

See also Jonathan C. Randal, Washington Post, same date.

# Rancor by All Four Sides Marks Paris Peace Talks

NYTimes By FLORA LEWIS NOV 3 1972  
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PARIS, Nov. 2—The four delegations to the Paris talks on Vietnam engaged in recriminations today that reflected strains in both the American and Communist alliances as well as the continuing dispute over the cease-fire draft agreement between the United States and North Vietnam.

It was a day of press conferences and jostling propaganda advantage, with no visible advance toward peace.

The North Vietnamese spokesman, Nguyen Thanh Le, made it clear that no date has been fixed for the final session of three or four days that Henry A. Kissinger has requested to complete his agreement with North Vietnam's negotiator, Le Duc Tho.

## The Still in Hanoi

Mr. Tho is still in Hanoi, the spokesman said, and the head of the delegation, Xuan Thuy, who sent his deputy to the conference at the former Hotel Majestic today, "is tired." The spokesman avoided a question, seeking to confirm that a formal request from Mr. Kissinger, President Nixon's national security adviser, for another meeting had been received by North Vietnam.

Although pressed with repeated questions, Mr. Le took care to say whether Hanoi would consider one more negotiating round with Mr. Kissinger. He invariably answered by insisting that the United States "must honor its engagements," that "everything is ready" and that the agreement "can be signed in minutes."

The chief United States negotiator William J. Porter, however, took a rare tone of evenhandedness and conciliation, speaking of "sacrifices made for a cause which each side held, with equal passion, to be just."

## Problems of Substance

"The few remaining problems of substance—and these do exist, as you know," Mr. Porter said, "should not be dismissed as pretexts for delay. Misunderstandings on serious points, if they exist, must be faced frankly and dealt with."

The North Vietnamese seized immediately on the difference between Mr. Porter's mention of "substance" and "serious points," and Mr. Kissinger's reference at a conference to "six or seven minor or technical points" outstanding.

Mr. Le called this "an escalation of difficulties." Along with what he said was United States intensification of the war and stepped up deliveries of military supplies to Saigon from the United States strategic reserve, this represented what he called a "dishonest maneuver by the U.S."

To reinforce the claim that only "the Nixon Administration's duplicity is prolonging the war," the Vietcong spokesman noted that 22 United States soldiers had been killed yesterday in the Mekong Delta when their helicopter was shot down.

"This unhappy event would not have happened if Nixon wasn't the 'Tricky Dick' one knows," the spokesman said. Nothing that was said gave any clear sign of the reasons underlying the delay in ending the war. There were many suggestions, none of them definitely pinpointed as the cause for Washington's marking time and Hanoi's reluctance to grant the meeting that might speed a cease-fire.

One was that haste and intense secrecy, which excluded the huge reservoir of American experts from working on negotiations, produced a document that Washington, on rereading, found too full of loopholes.

Experts Could Go to Work Now that the secrecy is at least partly lifted, American experts on Indochina can examine the fine print. An indication of what some considered a serious oversight in the negotiations came with the bitter South Vietnamese complaint that the document made no mention of the demilitarized zone and spoke of the "three countries of Indochina."

That would imply Cambodia, Laos and one Vietnam, without any formal recognition of Border between North and South.

The United States has long maintained that the zone represents a frontier and that North Vietnamese troops committed "international aggression" in crossing it.

However, the 1954 Geneva accords, which ended the French Indochina war, provide that the line is only for "military demarcation" pending elections that were never held, and was not to become a "political frontier."

The South Vietnamese Government considers it essential now to have a reference to the zone as the boundary between north and south. The record

makes it unlikely that the United States would disagree with Saigon on this point.

## Indications of Conflict

On other points, however, there were clear indications of conflicts between the American and South Vietnamese positions.

South Vietnam's spokesman, Nguyen Trien Dan, repeated several times that "peace is at the end of the road," after a whole new round of negotiations by the Vietnamese themselves.

Two "major, substantive" requirements before any cease-

fire can be signed, the spokesman said, are guarantees for the total withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from the south and provision for national elections before the Vietcong is conceded any political power, even in areas under its military control.

"We find it contrary to the most elementary rules of democracy to set up arbitrarily and impose on the South Vietnamese population any form or structure of power, whether it is provisional or definitive," Saigon's delegate, Nguyen Xuan Phung, said.

## Kissinger Statement Recalled

Mr. Kissinger has said that the United States wanted only to change the language of the agreement's reference to a three-part National Council of Reconciliation and Concord, which is to group the Vietcong, the Saigon regime and neutralists.

He said that the English version of the text calls it an "administrative structure," while the phrase in Vietnamese can mean a "structure of power." The United States wants it made clearer, by changing this phrase, that the council is not to be considered a government.

On the North Vietnamese troops, spokesmen mentioned Washington reports that the United States would seek an understanding for withdrawal of 35,000 in the area just south of the demilitarized zone.

The North Vietnamese said this was a "pretext" to prolong the war. "We have never stopped rejecting this erroneous argument about the so-called North Vietnamese forces," the spokesman said. Hanoi still does not admit that it has troops outside of North Vietnam, although it did withdraw substantial forces as a tacit element of the 1968 bombing-halt agreement.

## Saigon Is Adamant

The South Vietnamese spokesman, however, repeated Saigon's position that any agreement failing to require withdrawal of all North Vietnamese forces was "unacceptable."

Washington's position on the

35,000 in the northern tip of South Vietnam was perplexing to observers here. It is likely that Hanoi would want to pull them back in any case, should there be an effective cease-fire, since they are much harder to supply and maintain south of the zone.

Further, while they are main battle units, which would be important if war broke out again after a cease-fire, they are the least important forces in the south in terms of the political struggle that would come with a cease-fire.

The first stage of struggle after a cease-fire presumably would be an effort by Saigon and Vietcong forces to demonstrate how much territory they actually control. For that purpose, forces in the Makong Delta and in the Third Military Region, which includes Saigon would be far more crucial to the Vietcong.

## Speculation on U.S. View

This situation led to speculation here that Washington's emphasis on 35,000 North Vietnamese in the north was primarily an effort to placate President Nguyen Van Thieu with a compromise that Hanoi might not find it too hard to accept, so long as it need not be publicly admitted.

Tonight there was evidence that Mr. Thieu had sent a personal representative to Paris to meet with the North Vietnamese here. It was not known whether the North Vietnamese had agreed to receive the envoy, nor the message he was bringing.

The terms of the cease-fire have also put strains on the Communist alliance. The Vietcong's chief delegate, Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, made a point of repeating the demand for the resignation of Mr. Thieu today, although Hanoi has abandoned that demand in the draft agreement with the United States.

The Vietcong's presentation was far more shrill than Hanoi's, and their spokesman, Ly Van Sau, appeared unusually edgy and tense. He did not deny dissatisfaction with the terms Hanoi had accepted, but said "it shows we have made a maximum effort of goodwill and put first the interests of peace."