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Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET

NOD682

PAGE 01 TOKYO 15329 241539Z

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 7001 W

096230

O 241519Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO AMEMBASSY ATHENS NIAC IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6269

~~SECRET~~ TOKYO 15329

NODIS

SECTO 154

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: CYPRUS - MESSAGE FOR BITSIOS

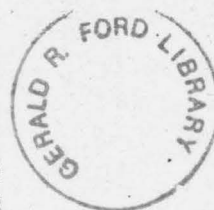
PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING ORAL MESSAGE TO BITSIOS FROM ME:

1. I HAVE REVIEWED THE SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO CYPRUS AND I HAVE CONCLUDED THAT I SHOULD NOT VISIT ANKARA AT THIS TIME. IT IS CLEAR, IN LIGHT OF MY EXCHANGES WITH TURKEY, THAT IN A 24 HOUR PERIOD IT MAY NOT BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE A SATISFACTORY OUTCOME. MOREOVER THE UNILATERAL GESTURES TURKEY IS PREPARED TO MAKE IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY RECIPROCITY DO NOT WARRANT THE ENORMOUS SPECIAL EXERTION AND THE WORLD WIDE ATTENTION FOCUSED ON SUCH AN EFFORT. THEREFORE, I SUGGEST THAT WE GO BACK TO THE ORIGINAL PLAN AND ATTEMPT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A SET OF PRINCIPLES AND OBTAIN AT THE SAME TIME SIGNIFICANT GESTURES THAT WOULD HAVE A BENEFICIAL EFFECT ON THE ATMOSPHERE.

2. WHEN WE TALKED IN ROME, YOU DID NOT FEEL THAT THERE WAS ENOUGH TIME TO AGREE ON THE PRINCIPLES AND, OF COURSE, YOUR GOVERNMENT WAS PREOCCUPIED WITH THE ELECTIONS. I

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Department of State

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PAGE 02 TOKYO 15329 241539Z

WONDER IF YOU COULD NOT REEXAMINE THE EXCHANGES WE HAVE HAD ON THE PRINCIPLES AND PARTICULARLY GIVE ME YOUR THOUGHTS ON THE LATEST SUGGESTIONS MADE BY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WHICH I GAVE YOU IN ROME. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE POSITIONS ARE SO FAR APART THAT WE CANNOT FIND WORDS WHICH WOULD GUIDE THE NEGOTIATIONS AND STILL NOT PREJUDGE THE OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. IN THIS WAY, WE CAN ALSO OBTAIN MUCH MORE SIGNIFICANT GESTURES FROM THE TURKS AND THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL THUS BEGIN IN AN ATMOSPHERE CONDUCTIVE TO SUCCESS. WHEN I HAVE YOUR COMMENTS AND AN AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT FROM THE NEW TURKISH GOVERNMENT WE WILL SEE IF IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT QUICKLY. I PLAN TO BE IN BRUSSELS ALL DAY ON THE 11TH OF DECEMBER PRIOR TO THE NATO MEETING AND THIS TIME MIGHT OFFER US THE OPPORTUNITY FOR CONCENTRATED DISCUSSIONS.

3. IN THE MEANTIME, I HOPE THAT YOU WILL FIND IT POSSIBLE TO CALM YOUR SUPPORTERS IN THE UNITED STATES. CONTINUED PRESSURE FROM THAT QUARTER WILL NOT, I ASSURE YOU, IMPROVE THE CHANCES OF OUR ACHIEVING PROGRESS.
END TEXT.
KISSINGER

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TELEGRAM

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N00701

PAGE 01 STATE

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ORIGIN N009-00

INFO OCT-01 7001 R

COPY 15 OF 15 COPIES.

CONTROL: 7224
RECD: NOVEMBER 24, 8:20PM

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 6272
INFO AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

097846

~~SECRET~~ TOKYO 15332

NODIS

SECTO 157

FOR SISCO FROM SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UN
SUBJECT: UNDOF RENEWAL

REF: STATE 259363 (TOSSEC 403)

1. PER YOUR RECOMMENDATION REFTEL, YOU SHOULD INFORM DINITZ OF ASAD'S AGREEMENT TO DROP REFERENCE TO 344 AND CONFIRM THAT THERE IS NOW AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT THAT ASAD HAS ACCEPTED WITH NO FURTHER CHANGES.

2. INFORM WALDHEIM OF AGREEMENT AS RECOMMENDED.

3. TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON OUR COMMITMENT TO ASAD TO FIND A NON-ALIGNED MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO INTRODUCE THE RESOLUTION, PLEASE BEGIN TO MOVE TO FIND A COUNTRY TO INTRODUCE RESOLUTION. AUSTRIA SEEMS APPROPRIATE.

4. AS SOON AS WE HAVE YOUR CONFIRMATION FROM DINITZ, WE WILL DRAFT MESSAGE INFORMING SAOAT.
KISSINGER

~~SECRET~~

46 3/31/01

NOTE: RELAYED TO DAMSCUS AND TEL AVIV BY OC/T.

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Department of State

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NOD703

TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 TOKYO 15333 250142Z

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 7001 W

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O 250105Z NOV 74 ZFF-6
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6273

~~SECRET~~ TOKYO 15333

NODIS/CHEROKEE

SECTO 158

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: OYIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR HUSSEIN ON VLADIVOSTOK SUMMIT

1. PLEASE DELIVER TO RIFAI FOR KING HUSSEIN MESSAGE
BELOW ALONG WITH TEXT OF MIDDLE EAST PORTION OF VLADIVOSTOK
COMMUNIQUE IN PARA 3 BELOW.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

YOUR MAJESTY:

I AM ASKING AMBASSADOR PICKERING TO PROVIDE YOU AND PRIME
MINISTER RIFAI A COPY OF THE TEXT OF THE MIDDLE EAST
PORTION OF THE COMMUNIQUE ISSUED IN VLADIVOSTOK AT THE END
OF THE MEETINGS THERE BETWEEN PRESIDENT FORD AND
GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV.

AS YOUR MAJESTY WILL SEE, THE STATEMENT CONTAINS ESSENTIALLY
THE SAME POSITION AS THAT TAKEN IN THE NIXON-BREZHNEV
COMMUNIQUE LAST JULY. WE HAVE REITERATED OUR CONCERN
FOR PROMPT PROGRESS TOWARD AN ARAB-ISRAELI
SOLUTION AND SIMPLY RESTATED OUR VIEW THAT THE QTE
WORK UNOTE OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE SHOULD BE
RESUMED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES

BY 66, NARA, DATE 8/31/01

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Department of State

~~SECRET~~

TELEGRAM

PAGE 02 TOKYO 15333 250142Z 7 2 2 80

DESPITE PRESSURE FROM BREZHNEV FOR THE US AND USSR TO ACT TOGETHER AND FOR THE GENEVA CONFERENCE TO MEET AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, PRESIDENT FORD HELD FIRMLY TO THE POSITION THAT, WHILE US-SOVIET COOPERATION IS IMPORTANT, RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE REQUIRES CAREFUL PREPARATION AND CHOICE OF TIMING. NO DETAILS WERE DISCUSSED, AND NO COMMITMENTS WERE MADE. THE SOVIETS ARE NO MORE INTIMATELY INVOLVED THAN THEY HAVE BEEN.

IN SHORT, WHILE THE VLADIVOSTOK MEETING WAS SIGNIFICANT IN ADVANCING THE US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP ON OTHER MATTERS OF GLOBAL IMPORTANCE, NOTHING WAS DONE THAT IN ANY WAY AFFECTS THE COURSE OF ACTION WHICH I HAVE DISCUSSED WITH YOU.

WARM PERSONAL REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER

END TEXT.

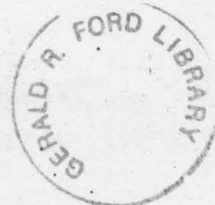
3. TEXT OF MIDDLE EAST PARAGRAPHS IN VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNIQUE IS AS FOLLOWS:

IN THE COURSE OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE MIDDLE EAST BOTH SIDES EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN WITH REGARD TO THE DANGEROUS SITUATION IN THAT REGION. THEY REAFFIRMED THEIR INTENTION TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO PROMOTE A SOLUTION OF THE KEY ISSUES OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THAT AREA ON THE BASIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION 338, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLES IN THE AREA, INCLUDING THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, AND RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT TO INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA.

THE SIDES BELIEVE THAT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE SHOULD PLAY AN IMPORTANT PART IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND SHOULD RESUME ITS WORK AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
KISSINGER

NOTE: PASSED AMMAN BY OC/T.

~~SECRET~~



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RECD: 24 NOV '74 8:45PM



Department of State

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N00702

TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 TOKYO 15334 250132Z

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 7001 W

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Q 250106Z NOV 74
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6274

~~SECRET~~ TOKYO 15334

NODIS CHEROKEE

SECTO 159

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS:

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR SADAT ON VLADIVOSTOK SUMMIT

1. PLEASE DELIVER MESSAGE BELOW TO FAHMY
FOR PRESIDENT SADAT ALONG WITH TEXT OF MIDDLE EAST
PORTION OF VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNIQUE IN PARA 3 BELOW.

2. BEGIN TEXT.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM ASKING AMBASSADOR EILTS TO DELIVER TO FOREIGN
MINISTER FAHMY FOR YOU THE TEXT OF THE MIDDLE EAST PARA-
GRAPHS FROM THE COMMUNIQUE ISSUED IN VLADIVOSTOK AT THE
CONCLUSION OF THE MEETINGS THERE BETWEEN PRESIDENT FORD
AND GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV.

AS YOU WILL SEE, THE STATEMENT CONTAINS ESSENTIALLY THE
SAME POSITION AS THAT STATED IN THE NIXON-BREZHNEV
COMMUNIQUE LAST JULY. WE HAVE REITERATED OUR CONCERN
FOR PROMPT PROGRESS TOWARD AN ARAB-ISRAELI SOLUTION
AND SIMPLY RESTATED THE VIEW THAT THE QTE WORK UNOTE

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DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES

BY 62, NARA, DATE 8/31/01

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET

PAGE 02 TOKYO 15334 2501327

OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE SHOULD BE RESUMED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT FOR YOU TO KNOW THAT, IN THE FACE OF PRESSURE FROM MOSCOW FOR THE US AND USSR TO ACT TOGETHER AND FOR THE GENEVA CONFERENCE TO MEET AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, PRESIDENT FORD HELD FIRMLY TO THE POSITION THAT, WHILE US-SOVIET COOPERATION IS IMPORTANT, RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE REQUIRES CAREFUL PREPARATION AND CHOICE OF TIMING. NO DETAILS WERE DISCUSSED, AND NO COMMITMENTS WERE MADE.

ON THE SPECIFIC QUESTION OF NEGOTIATING STRATEGY NOTHING WAS SAID AT ALL, SO THE SOVIETS WERE TOLD NOTHING IN THESE MEETINGS ABOUT THE POSSIBLE COURSE OF ACTION WE HAVE DISCUSSED TOGETHER. INDEED, MOST OF THE TALK WAS ON A VERY GENERAL LEVEL ON THE SUBJECT OF US-SOVIET COOPERATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND PRESIDENT FORD TOOK THE POSITION THAT WE VALUE SUCH COOPERATION BUT THAT ANY COOPERATIVE EFFORTS WOULD HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY PREPARED.

IN SHORT, WHILE THE VLADIVOSTOK MEETING WAS SIGNIFICANT IN ADVANCING THE US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP ON OTHER MATTERS OF GLOBAL IMPORTANCE, NOTHING WAS DONE THAT IN ANY WAY AFFECTS THE COURSE OF ACTION WE HAVE DISCUSSED.

WARM PERSONAL REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER

END TEXT

3. TEXT OF MIDDLE EAST PARAGRAPHS OF VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNIQUE TO BE GIVEN FAHMY IS AS FOLLOWS:

IN THE COURSE OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE MIDDLE EAST BOTH SIDES EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN WITH REGARD TO THE DANGEROUS SITUATION IN THAT REGION. THEY REAFFIRMED THEIR INTENTION TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO PROMOTE A SOLUTION OF THE KEY ISSUES OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THAT AREA ON THE BASIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION 338, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE

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PAGE -3- TOKYO 15334 7 2 2 6Q

Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 TOKYO 15334 250132Z

LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLES IN THE AREA,
INCLUDING THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, AND RESPECT FOR THE
RIGHT TO INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE OF ALL STATES IN THE
AREA.

THE SIDPS BELIEVE THAT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE SHOULD
PLAY AN IMPORTANT PART IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST
AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND SHOULD RESUME
ITS WORK AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
KISSINGER

NOTE: COPY PASSED CAIRO BY OC/T.

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RECD: 24 NOV '74 9:24 PM 7 2 3 06



Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 15335 250200Z

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 /001 W

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O 250107Z NOV 74
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6275

~~SECRET~~ TOKYO 15335

N0015/CHEROKEE

SECTO 100

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

EO 11652: XGOS-3

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: MESSAGE FOR KING FAISAL ON MIDEAST PORTION OF VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNIQUE

1. PLEASE DELIVER TO RASHAD PHAROON, OR WHOMEVER ELSE YOU FEEL MOST APPROPRIATE, FOLLOWING LETTER FROM ME TO KING FAISAL, ALONG WITH TEXT OF MIDEAST PORTION OF COMMUNIQUE PARA 3 BELOW.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

YOUR MAJESTY:

IN THE SPIRIT OF OUR FRIENDSHIP AND CLOSE CONSULTATION, PRESIDENT FORD HAS ASKED ME TO ENSURE THAT YOU ARE MOST PROMPTLY INFORMED OF THE RESULTS OF HIS MEETINGS IN VLADIVOSTOK WITH SOVIET GENERAL-SECRETARY BREZHNEV. I HAVE INSTRUCTED AMBASSADOR AKINS TO CONVEY TO YOU THE FINAL TEXT OF THE MIDDLE EAST PORTION OF THE COMMUNIQUE OF THIS MEETING, ALONG WITH THIS PERSONAL REPORT ON THE TALKS THERE.

THE PRESIDENT MADE CLEAR IN THESE TALKS HIS RECOGNITION OF THE URGENT NEED FOR A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

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E.O. 12066, SEC. 3.5

STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES

BY 64, NARA, DATE 2/31/01

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Department of State

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TELEGRAM

PAGE 02 TOKYO 15335 250200Z 7 2 3 OQ

YOUR MAJESTY WILL SEE THAT THE COMMUNIQUE REFLECTS THIS SENSE OF URGENCY, AND REFLECTS ALSO THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE IN ANY JUST AND LASTING SOLUTION. THIS CONTINUES TO BE THE AMERICAN CONVICTION, AS I HAVE AFFIRMED TO YOUR MAJESTY ON A NUMBER OF PREVIOUS OCCASIONS. THIS COMMUNIQUE CONFIRMS THE CONTINUITY OF THE POLICY OF PRESIDENT NIXON AS WAS REFLECTED IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF HIS MEETINGS IN MOSCOW ISSUED ON JULY 3, 1974.

AT THE SAME TIME, PRESIDENT FORD REACHED NO AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET LEADERS ON SPECIFIC MEASURES OF JOINT ACTION WITH THEM. THE PRESIDENT POINTED OUT THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS NO OBJECTION TO SOVIET COOPERATION AND NO OBJECTION TO EARLY RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, AS LONG AS THESE STEPS ARE CAREFULLY PREPARED IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT EFFECTIVE RESULTS. HOWEVER, HE COMMITTED THE US TO NO RPT NO COURSE THAT WOULD DRAW THE SOVIET UNION MORE ACTIVELY INTO THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS.

IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THESE DISCUSSIONS OF PRESIDENT FORD WITH THE SOVIET LEADERS WILL IN NO WAY INTERFERE WITH OUR OWN ABILITY TO PROMOTE FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE IN THE DIRECTION YOUR MAJESTY AND I HAVE DISCUSSED. IT IS OUR INTENTION TO PURSUE THESE EFFORTS TOWARD PEACE WITH ENERGY AND DEDICATION IN THE WEEKS AHEAD.

PLEASE ACCEPT PRESIDENT FORD'S BEST PERSONAL WISHES, AND MY OWN.

WARM PERSONAL REGARDS, HENRY A KISSINGER

END TEXT

3. TEXT OF MIDDLE EAST PORTION OF VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNIQUE TO BE DELIVERED ALONG WITH LETTER, IS AS FOLLOWS:

IN THE COURSE OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE MIDDLE EAST BOTH SIDES EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN WITH REGARD TO THE DANGEROUS SITUATION IN THAT REGION. THEY REAFFIRMED THEIR INTENTION TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO PROMOTE A SOLUTION OF THE KEY ISSUES OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THAT AREA ON THE BASIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION 338, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 TOKYO 15335 250200Z 7 2 3 00

INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLES IN THE AREA, INCLUDING THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, AND RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT TO INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA.

THE SIDES BELIEVE THAT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE SHOULD PLAY AN IMPORTANT PART IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND SHOULD RESUME ITS WORK AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
KISSINGER

NOTE: PASSED TO JIDDA BY OC/T.

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 15336 2501407

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ACTION MODS-00

INFO OCT-01 /001 W

Q 250108Z NOV 74
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6278
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

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~~SECRET~~ TOKYO 15336

NODIS/CHEROKEE

SECTO 161

FOR SISCO FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11552: XGDS-3
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJ: MESSAGE FOR RABIN IN VLADIVOSTOK

1. PLEASE ASK DINITZ TO TRANSMIT FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM ME TO
PM RABIN, ALONG WITH TEXT OF MIDEAST PORTION OF VLADIVOSTOK
COMMUNIQUE PARA 3 BELOW.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

I HAVE ASKED UNDER SECRETARY SISCO TO PASS TO AMBASSADOR
DINITZ AS SOON AS POSSIBLE THE FINAL TEXT OF THE MIDDLE EAST
PORTION OF THE COMMUNIQUE FOLLOWING THE VLADIVOSTOK MEETINGS
BETWEEN PRESIDENT FORD AND GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV ALONG
WITH THIS PERSONAL REPORT OF THOSE TALKS.

THE ESSENTIAL POINT IS THAT WE CONCEDED NOTHING AT ALL ON
THE MIDDLE EAST AND THERE IS NO IMPEDIMENT TO OUR PROCEEDING
AS WE HAVE DISCUSSED. YOU MAY BE ASSURED THAT WE DID NOT
DEVIATE IN ANY WAY FROM THE STRATEGY WHICH THE PRESIDENT
AND I HAVE DISCUSSED WITH YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES

BY 64, NARA, DATE 8/31/01

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 TOKYO 15338 250149Z 7 2 3 2Q

THE SOVIET LEADERS PRESSED VERY HARD ONCE AGAIN ON THE MIDDLE EAST, COMPLAINING OF OUR UNWILLINGNESS TO ACT IN CONCERT WITH THEM. THEY CLAIMED THAT THE CONTINUED STALEMATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST QTE IS POISONING THE ATMOSPHERE OF DETENTE. UNQTE. THE PRESIDENT HELD FIRMLY TO THE NECESSITY FOR THE CAREFUL, STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH TO A NEGOTIATED PEACE SETTLEMENT WHICH WE ARE PURSUING. BREZHNEV PARTICULARLY PRESSED FOR EARLY RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, AND THE PRESIDENT HELD TO THE POSITION THAT ANY RESUMPTION WOULD HAVE TO BE WELL PREPARED AND APPROPRIATELY TIMED.

ON THE COMMUNIQUE, YOU WILL SEE THAT THE TWO PARAGRAPHS ON THE MIDDLE EAST BREAK NO NEW GROUND AND REPRESENT NO NEW DECISIONS OR AGREEMENTS. THE LANGUAGE IS ESSENTIALLY THE SAME AS THE LAST COMMUNIQUE ISSUED IN CONNECTION WITH A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION. THE COMMUNIQUE REPEATS OUR COMMITMENT TO A QTE JUST AND LASTING PEACE, UNQTE AS YOUR GOVERNMENT DESIRED, WITH RESOLUTION 33H AS THE BASIS FOR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE A SOLUTION OF THE KEY ISSUES.

ON THE QUESTION OF THE PALESTINIANS, THE PHRASEOLOGY IS VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL TO THE LANGUAGE OF THE JULY 3, 1974, COMMUNIQUE. THE PRESIDENT RESISTED ANY REFERENCE TO THE PALESTINIANS UNTIL THE VERY END OF THE TALKS, BUT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO REJECT LANGUAGE WHICH WE HAD ALREADY ACCEPTED IN A PRESIDENTIAL COMMUNIQUE SO RECENTLY. THE PRESIDENT ENSURED, HOWEVER, THE INCLUSION OF THE CRUCIAL OFFSETTING COMMITMENT TO QTE THE RIGHT TO INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA, UNQTE AS YOUR GOVERNMENT DESIRED. WE INTEND TO MAKE CLEAR PUBLICLY OUR VIEW THAT THE REFERENCE TO THE PALESTINIANS HAS NO NEW SIGNIFICANCE AND REFLECTS NO ALTERATION OF AMERICAN POLICY.

IN SHORT, WHILE VLADIVOSTOK TALKS SIGNIFICANTLY ADVANCED THE US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP ON OTHER MATTERS OF GLOBAL IMPORTANCE, NOTHING WAS DONE THAT IN ANY WAY AFFECTS OUR PURSUING TOGETHER THE COURSE OF ACTION WE HAVE DISCUSSED.

WARM PERSONAL REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 TOKYO 15338 250149Z 7 2 3 20

END TEXT

3. TEXT OF MIDDLE EAST PARAGRAPHS OF VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNIQUE
TO BE GIVEN TO DINITZ FOLLOWS:

IN THE COURSE OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE MIDDLE EAST BOTH
SIDES EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN WITH REGARD TO THE DANGEROUS
SITUATION IN THAT REGION. THEY REAFFIRMED THEIR INTENTION
TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO PROMOTE A SOLUTION OF THE KEY ISSUES OF
A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THAT AREA ON THE BASIS OF THE
UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION 338, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGIT-
IMATE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLES IN THE AREA, INCLUDING
THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, AND RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT TO INDEPENDENT
EXISTENCE OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA.

THE SIDES BELIEVE THAT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE SHOULD PLAY AN
IMPORTANT PART IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE
IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND SHOULD RESUME ITS WORK AS SOON AS
POSSIBLE.
KISSINGER

NOTE: PASSED TEL AVIV BY OC/T.

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25 NOV 74 10:13
Department of State

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TELEGRAM

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N00711 Copy 12 of 13 copies

PAGE 01 TOKYO 15362 250400Z

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ACTION N003-00

INFO OCT-01 /001 W

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O 250345Z NOV 74
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6280:

~~SECRET~~ TOKYO 15362

N0015/CHEROKEE

SECTO 163

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT ASAD ON MIDDLE EAST PORTION OF
VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNIQUE

1. PLEASE DELIVER FOR PRESIDENT ASAD THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE
ALONG WITH THE TEXT OF THE MIDDLE EAST PARAGRAPHS IN THE
VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNIQUE IN PARA 3 BELOW.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

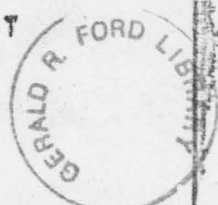
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

AMBASSADOR MURPHY WILL PROVIDE YOU WITH A COPY OF THE TEXT
OF THE MIDDLE EAST SECTION IN THE COMMUNIQUE ISSUED IN
VLADIVOSTOK AT THE END OF THE MEETINGS THERE BETWEEN
PRESIDENT FORD AND GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV. I ALSO
WANT YOU TO HAVE THIS PERSONAL REPORT ON THEIR TALKS.
BOTH SIDES AT VLADIVOSTOK AGREED ON THE NEED TO MOVE TOWARD A
SETTLEMENT PROMPTLY. PRESIDENT FORD HELD TO THE POSITION THAT
THE CONTINUATION OF NEGOTIATIONS REQUIRES CAREFUL PREPARA-
TION, BUT HE EMPHASIZED THE URGENT NEED FOR A PEACEFUL
SETTLEMENT. THAT PREPARATION, OF COURSE, WILL INCLUDE

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 1.5
STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY 66, NARA, DATE 8/31/01





Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 TOKYO 15382 250408Z

OUR FURTHER CONSULTATION WITH YOU AS WE HAVE AGREED. IN VLADIVOSTOK, NO DETAILS WERE DISCUSSED, AND NO COMMITMENTS WERE MADE ON HOW TO PROCEED. WE SAID NOTHING THAT I HAVE NOT ALREADY SAID TO YOU.

THE COMMUNIQUE, AS YOU WILL SEE, REFLECTS THIS SENSE OF URGENCY TO FIND A SOLUTION WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIANS ALONG WITH THE OTHER KEY ISSUES THAT MUST BE RESOLVED. WHILE BOTH SIDES AGREED TO THE IMPORTANCE OF RESUMING THE WORK OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, THE PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF LAYING THE GROUNDWORK AND TIMING THIS STEP CAREFULLY.

IN SHORT, WHILE THE VLADIVOSTOK MEETING WAS SIGNIFICANT IN ADVANCING THE US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP ON OTHER MATTERS OF GLOBAL IMPORTANCE, NOTHING WAS DONE THAT IN ANY WAY AFFECTS THE COURSE OF ACTION WE HAVE DISCUSSED.

I WANT ALSO TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO TELL YOU THAT I DEEPLY APPRECIATE THE STATESMANLIKE COURSE WHICH YOU HAVE PURSUED IN RELATION TO THE EXTENSION OF THE UNDOF MANDATE. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO AN ATMOSPHERE CONDUCTIVE TO CONTINUATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

WARM PERSONAL REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER.
END TEXT

3. TEXT OF MIDDLE EAST PARAGRAPHS OF VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNIQUE TO BE GIVEN ASAD IS AS FOLLOWS:

IN THE COURSE OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE MIDDLE EAST BOTH SIDES EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN WITH REGARD TO THE DANGEROUS SITUATION IN THAT REGION. THEY REAFFIRMED THEIR INTENTION TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO PROMOTE A SOLUTION OF THE KEY ISSUES OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THAT AREA ON THE BASIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION 338, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLES IN THE AREA, INCLUDING THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, AND RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT TO INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA.

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THE SIDES BELIEVE THAT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE SHOULD
PLAY A IMPORTANT PART IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST AND
LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AND SHOULD RESUME ITS
WORK AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
KISSINGER

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6281

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ TOKYO 15363

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SECRETARY

SECTO 164

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, TV

SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO ESENBEL

REF: ANKARA 9162

1. PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM ME TO ESENBEL.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. MINISTER:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR MOST RECENT LETTER WHICH YOU GAVE TO AMBASSADOR MACOMBER. I AM ESPECIALLY APPRECIATIVE OF THE FRANK AND CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS WHICH YOU HAVE BEEN HAVING WITH AMBASSADOR MACOMBER ABOUT HOW WE SHOULD NOW PROCEED. I LOOK FORWARD TO OUR FORTHCOMING TALKS IN BRUSSELS.

3. I BELIEVE THAT THE GESTURES WHICH YOU DESCRIBED TO AMBASSADOR MACOMBER OFFER A BASIS FOR OUR ONGOING DISCUSSIONS. HOWEVER, IT IS MY OWN PERSONAL VIEW THAT THESE GESTURES WOULD PROBABLY BE MOST

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EFFECTIVE IF YOUR GOVERNMENT COULD MAKE THEM AS PART OF YOUR DISCUSSIONS WITH ME IN BRUSSELS. I BELIEVE THAT IF THE GESTURES WERE MADE IN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR TALKS, RATHER THAN INDEPENDENTLY, THEY WOULD HAVE A MORE PRONOUNCED IMPACT ON OUR CONGRESS WHICH AS YOU KNOW WILL BE FOLLOWING OUR DELIBERATIONS CLOSELY OVER THE NEXT WEEKS.

4. NATURALLY, THE QUESTION OF THE TIMING AND MANNER IN WHICH YOUR GOVERNMENT MAKES THE GESTURES IS FOR YOUR GOVERNMENT TO DECIDE. HOWEVER, I DID THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR YOU TO HAVE MY PERSONAL VIEWS ON HOW THEY MIGHT BE MADE WITH A VIEW TO THEIR MAXIMUM IMPACT ON OUR CONGRESSIONAL SITUATION.

5. I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU IN BRUSSELS. WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER END TEXT

KISSINGER

NOTE: PASSED ANKARA BY OC/T.

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NODIS/SECTO 273

FOR EAGLEBURGER FROM SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S SCHEDULE

1. I SEEMS TO ME THAT COMING OFF A SUCCESSFUL TRIP, I HAVE BEEN SCHEDULED INTO TWO MEETINGS WHICH CAN ONLY BE DISASTERS.

2. I AM CONCERNED THAT THE FINANCE COMMITTEE APPEARANCE WILL BE USED BY THE JACKSON PEOPLE TO HOUND ME ON JACKSON-VANIK AND OTHER SUBJECTS. I WANT MY PRESENTATION TO BE MUCH MORE A DESCRIPTION OF THE HISOTRY OF OUR QUIET REPRESENTATIONS ON SOVIET EMIGRATION. WE SHOULD SAY THAT SINCE 1960, SOVIET EMIGRATION HAS GONE FROM 400 PER YEAR TO OVER 35,000, AND THAT WHILE IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW THE PRECISE CAUSES FOR THIS INCREASE, WE LIKE TO THINK THAT IT IS AT LEAST IN PART A RESULT OF OUR QUIET REPRESENTATIONS. WE SHOULD POINT OUT THAT WE TRIED TO AVIOD MAKING THIS INTO A GOVERNMENTAL ISSUE. I DO NOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES WANT TO MAKE IT LOOK AS IF JACKSON ACHEVED THE CHANGE IN SOVIET POLICY. YOU SHOULD ASSURE THAT SONNFENFELDT REWORRKS MY OPENING STATEMENT ALONG THESE LINES AND CABLES IT TO ME SOONEST.

3. SECONDLY, I REALIZE THAT FRASER IS LEAVING TWON FOR A WHILE, BUT WHY CAN WE NOT SCHEDULE MY MEETING

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WITH HIM FOR DECEMBER 9?

4. I HAVE LOOKED AT SONNENFELDT'S PROPOSED TALKING POINTS ON SALT FOR MY HFAC AND SFRC APPEARANCES. THEY ARE NOT WHAT I WANT. I WANT A SOPHISTICATED ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION AND ALTERNATIVES WE FACED. WE SHOULD INCLUDE THE INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES OF WHAT SYSTEMS THE SOVIETS WOULD HAVE DEVELOPED WITHOUT THE AGREEMENT AND THE ESTIMATES OF WHAT IT WOULD COST FOR US TO MATCH THEM. IT SHOULD BE A CLEAR AND FIRST RATE ANALYTICAL WORK, HAVE A REVISED PAPER CABLED SOONEST.

5. I AM ASSUMING THAT MY CONGRESSIONAL APPEARANCES ARE IN EXECUTIVE SESSION. PLEASE CONFIRM.
KISSINGER

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NODIS

SECTO 277

TO EAGLEBURGER FROM BREMER

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJ: RABASA MEETING

REF: TOSEC 644

SECRETARY WILL DECIDE VENUE FOR RABASA MEETING AFTER
HE HAS RETURNED TO WASHINGTON.
KISSINGER

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6406

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SECTO 278

FOR EAGLEBURGER FROM BREMER

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJ: ODDS AND ENDS

REF: STATE 263775

1. SECRETARY WANTS YOU TO TELL DINITZ THAT THERE WAS ABSOLUTELY NO REPEAT NO DISCUSSION OF THE PLO AT VLADIVOSTOK.
2. SECRETARY WILL PLAN TO MEET ALLON AT THE AIRPORT. ARRIVAL TIMES LOOK OKAY.
3. HE AGREED TO AN OFFICE CALL BY THE LINOWITZ CROWD BUT WANTS TO HOLD OFF ON DECIDING ABOUT THE POSSIBLE MEAL INVITATION.
KISSINGER

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TELEGRAM

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SECTO 279

FOR SISCO FROM THE SECRETARY

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR GR TU CY
SUBJ: SUGGESTED TELEGRAM TO ATHENS

REF: STATE 263042

1. I THINK THAT THERE ARE STILL TOO MANY UNCERTAINTIES IN THE GREEK-TURKISH SITUATION FOR US TO TALK NOW TO THE GREEKS IN THE TERMS YOU RECOMMEND. I THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT UNTIL I GET BACK AND HAVE A CHANCE TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION, KUBISCH SHOULD NOT SURFACE ANY PRINCIPLES OR NEW IDEAS WITH THE GREEKS.

2. AFTER MY RETURN, WE CAN DETERMINE OUR BEST COURSE OF ACTION.

KISSINGER

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INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6409

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SECTO 281

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT TU

SUBJ: SITUATION IN WAKE OF NO CONFIDENCE VOTE

REF: ANKARA 9328

1. I UNDERSTAND THE ARGUMENTS YOU MAKE IN FAVOR OF MOVING
AHEAD NOW WITH THE TURKS. HOWEVER, I WANT YOU TO HOLD
OFF ON DOING THIS TO GIVE ME A CHANCE TO REVIEW THE ENTIRE
SITUATION AFTER MY RETURN TO WASHINGTON. I WOULD
LIKE A CHANCE TO DISCUSS WITH MY STAFF HOW BEST
TO PROCEED IN THESE UNCERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES. YOU SHOULD
THEREFORE JUST ADHERE TO YOUR PREVIOUS INSTRUCTIONS UNTIL
WE GET SOME NEW ONES OUT TO YOU.
KISSINGER

~~SECRET~~

66 8/31/01

