TELCON

Mr. Kissinger/President 11/18/72 12:18 p.m.

RN: Henry, you ought to inform Bunker that I have directed that we

go ahead so that Bunker knows we are taking a hardline on this thing.

HK: Absolutely.

RN: And inform him so that Thieu knows that there is no fooling around here

and that this bargaining is -- the time is over -- the fellow has got to be out of his mind after the letter that I wrote -- if after that we don't get

anything why it may be one of those breaking of relations.

HK: He wants to send an emissary to see you personally too.

RN: Is that what they said?

HK: Yeh.

RN: No.

HK: They cant' do that while we are negotiating in Paris--

N: No, no, no. Not going to be any emissary--Anything they have to say

--Is to be transmitted through Bunker --that's the way it is to be done.

HK: Right.

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RN: And that we've had enough emissaries and that sort of thing--so we'll

just ready to--we have any--I just think that Bunker has to get to him a message from me to the effect that we are going ahead and and as pointed out in my letter we're going to negotiate as hard as we can for the best position we can and that we're on this course and that he must realize that we will not be subjected to harrassment on

this thing.

RN:

HK: Right. I think that essential to the negotiations/--there are to be no

ultimatums to be come from them under any circumstances.

HK: Now I have the substance it just came in and again the trouble with them is every draft we give back to them already incorporates

70% of their changes. This has now been going on for three weeks. Now they sent us another batch of changes. I would say again we could accept 50% of them but the trouble is if you accept all of these on top

of all the others we have an entirely new document, and Le Duc Tho

RN: No, no no--just say that the document that we already have is the basic framework. And that's that. And we're going to do the

best we can, and he's to know that that's the situation.

HK: After Haig went out there--we already incorporated all the changes they made to me when I was there. Since then we have made two more revisions.--Based on comments they gave to him and comments they sent us afterwards. Now they have given us yet another 10 pages of comments. And the end result of that is to kill the agree-

ment.

RN: How does it kill it?

HK: Because they are changing everything--for example, wherever they talk about the U.S., they say the US will draw its forces, they want

to say the North Vietnamese will withdraw --

RN: No, no, withdrawal has to be handled on the basis that we already

suggested.

HK: And so they keep putting in needles--there is a phrase which says

U.S. forces and those allied to the U.S. --

RN: We rigged the deal so Bunker can handle this--we don't need to

send an emissary--I don't mean Haig--but

HK: I think we should wait until we see what we get--if Hanoi kicks us in the teeth then we don't have a problem, but if Hanoi accepts the changes

we are bringing then an already good agreement becomes excellent

and then we might consider sending somebody.

RN: Yeh, all right, but be sure Bunker tells them we are going forward and the document is --that we already have will be the basis for it?

we'll do the best we can, but the negotiation involves give and take

on both sides.

HK: Incidentally, I talked to Peterson this morning and I think he will almost

certainly accept it.

RN: Ah--you do huh? It's the best thing--it's a better job for him.

HK: It is a better job for him-his talent is really in foreign policy--

RN: Right and it'll get him a chance to move--in commerce, he'll simply

be a second man to Shultz and all the others.

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HK: That's right. And I told him he would have access to the

White House.

RN: Right.

HK: Which is what you apparently had already discussed with him.

RN: Right. Okay.

HK: Okay.

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