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INFO OCT-01 /001 R

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APPROVED BY P: JJSISCO

S/S-D: P. JOHNSON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO FLASH

~~SECRET~~ STATE 259363

NODIS

TOSEC 403

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFDR, UN

SUBJECT: UNDOF RENEWAL

FOR SECRETARY FROM SISCO

I. AS YOU KNOW WALDHEIM LEFT SUNDAY MORNING FOR THE MIDDLE EAST. WE NOW HAVE ASAD AGREEMENT TO DROP THE REFERENCE TO 344. AS SOON AS YOU GIVE ME THE GO AHEAD I WILL WANT TO LET DINITZ KNOW AND TO INFORM HIM THAT AS FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED THERE IS NOW AGREEMENT ON THE RESOLUTION AND THAT WE DO NOT INTEND TO SEEK ANY FURTHER CHANGES ON THEIR BEHALF. I WILL MAKE CLEAR THAT ASAD HAS GIVEN IN ON TWO MAJOR POINTS WHICH THE ISRAELIS INSISTED UPON: THE CHANGE IN THE SECOND PREAMBULATORY PARAGRAPH AND HIS WILLINGNESS NOT TO INSIST ON A REFERENCE TO 344. I WILL ALSO AGAIN TELL DINITZ, AS I HAVE BEFORE, THAT THE OTHER REMAINING SUGGESTION ON SUBSTITUTING THE WORD "MANDATE" FOR THE WORD "PERIOD" IN THE SECOND OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH HAS NOT BE PUT TO THE SYRIANS BY US BEING ONLY MARGINAL AND HAVING NO PRACTICAL EFFECT AND WE DO NOT INTEND TO PRESS IT. I DO NOT EXPECT ANY REAL DIFFICULTIES ON THIS POINT.

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2. IT WOULD ALSO BE DESIRABLE FOR ME TO GET WORD TO WALDHEIM THROUGH HIS ASSISTANT URCHART TELLING HIM THAT THE ONE REMAINING PRINCIPAL HURDLE HAS BEEN BROKEN. IN THIS WAY WALDHEIM WILL BE IN A POSITION TO STAY OUT OF

ANY NEGOTIATIONS ON THE RESOLUTION AND WE AVOID THE RISK OF HIS COMPLICATING MATTERS. PLEASE ADVISE.
INGERSOLL

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TELEGRAM

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APPROVED BY NEALATHERTON
S/S - MR. MOFFAT

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TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~ STATE 263035

NODIR
TOSEC 621

R.O. 116521 XGDS-2

TAGS:OVIOP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT:US - PRO COMMUNIQUE

REF: SECTO 271

1. MESSAGE IN REFTEL PASSED TO INDIAN CHARGE AND
PAKISTANI AMBASSADOR BY AHERTON IN ACCORDANCE WITH
REFTPL INSTRUCTIONS.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 *State Review*
STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES *TD 9/23/02* ~~SECRET~~
BY *42* NARA, DATE *1/27/03*





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~~PAGE 01 STATE 263042~~

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INFO OCT-01 /001 R

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APPROVED BY P - JOSEPH J. SIRCO
EUR - FR. HARTMAN
S/S - JPMORAY

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TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO FLASH

~~SECRET~~ STATE 263042

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E.O. 11652: R00
TAGS: PFOR, CR, TU, CY
SUBJECT: RE SUGGESTED TELEGRAM TO ATHENS

REF: A. STATE 262398 (TOSEC 578); R. SECTO 262

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM STSCD.

1. WE ARE PREPARING REDRAFT OF PARL TO ATHENS PER YOUR INSTRUCTIONS IN SECTO 262. SUGGEST, HOWEVER, THAT IF WE ARE TO SUBSTITUTE THE TERM "MULTIREGIONAL BASIS" FOR "GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS" KUBTSCH SHOULD IN HIS PRESENTATION TO HITSIOS MAKE IT CLEAR THAT "MULTIREGIONAL" WOULD NOT PRECLUDE DISCUSSION OF A BI-ZONAL SYSTEM. THIS UNDERSTANDING WILL BE NECESSARY IF WE ARE LATER TO OB ATN TURKISH AGREEMENT TO THAT FORMULATION.

2. SUGGESTED FOR YOUR APPROVAL IS FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH OF INSTRUCTIONS TO KUBTSCH TO BE SUBSTITUTED FOR PARAGRAPH 3 OF STATE REFTEL (TOSEC 578).

BEGIN TEXT: IN ORAL MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY TO HITSIOS

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PAGE 02 STATE 263042

BELOW, WE ARE PROPOSING GREEK CONSIDERATION OF A TEXT BASED ON OUR NOVEMBER 4 PROPOSAL, WITH THE TERM "MULTI-REGIONAL BASIS" SUBSTITUTED IN FIRST PRINCIPLE FOR PREVIOUS TERM "GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS". THIS TEXT ALSO HAS MINOR CHANGES IN PARAGRAPHS 4 AND 5 (BUT NOT MAJOR ONE IN PARAGRAPH 3) TO ACCOMMODATE TURKISH POSITION OF NOVEMBER 5. IN YOUR PRESENTATION TO BITSTOS YOU SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR TO HIM THAT SUGGESTED USE OF TERM "MULTI-REGIONAL" WAS TO ACCOMMODATE HIS OBJECTION TO THE APPARENTLY EMOTION LADEN TERM "GEOGRAPHICAL". WE WOULD WANT IT UNDERSTOOD, HOWEVER, THAT IN OUR VIEW THE TERM "MULTIREGIONAL BASIS" WOULD INCLUDE POSSIBILITY OF DISCUSSING THE OUTCOME DESIRED BY THE TURKS (BT-70NAI) AS WELL AS THE CANTONAL SYSTEM FAVORED BY MAKARIOS. YOU SHOULD ALSO EMPHASIZE TO BITSIOS THAT THIS TEXT DOES NOT REPRESENT A FORMULATION PREFERRED BY USG BUT IS RATHER AN ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY THE DIFFERENCES OF THE TWO PARTIES SO AS TO FIND A TEXT ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH. WE WOULD HOPE TO HAVE GREEK REACTION TO THIS TEXT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. END TEXT. INGERSOLL

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 8675
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CONTROL: 8752Q

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 STATE 263209/1

NODIS
TOSEC 633

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S UPCOMING SCHEDULE

FOR BREMER FROM EAGLEBURGER AND ROTHE

MONDAY, DECEMBER 2

7:45 BREAKFAST - DEPT.
8:00 PRINCIPALS/REGIONAL ASSISTANT SECRETARIES
9:00 THE PRESIDENT
9:30 PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY BRIEF THE NSC
11:00 BARBER
1:00 LUNCHEON WITH MR. SEIDMAN - 8TH FLR.
3:00 MESSRS. SISCO, DEAN BROWN AND TOON RE:CIA
4:00 PERSONAL TIME
5:00 AMBASSADOR DAVID NEWSOM (10 MIN.)
6:00 MR. ISAAC STERN (DRINKS)
7:30 COCKTAILS WITH MRS. HART AND MR. VAN DER BEUGEL
-- AT THE RESIDENCE - WITH MRS. KISSINGER
-- DINNER TO FOLLOW - TIME AND PLACE TO BE DETERMINED
-- MONDAY MORNING.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 3

7:45 BREAKFAST - DEPT.
8:00 PRINCIPALS/REGIONAL ASSISTANT SECRETARIES
9:00 THE PRESIDENT
10:30 SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE - CAPITOL
1:00 LUNCHEON WITH DAVID LANDES ET AL - 8TH FLR.
3:00 NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ARAB AMERICANS (SHADYAC)
4:00 CONGRESSMAN FRASER

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TELEGRAM

-2- STATE 263209, 29 NOV'74

5:00 AMBASSADOR SHEN OF CHINA
6:00 FRANCISCO SA CANEIRO, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF
-- THE CENTER-LEFT POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF
-- PORTUGAL

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4

7:45 BREAKFAST WITH GEORGE SHULTZ - 8TH FLR.
9:00 PRESIDENT (PREPARATION FOR TRUDEAU VISIT)
10:30 SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE - CAPITOL
1:00 LUNCHEON WITH MR. SCOTTY RESTON - 8TH FLR.
3:00 PRIME MINISTER TRUDEA OF CANADA/THE PRESIDENT
5:00 PERSONAL TIME
6:00 FOREIGN MINISTER RABASA OF MEXICO (DRINKS)
7:30 STAG DINNER BY THE PRESIDENT FOR PRIME MINISTER
-- BY THE PRESIDENT - WH - BLACK TIE

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5

7:45 BREAKFAST - DEPT.
8:00 PRINCIPALS/REGIONAL ASSISTANT SECRETARIES
9:00 THE PRESIDENT
10:30 WELCOMING CEREMONY FOR CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT-WH
-- FOLLOWED BY MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT AND
-- CHANCELLOR
1:00 HOST WORKING LUNCHEON FOR CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT -
-- 8TH FLR.
3:00 MR. MC GEORGE BUNDY ET AL.
5:00 PFIAB MEETING - WH
8:00 WH DINNER FOR CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT- BLACK TIE
-- WITH MRS. KISSINGER

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6

7:45 BREAKFAST WITH MR. HERB SCHLOSSER - 8TH FLR.
9:00 THE PRESIDENT
10:00 FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER - PRIVATE MEETING -WH
11:00 CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT/THE PRESIDENT - WH
12:30 LUNCHEON BY FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER FOR
-- THE SECRETARY - GERMAN RESIDENCE
2:30 RESTRICTED MEETING WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT
-- BLAIR HOUSE
4:00 SIR CHRISTOPHER SOAMES
5:00 PERSONAL TIME
6:30 DRINKS WITH MR. AND MRS. ABBA EBAN (SECRETARY
-- AND MRS. KISSINGER) (TENTATIVELY SET)

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TELEGRAM

-3- STATE 263209, 29 NOV'74

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7

8:00 DINNER BY AMBASSADOR AND LADY RAMSBOTHAM
-- HONORING SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S BIRTH OVER
-- 100 YEARS AGO - BLACK TIE - ACCEPTED "IF IN TOWN"

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 8

-- DINNER BY AMBASSADOR DINITZ FOR FOREIGN MINISTER
-- ALLON

MONDAY, DECEMBER 9

7:45 BREAKFAST - DEPT.
8:00 PRINCIPALS AND REGIONAL ASSISTANT SECRETARIES
9:00 THE PRESIDENT
10:30 VERIFICATION PANEL - MBFR
11:30 FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON
1:00 HOST LUNCHEON FOR FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON - 8TH FLR
3:30 HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE - CAPITOL
8:00 HOST TRILATERAL COMMISSION DINNER - 8TH FLR
-- BUSINESS SUIT

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10

-- DEPART FOR BRUSSELS

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14

-- MARTINIQUE

MONDAY, DECEMBER 16

7:30 LYLE NELSONS DINNER HONORING THE FULBRIGHTS -



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TELEGRAM

-4- STATE 263209, 29 NOV'74

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TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 8676
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TOSEC 633

-- WOODROW WILSON CENTER - WITH MRS. KISSINGER

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18

-- HOST DINNER FOR GOLDA MEIR

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 19

7:30- DINNER BY SENATOR JAVITS - STAG - NYC
10:00 WHITE AND GOLD SUITE - PLAZA HOTEL

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20

-- DINNER BY HERB SCHLOSSER - NYC

NOTES:

1. LENA NOTIFIED AND ALL IS SET AT THE RESIDENCE.
2. AGENT WILLIAM MARSDEN WILL BE AT ANDREWS AFB ON YOUR ARRIVAL WITH KEN WILMER TO GO TO NATIONAL AIRPORT. THE CHILDREN ARE SCHEDULED TO DEPART ON DELTA FLIGHT 230 AT 4:50 P.M. AND ARRIVE IN BOSTON AT 5:57. AGENT MARSDEN WILL ESCORT THEM FROM THE AIRPORT IN BOSTON TO THEIR RESIDENCE. JANE SPOKE WITH MRS. COHEN THIS MORNING AND SHE IS LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING THEM.
INGERSOLL

S:JROTHE
EXT. 29630 11/29/74
S-MR. EAGLEBURGER

S/S - MR. MOFFAT

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TELEGRAM

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DRAFTED BY S/P:MEAD/PALMER
APPROVED BY S - LEAGLERBURGER
S/P:RICHARTHOLOMEN
AID:PARKER
S/S:JPMOPFAT

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TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

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NODIS
TOSEC 839

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE APPEARANCE --
THE AID BILL

FOR SECRETARY FROM ZAGLERBURGER

1. THE OSTENSIBLE REASON FOR YOUR APPEARANCE BEFORE THE
SFRC DECEMBER 4 IS THE AID BILL. AS THE COMMITTEE HAS NOW
PASSED THEIR VERSION OF THE BILL 12-0, THEY ARE MOST
INTERESTED IN A REPORT ON YOUR TRIP. HOWEVER IN VIEW OF
THE FACT THE FULL SENATE WILL CONSIDER THE BILL
DECEMBER 5 IT WOULD BE HELPFUL FOR YOU TO OPEN YOUR
TESTIMONY WITH A BRIEF REAFFIRMATION OF THE IMPORTANCE WE
ATTACH TO AID BEFORE TURNING TO THE TRIP. WE WILL HAVE A
FULL REPORT ON THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE BILL READY FOR
YOUR ARRIVAL.

2. A SUGGESTED TEXT FOR YOUR REMARKS FOLLOWS.

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TELEGRAM

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BEGIN TEXT: MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:
3. THIS SESSION WAS FIRST CALLED FOR ME TO TESTIFY ON THE
FOREIGN AID BILL. I WAS PLEASED TO LEARN THAT THIS
COMMITTEE, IN PASSING YOUR VERSION OF THE BILL BY A VOTE
OF 12-0, SHAPES THE ADMINISTRATION'S SENSE OF URGENCY
ABOUT THE NEED FOR SUCH LEGISLATION. WHILE WE DO NOT
AGREE ABOUT ALL OF ITS PROVISIONS, I AM HOPEFUL THAT BY
WORKING TOGETHER WE CAN ACHIEVE A BILL THAT MEETS OUR
MUTUAL CONCERNS.

4. BEFORE TURNING TO THE PRESIDENT'S AND MY TRIP TO
JAPAN, THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA, LET ME VERY BRIEFLY
REAFFIRM THE CENTRAL ROLE OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE IN OUR
OVERALL FOREIGN POLICY. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO
EXAGGERATE ITS IMPORTANCE FOR THE ENTIRE RANGE OF OUR
DIPLOMATIC ENDEAVORS. THE WORLD POLITICAL ORDER WILL BE
PROFOUNDLY INFLUENCED, PERHAPS FOR YEARS TO COME, BY THE
CAPACITY THIS PROGRAM PROVIDES FOR A MAJOR AMERICAN
CONTRIBUTION TO A MORE JUST, PEACEFUL AND COOPERATIVE
WORLD.

5. INTERNATIONAL HOPES FOR A BETTER FUTURE ARE CON-

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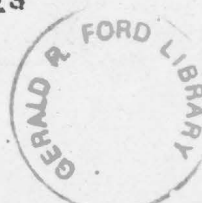
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FRONTING ENORMOUS NEW CHALLENGES. RECENT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS HAVE PLACED MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THE MOST SERIOUS DANGER. THE FOOD AND ENERGY CRISES HAVE OVERWHELMED THEIR ASPIRATIONS FOR A RICHER EXISTENCE AND REDUCED THEM TO A DESPERATE STRUGGLE FOR SURSISTENCE.

I DO NOT FOR A MOMENT MINIMIZE THE SERIOUS RESPONSIBILITY OF THE OIL PRODUCERS FOR THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS. WE HAVE CALLED ON THEM TO ASSUME THE NEW RESPONSIBILITIES WITH REGARD TO AID THAT FOLLOW FROM THEIR NEW AFFLUENCE. BUT WHATEVER THEIR RESPONSE -- AND IT HAS NOT BEEN NEGLIGIBLE -- THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD BEARS A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WELFARE OF THE POOR NATIONS WHOSE ASPIRATION WE HAVE ENDORSED AND SUPPORTED FOR A GENERATION.

6. TO SUSTAIN OUR LEVELS OF AID IS A MATTER, NOT SIMPLY OF HUMANITY, BUT OF ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST. FOR NO INTERNATIONAL ORDER CAN BE LEGITIMATE IF IT DENIES THE DEEP HOPES FOR ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT WHICH MANY DEVELOPING NATIONS HAVE RASED THEIR VERY IDENTITIES. THE RICHER NATIONS MUST REALIZE THAT WE CANNOT EXPECT A STABLE WORLD IF THE POORER NATIONS FEEL THAT THEY NO LONGER HAVE A STAKE IN OUR PEACE AND PROSPERITY. HOPES

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PAGE 05 STATE 263200

THE NEED. IT IS MEANT TO FOSTER SELF-RELIANCE, RATHER THAN DEPENDENCE, IN THE COUNTRIES WE HELP. THE SAME IS TRUE OF OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE. THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS WHOLEHEARTEDLY ACCEPTED THE GOAL THAT OUR ALLIES SHOULD BECOME MORE SELF-SUFFICIENT. BUT WE MUST REALIZE THAT A PERIOD OF TRANSITION IS NECESSARY TO BRING THIS ABOUT WITHOUT DANGER TO OUR VITAL INTERESTS, PARTICULARLY IN AREAS LIKE SOUTHEAST ASIA WHERE OUR PARTNERS ARE STILL UNDER HEAVY MILITARY PRESSURE FROM THEIR OPPONENTS.

10. OUR ASSISTANCE IS ALSO CRITICAL TO OUR ABILITY TO ACHIEVE QUITE SPECIFIC DIPLOMATIC OBJECTIVES. THIS IS PARTICULARLY THE CASE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA. OUR SUCCESS IN REALIZING THE POTENTIAL FOR PEACE OF RECENT PROGRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND OF THE PARIS PEACE ACCORDS DEPENDS TO A SUBSTANTIAL EXTENT UPON THE CONCRETE CONTRIBUTION OUR AID REPRESENTS.

11. BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF FOREIGN AID, THE ADMINISTRATION URGENTLY SUPPORTS PASSAGE OF A FOREIGN AID BILL. WE WANT A BILL RATHER THAN A CONTINUING RESOLUTION, AND WE WANT IT IN THIS SESSION. A CONTINUING RESOLUTION WOULD NOT GIVE US THE NEW LEGISLATIVE AUTHORIZATION THAT

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WE NEED TO BEGIN THE NEW ASSISTANCE PROJECTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND TO LAUNCH A GLOBAL EFFORT IN FOOD. AND EVEN DELAY IN ENACTING A BILL WOULD CAST DAMAGING DOUBT UPON HOW SERIOUSLY WE TAKE THE MOST THREATENING DANGERS FACING THE WORLD TODAY.

12. THE NEW VERSION OF S. 3394 WHICH YOUR COMMITTEE HAS NOW PRODUCED GOES VERY FAR TOWARD MEETING THE OBJECTIONS THE ADMINISTRATION HAD TO THE ORIGINAL VERSION. I HOPE AND TRUST THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO RESIST EFFORTS ON THE FLOOR TO ATTACH AMENDMENTS WHICH WOULD IMPOSE UNREASONABLE POLITICAL CONDITIONS OR WHICH WOULD REQUIRE CUTS EVEN BELOW THOSE WHICH YOU HAVE ALREADY MADE. AT A TIME WHEN MILLIONS OF MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN ARE STARVING TO DEATH AND WHEN ENTIRE REGIONS ARE THREATENED WITH NEW SOURCES OF CONFLICT A MAJOR AMERICAN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM IS MORALLY AND POLITICALLY ESSENTIAL.

13. THE ADMINISTRATION IS EAGER TO OBTAIN PASSAGE OF AN AID BILL QUICKLY. WHILE THERE ARE ELEMENTS OF BOTH THE HOUSE AND SENATE BILLS ABOUT WHICH WE ARE LESS THAN ENTHUSIASTIC, PARTICULARLY THE CUTS IN AID LEVELS SUR-

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STANTIALY BELOW THOSE REQUESTED. WE ARE ANXIOUS TO REACH
AGREEMENT WITH THE CONGRESS. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT BOTH
HOUSES CAN REACH COMPROMISES WHICH WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO
THEM, WHILE MEETING THE BASIC NEEDS FOR ASSISTANCE WHICH
WE PERCEIVE IN THE WORLD.

14. IF THERE ARE NO QUESTIONS ON THE AID BILL, I WOULD
LIKE TO TURN NOW TO THE TRIP. END TEXT. TINGERSOLL

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APPROVED BY FUR - WSTARLER
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652:GNS

TAGS: HFOR, GR, CY, TUR

SUBJECT: CARĂMANLIŞI RESPONSE TO SECRETARY'S CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS RESPONSE,
 DATED NOVEMBER 25, TO YOUR MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS
 FOLLOWING HIS ELECTORAL VICTORY. TEXT WAS DELIVERED
 NOVEMBER 29 BY GREEK EMBASSY WASHINGTON.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. SECRETARY,

I WISH TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR FRIENDLY MESSAGE ON THE
OUTCOME OF THE GENERAL ELECTIONS.

I DO AGREE WITH YOU THAT TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE IN STARTING THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS. AS YOU KNOW WE FAVOR THE NICOSIA TALKS AND I AM CERTAIN THAT THE CYPRUS GOV-

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FRNMENT SHARE THESE VIEWS.

HOWEVER, NO CORRESPONDING WILLINGNESS HAS BEEN DISPLAYED BY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT AND MR. DENKTASH HAS BEEN RELUCTANT TO EMBARK UPON SERIOUS SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS, WHILE NOT DISREGARDING TURKEY'S POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES, I CANNOT HELP FEELING THAT THESE SHOULD NOT

BE USED AS A PRETEXT FOR DOING NOTHING. THE MORE SO THAT BEHIND THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT THERE ARE OTHER FORCES WHOSE INFLUENCE CAN PROVE DECISIVE IN REACHING A REASONABLE SETTLEMENT.

THIS IS WHY I THINK THAT A MEETING WITH MR. BITSIOS AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF TURKEY IN MARGIN (SIC) OF THE NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING IN BRUSSELS, CANNOT SERVE AS SUBSTITUTE FOR YOUR INTENDED TRIP TO ANKARA.

AS REGARDS THE BEST APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM, I STILL THINK THAT THE TIME IS RIFE TO CLARIFY THE WHOLE GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP AND NOT MERELY THE CYPRUS ISSUE. OTHERWISE THE AREA WILL REMAIN A HOTBED OF TENSION AND A SOURCE OF WEAKNESS FOR THE WESTERN WORLD.

WITH KIND REGARDS, CONSTANTINE G. CARAMANLIS END
TEXT INGERSOLL

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APPROVED BY S - MR. EAGLEBURGER
S/S - MR. MOFFAT

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

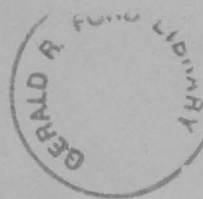
SUBJECT: KARNOW ARTICLE
REFERENCE: SECTO 212
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EAGLEBURGER

1. MCCLOSKEY TALKED TO KARNOW TODAY (BOB KNOWS HIM; I DO NOT) GIVING HIM THE SUBSTANCE OF REFTTEL. KARNOW LISTENED, THEN ASKED WHY THEN WOULD THEY STAY UP UNTIL FIVE O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING IF NEITHER SECRETARY NOR PRESIDENT "DEVIATED ONE TOTA" FROM LANGUAGE WHICH HAD BEEN WORKED OUT IN ADVANCE. MCCLOSKEY EMPHASIZED KARNOW SHOULD QUESTION HIS SOURCE(S) CLOSELY IN LIGHT OF THE FLAT STATEMENT BY YOU REFERRED TO ABOVE.

2. KARNOW KNEW CONFIDENTLY AND PERSONALLY THAT YOU AND CHIAO KUAN-HUA IN FACT WORKED UNTIL 5:00 A.M. ONE MORNING ON THE COMMUNIQUE. HE IS NOT ALL THAT CONFIDENT THAT THE REASON HE GIVES IN HIS ARTICLE WAS IN FACT THE CAUSE FOR THE LONG SESSION. INGERSOLL

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APPROVED BY S: MR. EAGLEBURGER
S/S :JPMOFFAT

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TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS) TOSEC 644

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH RABASA

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EAGLEBURGER

1. THE MEXICAN AMBASSADOR HAS JUST CALLED ME TO SAY THAT RABASA WOULD PREFER TO MEET WITH YOU ON WEDNESDAY IN CIRCUMSTANCES THAT WOULD NOT MAKE IT NECESSARY FOR HIM TO TALK WITH THE PRESS. RABASA IS CONCERNED, GIVEN THE RECENT MEXICAN BREAK IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH CHILE, THAT HE WOULD BE DRIVEN BY THE PRESS TO SAY THINGS WHICH WOULD MAKE LIFE MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE U.S. WITH CHILE. THUS RABASA WONDERS IF IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO JOIN HIM AT THE MEXICAN EMBASSY RESIDENCE FOR LUNCH OR DINNER; IF NEITHER OF THOSE ARE POSSIBLE, COULD YOU PERHAPS COME BY FOR DRINKS. I EXPLAINED TO THE MEXICAN AMBASSADOR THAT YOU WERE TIED UP FOR BOTH LUNCH AND DINNER BUT PROMISED TO PUT RABASA'S CONCERN TO YOU TO SEE WHAT IF ANYTHING YOU WANTED TO DO ABOUT IT.

2. I MUST CONFESS THAT ON ITS FACE I DON'T FIND VERY MUCH

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MERIT IN THE RABASA CONCERN SINCE WE CAN BRING RABASA
IN THROUGH THE BASEMENT IF HE WANTS TO AVOID THE PRESS. ON

THE OTHER HAND HE APPARENTLY IS CONCERNED THAT HE CAUSE
US NO EMBARRASSMENT. THUS YOU MAY WANT TO CONSIDER HAVING
DRINKS WITH RABASA AT THE EMBASSY RESIDENCE AT 6:00 P.M.,
RATHER THAN HAVING HIM CALL ON YOU HERE IN THE OFFICE. I
TOLD THE MEXICAN AMBASSADOR I WOULD TRY TO HAVE AN ANSWER
FOR HIM TOMORROW OR MONDAY. ANY THOUGHTS? INGERSOLL

NOTE BY ANALYST: CCO PASS COPY TO OFF-LINE FOR PROCESSING.

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APPROVED BY CEMR. SONNENFELDT
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S/S:JPMOFFAT

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TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

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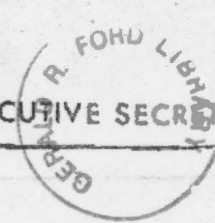
F.O. 116521 GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO
SUBJECT: NATOMIN: YOUR BRIEFING OF THE ALLIES ON
VLADIVOSTOK AND DETENTE

FROM HARTMAN AND SONNENFELDT

1. TO FACILITATE ORGANIZATION OF NATO MINISTERIAL MEET-
ING, WE RECOMMEND THAT WE LET LUNS KNOW AS SOON AS
POSSIBLE THE POINT IN THE NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING WHERE
YOU WISH TO BRIEF ON THE RESULTS OF VLADIVOSTOK. THE
CHOICE LIES BETWEEN (A) THE RESTRICTED SESSION AT THE BE-
GINNING OF THE FIRST DAY OF THE MEETING; OR (B)
LATER THAT DAY IN THE REGULAR SESSION UNDER THE FORMAL
AGENDA ITEM ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THE ADVANTAGE OF
SPEAKING TO THESE ISSUES IN THE RESTRICTED SESSION IS
THAT THERE WILL BE FEWER PRESENT (ABOUT 50). ON THE
OTHER HAND, ADDRESSING EAST-WEST ISSUES IN DETAIL AT
THE RESTRICTED SESSION WILL DETRACT FROM OUR OBJECTIVE
OF FOCUSING THE ATTENTION OF MINISTERS ON THE ECONOMIC
AND ENERGY CRISIS, ESPECIALLY IF SAUVAGNARGUES AND
GENSCHER ALSO COMMENT IN THE RESTRICTED SESSION ON THE FRG

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AND FRENCH SUMMIT MEETINGS WITH THE SOVIETS.

2. WE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT YOU BRIEF ON VLADIVOSTOK IN THE REGULAR SESSION, NOT ONLY TO LEAVE MORE TIME IN THE RESTRICTED SESSION FOR DISCUSSION OF FINANCIAL AND ENERGY ISSUES, BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT WOULD BE A LOGICAL STARTING POINT FOR MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION OF THAT YOU AUTHORIZE US TO SEND THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO OUR NATO MISSION:

BEGIN TEXT: YOU SHOULD INFORM SYG LUNS THAT SECRETARY WOULD BE PREPARED, IF LUNS AGREES, TO OPEN MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION IN REGULAR NAC SESSION OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS BY BRIEFING ALLIES ON RESULTS OF VLADIVOSTOK SUMMIT. WE WOULD EXPECT THEREAFTER THAT SAUVAGNARGUES WOULD TALK ABOUT BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO PARIS, AND THAT SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS COULD THEN MOVE INTO EXCHANGES ON SALT, CSCE, MBFR, AND OTHER DETENTE ISSUES. PLEASE ADVISE SOONEST IF LUNS AGREES WITH THIS ARRANGEMENT, WHICH WE BELIEVE WOULD ACCORD WITH MAJORITY ALLIED DESIRE TO DISCUSS EAST-WEST ISSUES IN REGULAR NAC SESSION, AND WOULD LEAVE MORE TIME FOR DISCUSSION IN RESTRICTED SESSION OF IMPLICATION FOR ALLIANCE OF CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATION. END TEXT.

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TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

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TOSEC 652

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: NATO SCHEDULING: ATTENDANCE OF CYPRIOT REPRESENTATIVE

REF: PEKING 2173 (SECTO 245)

FROM SISCO AND HARTMAN

1. WE SEE A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS REGARDING AN INVITATION TO A CYPRIOT REPRESENTATIVE TO COME TO BRUSSELS (PARA B REFTEL) WHICH YOU MAY WISH TO CONSIDER.

2. SINCE THE MEETINGS IN BRUSSELS ARE WITHIN THE NATO FRAMEWORK, THE SAME RESERVATIONS WOULD SEEM TO APPLY TO AN INVITATION TO A CYPRIOT REPRESENTATIVE AS TO AN INVITATION TO IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER FITZGERALD. MOREOVER, IT IS ENTIRELY POSSIBLE THAT THE CYPRIOTS (PARTICULARLY MAKARIOS) WOULD DECLINE TO SEND A REPRESENTATIVE TO BRUSSELS WHILE A NATO MINISTERIAL WAS IN PROGRESS.

3. IT WOULD ALSO BE DIFFICULT AT THIS POINT TO KNOW

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EXACTLY WHOM TO INVITE. BY DECEMBER 11, MAKARIOS WILL PROBABLY BE BACK ON THE ISLAND, AND THUS CLERIDES!

POSITION MAY BE SUBSTANTIALLY ALTERED. IN THE UNLIKELY EVENT MAKARIOS AGREED TO SEND A REPRESENTATIVE (WHOM HE MIGHT ENDEAVOR TO DESIGNATE THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS) THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY INSIST ON A REPRESENTATIVE AS WELL.

4. YOUR DISCUSSIONS IN BRUSSELS WILL FOCUS LARGELY ON ATTEMPTING TO WORK OUT "PRINCIPLES" AND "GESTURES" WITH THE GREEK AND TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTERS. ON THESE, AT LEAST IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, THE CYPRIOTS WOULD NOT BE INVOLVED AND THE GREEKS AND TURKS MIGHT WELL PREFER NOT TO HAVE REPRESENTATIVE OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COMMUNITIES PRESENT IN BRUSSELS.

5. YOU MAY WISH TO CONSIDER THE ABOVE FACTORS IN MAKING A DECISION. IF YOU STILL DESIRE THAT ONE OR MORE CYPRIOT REPRESENTATIVES SHOULD COME TO BRUSSELS, WE WOULD PROPOSE THAT YOU AUTHORIZE US TO INSTRUCT KUBISCH AND MACOMBER TO DISCUSS THE MATTER WITH GOG AND GOT. IF THESE GOVERNMENTS HAVE NO PROBLEM, WE WOULD THEN INSTRUCT CRAWFORD TO RAISE WITH CLERIDES AND DENKTASH. INGERSOLL

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TOPSEC 653

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:OV (HAIG, GEN. ALEXANDER), CY, TU

SUBJECT: BRIEFING ON CYPRUS FOR GENERAL HAIG'S VISIT TO
TURKEY

FROM SISCO

1. GENERAL HAIG WILL BE VISITING ANKARA DECEMBER 5-7 IN HIS CAPACITY AS USCINCEUR AND WILL CALL ON SENIOR TURKISH MILITARY COMMANDERS. WE BELIEVE THIS COULD OFFER AN OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF TURKISH MILITARY LEADERSHIP SERIOUSNESS OF PROBLEM WE ARE FACING IN CONGRESS RE US MILITARY ASSISTANCE. WE RECOMMEND THAT YOU SEND A MESSAGE TO GENERAL HAIG ALONG LINE SUGGESTED BELOW WHICH IS CONSISTENT WITH YOUR MESSAGES EARLIER THIS MONTH TO ECEVIT AND PRESIDENT KORUTURK. YOU MIGHT WISH TO TRANSMIT THIS TO HAIG THROUGH SCOWCROFT.

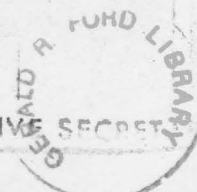
2. MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY TO GENERAL HAIG.

BEGIN TEXT: YOU ARE AWARE OF INTENSIVE EFFORTS WE MADE WITH CONGRESS PRIOR TO ITS PRE-ELECTION RECESS TO PREVENT RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION ON AID TO TURKEY. I HAD EXPECTED THAT DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN MID-OCTOBER AND DECEMBER 10

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(WHEN BY PRESIDENTIAL CERTIFICATION RESTRICTIVE FEATURES OF CRA WERE SUSPENDED) WE WOULD HAVE BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN UNILATERAL TURKISH GESTURES WHICH WOULD PROVIDE VISIBLE SIGNS OF PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND WOULD PERMIT US TO CONTINUE AID TO TURKEY WITHOUT FURTHER LEGISLATIVE

RESTRICTIONS. CONTINUING STALEMATE IN RESOLUTION OF TURKISH GOVERNMENT CRISIS HAS BLOCKED HOPED-FOR PROGRESS AND WE ARE NOW FACING THE REAL PROSPECT THAT THOSE FORCES IN CONGRESS WHICH FORCED THROUGH CRA BILL WILL NOW SUCCEED IN FORCING THROUGH EVEN MORE RESTRICTIVE LANGUAGE IN FOREIGN AID AUTHORIZATION BILL WHICH WILL RESULT IN TERMINATION OF MILITARY AID TO TURKEY.

3. WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT YOUR VISIT TO TURKEY WILL COME AT A TIME WHEN THERE IS STILL NO EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT IN TURKEY, I WOULD NEVERTHELESS APPRECIATE YOUR MAKING FOLLOWING POINTS AS APPROPRIATE TO SENIOR TURKISH MILITARY LEADERS WITH WHOM YOU HAVE DISCUSSIONS:

A. US ADMINISTRATION, INCLUDING PRESIDENT, ENGAGED ITS FULL EFFORTS IN OCTOBER TO RESIST CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURES IN DEBATING CONTINUING RESOLUTION AUTHORIZATION TO END OR RESTRICT MILITARY SALES AND ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY. ADMINISTRATION WAS SUCCESSFUL IN PREVENTING TOTALLY RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION.

B. ADMINISTRATION IS AGAIN DETERMINED TO RESIST EFFORTS TO INTRODUCE RESTRICTIVE LANGUAGE IN FOREIGN AID AUTHORIZATION BILL. HOWEVER, IN ABSENCE OF ANY PROGRESS TOWARD A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, IT APPEARS THAT THERE WILL BE VERY STRONG PRESSURES IN CONGRESS TO ADOPT LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD REQUIRE A CUTOFF OF ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY. THESE PRESSURES MAY BECOME IMPOSSIBLE TO RESIST IN THE ABSENCE OF CLEAR FORWARD MOVEMENT ON A SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS ISSUE.

C. WE BELIEVE THEREFORE THAT IT IS IN OUR COMMON INTEREST IN ORDER TO PREVENT HARM TO OUR BASIC SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH TURKEY THAT THERE BE CLEAR SIGNS OF PROGRESS TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. ACTION BY THE

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TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO MAKE THIS PROGRESS POSSIBLE IS STILL URGENTLY REQUIRED TO SUPPORT AND PROTECT OUR COMMON FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS AND GOALS. WE BELIEVE TURKEY'S MILITARY POSITION ON CYPRUS AND IN THE AREA SHOULD PERMIT HER TO REACH COMPROMISE SOLUTION WITHOUT SACRIFICING HER BASIC SECURITY REQUIREMENTS OR THE INTERESTS OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS. END MESSAGE INGERBOLL

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C - MR. TERRELL

S/S -U: R. ELTZ

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TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

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TOSEC 655

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, XO, UK

SUBJECT: BRITISH POSITION ON ARMS LIMITATIONS INITIATIVES
IN INDIAN OCEAN

REF: TOSEC 579

1. IN COURSE OF RECEIVING MODIFICATION WHICH WE DESIRED BE MADE TO PROPOSED BRITISH STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT DECEMBER 3 ON INDIAN OCEAN (REFTEL), WILBERFORCE OF UK EMBASSY INFORMED US THAT AT OFFICIAL LEVEL, FCO IS PROPOSING THAT HMG BE PREPARED, UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, TO GIVE PUBLIC SUPPORT TO PRIME MINISTER WHITLAM'S OCTOBER 22 PARLIAMENTARY STATEMENT ON INDIAN OCEAN RESTRAINT. (TEXT REPEATED BELOW.) IDEALLY, THEY WOULD LIKE TO SEE USG ALSO GIVE PUBLIC SUPPORT TO AUSTRALIAN VIEW, BUT IN ANY CASE, BRITISH FEEL THEY WOULD AT LEAST HAVE TO IMPLY THAT THEY ARE PUTTING THIS VIEW TO USG IN COURSE OF "CONSULTATIONS." BRITISH ARE CONCERNED THAT SIMPLE STATEMENT THAT THEY WILL BE ENTERING INTO CONSULTATIONS WITH USG ON THIS SUBJECT WILL NOT BE SUFFICIENT ONCE DIEGO GARCIA DECISION IS ANNOUNCED AND WHEN REACTION

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STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES *TO 7/27/02* ~~SECRET~~

BY *HR* NARA, DATE *1/27/03*

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OF INDIANS AND OTHERS BECOME PUBLIC. MOREOVER, WHITLAM WILL BE SEEING WILSON ON DECEMBER 19 AND WILL PROBABLY WANT TO KNOW BRITISH REACTION TO HIS PROPOSAL.

2. VEST TOLD WILBERFORCE THAT WE STILL PREFERRED THAT THEY STICK TO THE LINE ON WHICH WE HAVE AGREED; BUT PROMISED THAT WE WOULD GIVE THEIR PROBLEM FULL CONSIDERATION AND HAVE MORE DEFINITIVE REPLY BY MONDAY, DECEMBER 2. WILBERFORCE SAID THAT BRITISH WILL NOT UNNECESSARILY VOLUNTEER IN PUBLIC THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE AUSTRALIAN PROPOSAL BUT COULD BE OBLIGED TO AS EARLY AS DECEMBER 3 AND MORE PROBABLY IN ANY DEFENSE DEBATE LATER IN DECEMBER OR IN CONTEXT OF WHITLAM VISIT.

3. TEXT OF WHITLAM'S ANSWER TO PARLIAMENTARY QUESTION OCTOBER 22 FOLLOWS:

"WE RECOGNISE THAT IT MAY BE DIFFICULT FOR THE USA AND USSR TO CONSIDER QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE DEPLOYMENT OF THEIR FORCES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA IN ISOLATION FROM DEPLOYMENTS AND CAPABILITIES IN OTHER AREAS AND FROM GENERAL ISSUES OF MUTUAL BALANCE AND RESTRAINT. WE WOULD RATHER EXPECT DISCUSSION OF THE INDIAN OCEAN TO FORM PART OF THE CONTINUING BILATERAL EXCHANGES ON ARMS CONTROL BETWEEN THE TWO POWERS. WE SHALL CONTINUE TO URGE THEM TO PAY PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE INDIAN OCEAN IN THESE DISCUSSIONS AND TO KEEP THE LITTORAL STATES INFORMED OF PROGRESS."

4. WE SEE NOTHING IN THIS LATEST FORMULATION OF THE AUSTRALIAN VIEW WHICH WOULD ENABLE US TO ENDORSE IT PUBLICLY AND WOULD CONTINUE TO URGE BRITISH TO RESIST PRESSURES TO SUPPORT IT. HOWEVER, IF BRITISH FELT THEY HAD TO SAY SOMETHING POSITIVE ABOUT IT, WE COULD URGE THAT THEY FORMULATE THEIR STATEMENT IN SUCH A WAY AS TO CONVEY THE THOUGHT THAT IN THEIR INDIAN OCEAN CONSULTATIONS WITH THE USG THEY WOULD BE DISCUSSING VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES OF WHICH THE AUSTRALIAN PROPOSAL WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE ONE WHICH WOULD COMMAND SERIOUS ATTENTION.

5. REQUEST YOUR GUIDANCE. INGERSOLL

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APPROVED BY EA - MR. GLEYSTEEN
S/S - MR. LUERS
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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) JA
SUBJECT: LETTER FROM SECRETARY TO JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER
REF: TOKYO 16405

SECRETARY'S MESSAGE TO MIYAZAWA IS NOT FOR PUBLIC
RELEASE. PLEASE INFORM FOREIGN MINISTRY THAT ENTIRE
SUBSTANCE IS CONFIDENTIAL AND NOT REPEAT NOT FOR RELEASE
IN ANY FORM. KISSINGER

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, JA

SUBJECT: GOJ POSITION ON NUCLEAR TRANSIT

REF: TOKYO 16614

AMBASSADOR FROM HABIB

WE FOUND REFTEL INTERESTING. ORGANIZING GOJ/LDP RANKS ON THIS ISSUE WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR PRIMIN. AND WE ARE REASSURED THAT TOGO WILL KEEP WORKING ON MIKI. FOR OUR PART SUGGEST WE KEEP IN TOUCH WITH FOROFF BUT LEAVE PACE AND INITIATIVE UP TO THEM. SISCO

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