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The following article is by Richard J. Barnet, co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies and long-time student and critic of American policy in Vietnam. Mr. Barnet, with Prof. George Kahin, director of Southeast Asia studies at Cornell University, and Cbra Weiss, co-chairman of the Committee of Liaison with U.S. Prisoners Detained in North Vietnam, were invited to Paris last Friday to hear a clarification of the views of the North Vietnamese and South Vietnamese Communist delegations on the current state of the negotiations.

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WASHINGTON, Oct. 29—The North Vietnamese diplomats in Paris say that both sides made concessions in arriving at the current proposed settlement of the war.

The United States, they said in an interview, made two crucial concessions that until this month it had always withheld.

The most important, they said, is recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam as the only legitimate administration over the territory it now controls. This recognition is, as the North Vietnamese see it, a crucial condition for the coming political struggle in South Vietnam.

"Now Mr. Porter can't call the representatives of the patriotic forces Vietcong any more," Deputy Minister Nguyen Minh Vy said. He was speaking of William J. Porter, the chief United States representative at the Paris peace talks.

Nor, Mr. Vy said, will it any longer be legal to imprison people in South Vietnam for being members of the National Liberation Front or sympathizers with it.

The second major political concession by the United States, the North Vietnamese diplomats said, was an acceptance of the three-part regime in Saigon that has been proposed for many years by the Communist side.

3-Part Council Envisaged

Until this month, they said, the United States steadfastly refused to recognize for any political purpose the existence of a "third force" in South Vietnam on the ground that it would quickly become dominated by the Communists. Now Article 4 of the draft agreement provides for a National Council of Reconciliation and Concord composed of three equal segments, and the North Vietnamese attach considerable significance to this.

The North Vietnamese believe

that they too have made important concessions. On the military side, they say they recognize that a standstill cease-fire involves risks, particularly since they have relaxed their previous demand that President Nguyen Van Thieu's administration and "Thieu's repressive apparatus" be dismantled before the fighting stops.

Both Mr. Vy and Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, the representative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, appeared confident that the agreement as completed, which they termed "very fair," would eventually produce an "independent and neutral" South Vietnam in which the political rights of all Vietnamese would be respected.

Mrs. Binh expressed great concern about the political prisoners held by the Saigon Government, estimated to number 200,000 or more.

"Thieu is now embarked upon an extermination policy with regard to the prisoners," she declared. "Women and children are being tortured and killed in the Saigon jails. The U.S. is equally responsible, for Thieu is not capable of carrying out such a policy alone."

Guerrillas Hold Some Captives

While she appeared to corroborate Henry A. Kissinger's understanding that the release of political prisoners by Saigon—a condition that North Vietnam used to demand—Mrs. Binh left open the possibility that military personnel and civilians detained by guerrilla forces in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia might not be released if Saigon balked at presenting "a list accounting for those whom they hold, including all those arrested during the war."

She emphasized that Article 3 of the agreement called for "the return of all captured and

detained people of the parties simultaneously with the withdrawal of U.S. troops."

Mr. Vy declared that the release of all pilots detained in North Vietnam would be completed within 60 days after a cease-fire. If all political prisoners are not released in three months as a result of direct negotiations between the Provisional Revolutionary Government and Saigon, the entire agreement could break down and the war could resume, he said.

Though he denied that North Vietnam had taken "responsibility" for the fate of prisoners in the hands of Cambodian and Laotian guerrillas, Mr. Vy declared that implementation of the agreement on Vietnam would "obviously have a good influence" on the release of prisoners throughout Indochina.

The North Vietnamese diplomats say they believe that President Nixon is "dangling" peace before the American people but is not yet ready to bring it about. They say they strongly suspect that the Administration is deliberately "endangering the agreement by 'deceptive delaying tactics'" and they voice concern that the chances for an early peace are disappearing. Mr. Vy, in a telephone interview yesterday, noted that Secretary of State William P. Rogers was not coming to Paris and that the North Vietnamese had heard nothing directly from Mr. Kissinger since his news conference in Washington last Thursday.

Criticism of Nixon

Last Friday in Paris, discussing the negotiations, Mr. Vy declared that by Oct. 20 the nine provisions for ending the fighting in Vietnam had been "completely agreed to" by the United States. He said that Mr. Kissinger had declared at an early negotiating session that he was empowered to speak for Saigon and that under no circumstances would President Thieu have a "veto" over the settlement.

The "six or seven remaining questions" raised by Mr. Kissinger at his news conference Thursday were neither "technical" nor "linguistic" but involve basic matters of substance already agreed upon, according to the North Vietnamese diplomat.

Suspicion is mounting among the North Vietnamese diplomats with whom I talked that President Nixon has taken advantage of their desire for a settlement to deceive them. "Nixon has already accepted the agreement," Mr. Vy said. "Why won't he sign it?"

The North Vietnamese, who point to a long "record of betrayal" in negotiations with the United States and Saigon, charge that the President is attempting to extract new concessions by forcing a renegotiation of an agreement that already includes major Communist concessions.

"We can do nothing more," Mrs. Binh told me. "If the signing is delayed, it all begins again."

The North Vietnamese say they suspect that Mr. Nixon is engaged in an "election trick" to make the American people believe that peace is at hand. They suggest that with the pressure of public opinion off a re-elected Mr. Nixon would use further delaying tactics to toughen the terms of the settlement.

"It would have been a good day today if the agreement had been kept," Mr. Vy declared.

"If the bombing had stopped on the original agreed date, substantial numbers of American prisoners of war would already be home," he said.

"Both sides have made concessions to arrive at this agreement," Mr. Vy emphasized. "It is now slipping away and this must not be allowed to happen."