Government spokesmen say that the bombing continues elsewhere and that the coast is still being shelled, though there is no way to confirm that here.

Anthony Lewis from Hanoi, 16 May,  
NYTimes 17 May 72

13,  
14,15, 16, 17 ? May 72 (Hanoi time?)

(41)

31 ~~30~~ May 72

"Well-placed army sources" Washington, say  
 Gen. Creighton W. Abrams will be nominated as  
 Army Chief of Staff "within a few days" of Nixon's  
 return from Russia. ~~Abrams~~ Abrams would replace  
 Gen. Westmoreland, whose four-year tour of duty ends  
 30 Jun. Story ~~points out that while a four-year tour is~~ says  
~~the normal tour of duty~~ "the top leadership of the  
 Pentagon reached 'an informal understanding' with  
 General Abrams, calling for him to step down after two  
 years in office. Under law, the appointment of Chief  
 of Staff is a four-year appointment."  
 Seymour M. Hersh, NYTimes 1 Jun 72, filed Nix Ad

23, 24? Jul 72

"A series of unofficial contacts is taking  
 place here\* among Communist and non-Communist Vietnamese....  
 The latest private non-Communist proposal was brought to  
 Paris 10 days ago [23, 24? Jul 72] on behalf of a group  
 said to have been formed recently in South Vietnam to try  
 to end the war. .... The only names attached to the  
 proposal ... were those of [Nguyen Thai, a former South  
 Vietnamese government official] and that of Gen Nguyen  
 Chanh Thi\*, now in exile in the United States. ..."  
 Flora Lewis, NYTimes 3 Aug 72

\*see entry under date of 23 Feb 72

\* PARIS

From Jack Anderson's column: The Central Agency, in a secret dispatch, has quoted a "reliable" source as saying a Vietnam cease-fire can be expected as early as September. The source, according to the CIA, is close to the North Vietnamese delegation in Paris.

Jack Anderson, Washington Post, filed  
POWs 17 Aug 72

Sep 72

(44)