

Kissinger Likens It to Peking Visit

# Hanoi Trip Aimed at Dialogue

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Henry A. Kissinger said last night that his trip to Hanoi next week is aimed at opening a new phase in U.S.-North Vietnamese relations moving the two countries from hostilities to normalization.

The presidential adviser likened his mission to his first trip to Peking. "The basic purpose," he said, "is to establish a new relationship . . . to establish some sort of dialogue . . . to exchange ideas."

Kissinger made his remarks during an hour-long televised

interview with Marvin Kalb, diplomatic correspondent for CBS (WTOP). It was the first time the chief negotiator of the Vietnam peace agreements has appeared in this type of television interview.

Kissinger said there had been armistices in Vietnam before but never a "genuine peace." His trip, he said, would be an "exploratory mission to determine how to move from hostilities to normalization." Diplomatic relations, he said, were still far down the road.

He sought to separate that process from discussion of aid to Hanoi, which he said he would "discuss in principle" during his visit. But he emphasized that while the United States was ready to participate in the reconstruction of North Vietnam, that was a matter to be discussed in the context of peace. He reiterated that aid was not part of the negotiations to end the war. In other words, funds would take the form of aid, not reparations.

Kissinger said the 12-day resumption of the bombing in

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December was undertaken when the United States came to the conclusion that "the negotiations as then being conducted were not serious." He said: "The decision to resume the bombing in the middle of December was perhaps the most painful, the most difficult and the most lonely the President has had to make." His words underscored that the choice was the President's own.

He said that North Vietnam had come to the conclusion that protracting the negotiations was in its interest, that each time one solution was found three more problems arose. The more difficult North Vietnam became, he said, the more rigid Saigon grew. "We were going to get caught between the two Vietnamese parties," he said. "Therefore it was decided to bring home to both Vietnamese parties that the continuation of the war had its price."

Kissinger emphasized that the United States dispatched Gen. Alexander M. Haig Jr. to Saigon at the time of the bombing. His mission, Kissinger said, was to make clear to South Vietnam that the bombing did not mean "we would fail to settle on terms we had defined as reasonable."

In another interview broadcast on CBS last night, South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu told Kalb that South Vietnam would seek a return of U.S. airpower, but not U.S. ground troops, if the agreement did not bring "peace with honor."

Kissinger, when asked about this, conceded that it was "legally correct" that the United States would have that right. "But it would be extremely unwise" he said, "for an American official, when peace is in the process of being established, to give a checklist of what the United States will or will not do."

He added "We did not end this war to look for an excuse to reenter." Kissinger said that as far as the United States can tell, North Vietnam is not in a position to launch an overwhelming attack on South Vietnam. Saigon, he

said, could handle on its own anything that might be anticipated.

The United States, he said, has reason to believe that a formal cease-fire would be forthcoming shortly in Laos. Cambodia, he said, has had a de facto cease-fire since Monday and both sides are living up to it.

Peace in Vietnam, he said, would depend on the action not only of the Vietnamese but of the major powers. He said he expected the Soviet Union and China would act responsibly.

Kissinger appeared tense and stiff during most of the interview, showing only glimpses of the humor with which he enlivens his confrontations with the Washington press corps.

He said that the opening of relations with China and the conclusion of a series of agreements with the Soviet Union had helped put Vietnam into perspective "as an appendage to the land mass of Asia." He said: "When Hanoi realized foreign policy could not be blocked forever and when we realized there was more to Asia than Vietnam we could conduct negotiations in a different framework."

As one of the few men in the nation who has held lengthy discussions with world's major Communist leaders, Kissinger gave some assessments.

• Chou En-lai, the Chinese premier, he said, is a first-generation Communist leader, "a more missionary . . . more prophetic type . . . more of an intellectual . . . very subtle."

• Leonid I. Brezhnev had been borne up through the bureaucracy of a more complex system. He is a "more elemental, a more physical person."

• Le Duc Tho, the Hanoi Politburo member who has been Kissinger's opposite number in the negotiations, was a man who had "never known tranquility." He said: "Where we fight to end a war he fights to win goals he's fought for all his life . . . He could be maddening when he didn't want to settle . . . when he did want to settle he was most effective."