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UNCLAS STATE 248517 TOSEC 168062

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN (KISSINGER, H. A.)

SUBJECT: PRESS ITEMS:

FOR FUNSETH FROM S/PRS

NO. 4

HEREWITH FULL TEXTS OF JOE KRAFT AND CY SULZBERGER COLUMNS
ON OP-ED PAGES, SUNDAY, 10/29.

THE 'GRAIN-FOR-OIL' DEAL, JOE KRAFT: CHARGE THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER IS PROMOTING A ONE-WAY DETENTE FAVORABLE TO RUSSIA FINDS A GOOD TEST IN PROPOSED GRAIN-FOR-OIL DEAL. SUPERFICIALLY IT LOOKS AS THOUGH RUSSIANS ARE GOING TO GET IN ABUNDANCE WHAT THEY ALWAYS WANTED AND WHAT FORD ADMINISTRATION ALWAYS WANTED THEM TO HAVE -- TONS OF WHEAT AND GRAIN.

SUPERFICIALLY IT LOOKS AS THOUGH, BECAUSE OF SOME ADMINISTRATION TRICKERY, U.S. IS ONLY GOING TO GET IN DRIBBLETS OIL ANTI-ADMINISTRATION FORCES SOUGHT AS A COUNTERWEIGHT TO WHEAT. IN FACT, APPEARANCES ARE DECEPTIVE AND WHAT HAS HAPPENED IS ONLY A DEMONSTRATION THAT DETENTE CANNOT BE AN EXACTLY EVEN TRADE.

STARTING POINT FOR WHAT HAS HAPPENED IS EXTREMELY SEVERE SHORTAGE OF WHEAT AND FEED GRAINS IN SOVIET UNION THIS YEAR WHEN SOVIET NEED TO IMPORT FIRST BECAME KNOWN, AGRICULTURE SECRETARY BUTZ, TRUE TO INTERESTS OF FARMERS IN SELLING THEIR CROPS, ENCOURAGED RUSSIANS TO BUY ALL THEY COULD ON AMERICAN MARKET.

MANY AMERICANS, HOWEVER, BEGAN TO PROTEST THAT INDISCRIMINATE SALES TO RUSSIANS MIGHT CAUSE A SHORTAGE HERE, AND A

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RISE IN FOOD PRICES AND INFLATION. RELUCTANTLY, THE ADMINISTRATION THEN PUT A HOLD ON FURTHER SALES TO RUSSIA UNTIL FULL SIZE OF AMERICAN CROP BECAME KNOWN.

ADDITIONALLY, VARIOUS URBAN CONGRESSMEN, KEEN TO SHOW THEIR ANTIINFLATIONARY METTLE, PUSHED IDEA THAT, IN RETURN FOR ANY FOODS RUSSIANS, WHO HAVE BECOME LARGEST OIL PRODUCERS IN WORLD, SHOULD SELL THIS COUNTRY OIL AT PRICES BELOW MARKET LEVEL. A RESOLUTION FAVORING A GRAIN-OIL DEAL PASSE SENATE BY A HEAVY MAJORITY ON OCTOBER 2.

NEGOTIATION OF DEAL WAS ENTRUSTED BY SECRETARY KISSINGER TO HIS UNDERSECRETARY FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, CHARLES ROBINSON. ROBINSON TOOK MATTER UP WITH SOV OFFICIALS IN MOSCOW. IT SPEEDILY BECAME APPARENT THAT A GOOD GRAIN DEAL WAS FEASIBLE

RUSSIANS WERE PREPARED TO ABANDON PRACTICE OF MAKING MASSIVE SECRET PURCHASES IN DROUGHT YEARS -- A PRACTICE WHICH CAUSE STOCK AND PRICE OF GRAIN AND WHEAT TO SHOOT UP AND DOWN FROM YEAR TO YEAR. MOSCOW ALSO AGREED TO ACCEPT A LONG-TERM CONTRACT. UNDER THAT CONTRACT U.S. WOULD ASSURE A MINIMUM OF ABOUT 8 MILLION TONS WOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR RUSSIANS EVERY YEAR. RUSSIANS WOULD AGREE TO BUY AT LEAST 5 MILLION TONS EACH YEAR.

MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL, PRESENT HOLD ON SOV PURCHASES OF WHEAT AND GRAIN WOULD BE LIFTED. RUSSIANS, WHO HAVE ALREADY BOUGHT 10 MILLION TONS IN AMERICAN MARKET, WOULD PROBABLY BE ALLOWED TO BUY ANOTHER 5 MILLION TONS.

OIL PART OF DEAL, HOWEVER, DID NOT GO SO WELL. OVER LAST WEEKEND WORD THAT RUSSIANS WERE PROVING DIFFICULT ON OIL SUDDENLY BEGAN TO LEAK OUT ALL OVER WASHINGTON. LEAKS STRESSED THAT TOUGH ISSUE WAS RUSSIAN UNWILLINGNESS TO BREAK WITH OTHER OIL EXPORTERS, NOTABLY IN ARAB WORLD, ON PRICE.

MOREOVER, THEY RECOUNTED IN EXQUISITE DETAIL VARIOUS DISCOUNT AND KICKBACK PROPOSALS WHICH HAD BEEN PUT TO RUSSIANS SO THEY COULD UNDERSELL OTHER EXPORTERS WITHOUT FACT

BECOMING KNOWN. THOSE LEAKS PRACTICALLY RULED OUT ANY EARLY OIL DEAL TIED EXPLICITLY TO FOOD SALE.

TO CRITICS OF DETENTE AS MANAGED BY DR. KISSINGER, ALL THAT WAS ONLY NATURAL. IN ORDER TO INGRATiate HIMSELF WITH RUSSIANS AND HELP PRESIDENT WITH AMERICAN FARMER, DR. KISSINGER ARRANGED FOR WHEAT DEAL TO GO THROUGH. BUT HE DID NOT WANT TO QUEER HIS STANDING IN MOSCOW BY BEING





TOWARD AMERICA THESE DAYS. MR. KISSINGER'S OLD FRIEND CHOU EN-LAI IS MEDICALLY INCAPACITATED AND FULLY OUT OF THE PICTURE. DEPUTY PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING, WHO NOW MANAGES MOST OPERATIONS, IS LESS SOPHISTICATED, LESS SUBTL AND HARDER FOR MR. KISSINGER TO WORK WITH.

HARDLINERS SUCH AS MR. TENG COULD NOT HAVE BEEN FAVORABLY DISPOSED WHEN U.S., AT HELSINKI LAST SUMMER, PLEDGED IT-SELF TO REGARD ALL SOV BORDERS AS "INVIOABLE". LONGEST OF THESE BORDERS IS WITH CHINA, AND PEKING WANTS IT CHANGE WASHINGTON DID NOT HAVE THAT PARTICULAR FRONTIER IN MIND WHEN IT MADE ITS COMMITMENT AT EUROPEAN SUMMIT BUT PEKING OBVIOUSLY COULD NOT HAVE BEEN PLEASED, EVEN IF IT HAS NOT OFFICIALLY COMPLAINED.

MAIN FACT IS THAT SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIPS STILL CENTER ON NEED BY BOTH COUNTRIES TO COOPERATE TACITLY ON A NUMBER OF FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS AND ON SHARING SIMILAR PERCEPTIONS ON ISSUES BOTH CONSIDER IMPORTANT. ALL OF WHICH CAN BE SHORTENED INTO ONE WORD -- RUSSIA.

WHEN MESSRS. KISSINGER AND NIXON FIRST BROKE ICE IN CHINA, THEY WERE IN EFFECT, USING THAT COUNTRY AS A BACKDOOR TO MOSCOW WHERE ARMS REDUCTION AND DETENTE WERE BEING SOUGHT. LATTER KIND OF APPROACH MUST ALWAYS BE FULLY EXPLAINED IN PEKING WHOSE UNDERSTANDING AND CONFIDENCE IS NEEDED BY WASHINGTON.

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHINA AND US OVER TAIWAN ARE LESS IMPORTANT THAN THEIR CONCURRENT NEED TO RESTRAIN SOV TENDENCIES TO EXPAND. PEKING HAS BEEN MADE TO FEEL LATTER ACUTELY IN RECENT MONTHS AS MOSCOW DISPATCHED LARGE MISSIONS OF MILITARY AND CIVILIAN TECHNICIANS TO LAOS ON CHINESE BORDER.

THIS IS NOW BECOMING A DANGEROUS TOUCHSTONE. CHINA HAD BEEN EXTENDING ITS OWN HIGHWAY SYSTEM INTO LAOS; ROAD SECTION UNDER CONSTRUCTION IS GUARDED BY ARMED CHINESE TROOPS. NORTH VIETNAM APPARENTLY WAS UNWILLING TO RISK OPPOSING PEKING'S EFFORTS ALONE; THEREFORE IT CALLED IN ITS SOV FRIENDS TO ASSUME BURDEN.

SITUATION HAS BECOME MORE TENSE IN THAT RELATIVELY OBSCURE CORNER OF SEA. CHINA WORRIES ONCE AGAIN ABOUT MOSCOW'S EFFORTS TO ENCIRCLE IT. CONSEQUENTLY PEKING IS NERVOUS ABOUT PROGRESS OF U.S.-SOV DETENTE, ABOUT RELATIVE INCREASE IN RUSSIA'S ARMED POWER, AND ABOUT FLABBY CONDITION OF NAT AT USSR'S BACK.



DESPITE WIDE IDEOLOGICAL GAP BETWEEN CHINA AND U.S. AND
DESPITE POLITICAL DIFFERENCES AND GLOBAL AIMS, TWO POWERS
SHARE MUTUAL CONCERN ABOUT RUSSIA. AND THAT IS WHAT
PRESENT TALKS AND JOURNEYS ARE ABOUT. BOTH PARTIES AGREE
ON NEED TO UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER ON RULES OF COOPERATION
WITH RESPECT TO MOSCOW.

NOTHING DRAMATIC SHOULD BE ANTICIPATED AS A RESULT OF
NEWEST ROUND OF CONVERSATIONS. CHINA, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS NO
INDICATED AT ANY TIME THAT IT WOULD LIKE TO PURCHASE ARMS
FROM U.S., TO MAKE UP FOR TOTAL BREAK WITH SOV SUPPLIERS.
NOR HAS RUSSIA UTTERED ANY OFFICIAL WARNINGS AGAINST
WASHINGTON'S RESUMPTION OF PEKING PICNIC HABIT.

FROM AN AMERICAN VIEWPOINT, WE DON'T WANT CHINESE TRUCU
LENCE OR SUSPICION TO JEOPARDIZE OUR BASIC POLICY OF
DETENTE WITH MOSCOW. FROM A CHINESE VIEWPOINT, THEY DON'T
WANT THAT POLICY OF DETENTE IN ANY WAY TO JEOPARDIZE CHINA
ITSELF. THIS IS NEITHER NEW NOR, AS I HAVE SAID, DRAMATIC
YET WORLD'S FATE DEPENDS ON HOW WELL GAME IS PLAYED.

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN (KISSINGER, H. A.)

SUBJECT: TRAVELING PRESS REPORTAGE, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 19

FOR FUNSETH FROM S/PRS
NO. 5

LIGHT COVERAGE DUE TO SUNDAY SCHEDULE; STORIES FEATURE
POSSIBLE CHINESE DOUBTS ON VALUE OF US/PRC RELATIONS.

1. WIRES -

AP - SHORT TAKES FROM TOKYO ON RADIO-WIRE (NO BYLINE) TELL
OF HAK BREAKFAST WITH JAPANESE FM MIYAZAWA AND DEPARTURE
FOR PEKING. EMBASSY SPOKESMAN SAYS BREAKFAST TALKS ABOUT
SOUTH KOREAN ADMISSION TO UN, GRAIN SALES TO SOVS, AND
ECONOMIC SUMMIT COMING IN DECEMBER.

UPI - GROMALD FROM PEKING SAYS SMILES AT ARRIVAL DID NOT HID
SIGNS THAT "SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS MAY BE COOLING A BIT."
FM CHIAO GREETED HAK AT PLANESIDE, BUT NO CROWD OF FLAG-
WAVERS WAS ON HAND, AS ON PREVIOUS VISITS.

"FOREIGN RESIDENTS OF PEKING SAID LEFT WING IN CHINA'S
COMMUNIST SOCIETY WAS MAKING NOISES AND QUESTIONING VALUE
OF WARMER RELNS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES THAT GREW OUT OF THAT
1971 VISIT. KISSINGER CAME TO ARRANGE A LATE SEPTEMBER OR
EARLY OCTOBER VISIT BY PRESIDENT FORD AND -- JUST AS
IMPORTANTLY -- TO TRY TO ASSURE THE CHINESE THAT SINO-
AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP IS WORTH EFFORT. DIPLOMATS SAID
CHINESE ARE WORRYING THAT U.S. MAY HAVE BECOME SOMETHING OF
A PAPER TIGER, UNABLE TO SWING INFLUENCE IT ONCE DID IN

*****WHSR COMMENT*****

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WORLD AFFAIRS. THEY SAID CHINESE FRETTERED THAT SUCH DEVELOPMENTS AS CONGRESS TEMPORARILY BLOCKING FORD ADMINISTRATION'S SALE OF ARMS TO TURKEY INDICATED A WEAKENING IN WASHINGTON ABILITY TO INFLUENCE WORLD EVENTS. CHIEFLY, DIPLOMATS SAID, CHINESE WANT TO BE ASSURED THAT AMERICA REMAINS A SUPER POWER CAPABLE OF COUNTERING SOVIET UNION WITH WHOM PEKING IS WAGING A COLD WAR..."

2. NEWSPAPERS

NYTIMES: GELS ON PAGE ONE, HEADLINED "KISSINGER INTENDS TO ASSURE PEKING ON US-SOVIET TIE." BREZHNEV VISIT IN DOUBT - NEWSMEN ARE TOLD HE WILL NOT RPT NOT COME TO WASHINGTON WITHOUT NEW ARMS PACT."

REPORTERS WERE GIVEN IMPRESSION ABOARD PLANE THAT US-SOV RELNS WOULD BE HIGH ON AGENDA FOR TALKS WITH PRC OFFICIALS RELNS AMONG WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, AND PEKING ENTERING A NEW PHASE, WASHINGTON-MOSCOW WAS THE KEY. CHINESE LEADERS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT US ABILITY TO MAINTAIN A BALANCE OF POWER. HAK WILL THEREFORE TRY TO CONVINCE PRC THAT US IS AWARE OF SOV THREAT.

NEWSMEN WERE TOLD THAT BREZHNEV WILL NOT COME UNLESS THERE IS A NEW SALT ACCORD; FIRST TIME LINKAGE OF SALT AND SUMMI WAS STATED DIRECTLY. SOV RESPONSE IS DUE WITHIN THREE WEEKS, BUT NOT EXPECTED TO LEAD TO BREAKTHROUGH. REPORTER TOLD NOTHING MONUMENTAL SHOULD BE EXPECTED OF THIS TRIP; OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND DISCUSS POSSIBLE DIFFERENCES OF CONCEPTION ON PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS. STATUS OF TAIWAN AND PROGRESS ON SHANGHAI COMMUNIQ WILL ALSO BE DISCUSSED. PRC HAS NOT BEEN PRESSING FOR IMMEDIATE SOLUTION OF TAIWAN QUESTION; NO ADVANTAGE TO US TO SEEK FINAL SETTLEMENT AT THIS TIME, NEWSMEN WERE TOLD. UNTIL ABOUT THREE MONTHS AGO, FORD ADMINISTRATION HAD BEEN ACTIVELY CONSIDERING QUESTION; PROBLEM NOW IS WHO WILL SUCCEED AILING PRC LEADERS MAO AND CHOU. HAK REJECTS SUCCESSION AS A PROBLEM, SAYING DEPUTY PREMIER TENG MUST REPRESENT CONSENSUS. TAIWAN WILL NOT BE RESOLVED FOR SOME YEARS, IT SEEMS. OTHER AREAS, SUCH AS TRADE, WILL

PROBABLY REMAIN UNIMPROVED ALSO. FORD TRIP TO PEKING WOULD BE TOTALLY IN PRC INTEREST, BUT IF ATMOSPHERE WAS FOUND TO BE UNCONGENIAL BY HAK, PRESIDENT COULD CHANGE HIS MIND.

NO MATTER WHAT HAPPENED DURING SUCCESSION, PEKING WOULD PROBABLY NOT RPT NOT MOVE CLOSER TO MOSCOW, BECAUSE OF IDEOLOGICAL HOSTILITY AND LONG, DISPUTED COMMON BORDER.



LIMITED PROGRESS IN US/PRC RELNS MADE MOSCOW LESS CONCERNED THAN EARLIER. (COMPANION PIECE FROM BUTTERFIELD IN HONG KONG SAYS PRC LEADERSHIP IS DISAPPOINTED BUT STILL PATIENT WITH SLOW PROGRESS OF US/PRC RELNS. TAIWAN ISSUE AND RECENT TIBETAN SONG AND DANCE ARE SEEN AS TWO EXAMPLES OF REMAINING PROBLEMS.)

WASH POST - GREENWAY ON PAGE 1 FROM TOKYO SAYS PEKING "HAS BECOME OPENLY DUBIOUS ABOUT STATE OF SINO-AMERICAN RELNS AND HOSTILE TO WASHINGTON'S PURSUIT OF DETENTE WITH SOVIET UNION." NEITHER PRC NOR US EXPECT MUCH OF CONSEQUENCE TO RESULT FROM FORD'S VISIT, YET CHINESE APPEAR TO WELCOME CHANCE TO TALK WITH PRESIDENT FORD.

DOUBTERS SAY U.S. HAS LITTLE TO OFFER TO FURTHER RELNS; FULL DIPLOMATIC RELNS, AND BREAKING LINKS WITH TAIWAN, ARE NOT IN THE CARDS, AS KISSINGER HAS SAID.

CHINESE PATIENCE AT THIS TIME UNDOUBTEDLY CAUSED BY PRC FEARS OF USSR. INDOCHINA OUTCOME CREATES NEW PROBLEMS FOR PRC AS THEY FEAR SOVS WILL BECOME PREDOMINANT IN INDOCHINA; POST-HELSINKI EUROPE ALSO DANGEROUS, SINCE WEST GAVE GROUND TO SOVS WITH LITTLE IN RETURN. WAK ADVOCACY OF DETENTE MAY HAVE CAUSED DISILLUSIONMENT; CHINESE FEEL U.S. MAY HAVE ALREADY PAID TOO HIGH A PRICE. PRC MAY WANT "REASSURANCES THAT KISSINGER AND PRESIDENT FORD VALUE SINO-AMERICAN RELNS FOR THEIR OWN SAKE RATHER THAN AS A PAWN IN A SOVIET-AMERICAN GAME. THEY MAY EVEN BE CURIOUS TO SEE IF PRESIDENT FORD'S ATTITUDES DIFFER FROM THOSE OF KISSINGER."

PRC OBJECTIONS TO TIBETAN OFFICE SHOW DEEP MISUNDERSTANDING OF SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. TRADE, MOST-FAVORED-NATION, FROZEN ASSETS ALL REMAIN DEADLOCKED.

"IN THE LONG RUN, HOWEVER, CHINESE CONSIDER BALL TO BE IN WASHINGTON'S COURT AS FAR AS LIVING UP TO TERMS OF SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE IS CONCERNED. THEY MAY WELL BELIEVE KISSINGER HAS BEEN STALLING, AND IF THEY ARE WILLING TO POSTPONE VISIBLE PROGRESS FOR TIME BEING, THEY ARE NOT WILLING TO ABANDON IT."

3. NETWORKS

NO NETWORK NEWS PROGRAMS, EXCEPT RADIO, WHERE ANNOUNCERS KEEP US UP TO DATE ON SECRETARY'S LOCATION AND DINNER PLANS.



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(CHITRIB AND LATINES NOT AVAILABLE; TIME, NEWSWEEK, WSJOURN
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 248521 T06EC 168864

EXDIS
FOLLOWING REPEAT CARACAS 10879, SENT SECSTATE OCTOBER 19:
QUOTE ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ CARACAS 10879

EXDIS
DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO THE SECRETARY
EO 116521 XGDS-1
TAGS: ENRG VE
SUBJECT: PETROLEUM REVERSION - DEMARCHE TO THE PRESIDENT
REF: STATE 241105

1. SUMMARY. PRESIDENT CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ RESPONDED IN A FORTHCOMING MANNER TO THE DEMARCHE I CARRIED OUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SECRETARY'S INSTRUCTIONS. HE SAID HE WOULD LOOK AT THE VARIOUS PROBLEM AREAS OF THE VARIOUS COMPANIES AND MIGHT WANT TO MEET AGAIN WITH ME NEXT WEEK IN THE COMPANY OF THE MINISTER OF MINES AND THE PRESIDENT OF PETROVEN. IT IS MOST IMPORTANT IF WE ARE TO MAINTAIN THE PRESIDENTS CONFIDENCE THAT THE OIL COMPANIES NOT GET WORD OF THIS DEMARCH.

ACTION REQUESTED. IF ANOTHER MEETING DOES OCCUR I MIGHT BE PRESSED ON THE SPECIFIC PROBLEMS OF SPECIFIC COMPANIES. I AM DISINCLINED TO GO BEYOND TODAY'S GENERALIZED PRESENTATION BUT WOULD APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE. END SUMMARY.

2. I BREAKFASTED ALONE WITH PRESIDENT CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ THIS MORNING (OCTOBER 19) AND TOOK THE OCCASION TO CARRY OUT THE SECRETARY'S INSTRUCTIONS IN THE REFTEL.

3. IN COVERING EACH OF THE POINTS IN ORDER (PARAS 2-5D OF REFTEL) I STRESSED OUR CONCERN THAT ALL COMPANIES RECEIVE FAIR TREATMENT AND THAT ALL WISHING TO DO SO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONTINUE IN VENEZUELA UNDER EQUITABLE CONDITIONS. I TOLD HIM QUITE FRANKLY THAT IF ONE OR MORE COMPANIES PERCEIVE AN ELEMENT OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE PROCESS WE COULD HAVE PROBLEMS BETWEEN US. CARLOS ANDRES HEARD ME OUT WITHOUT INTERRUPTION, ONLY OFFERING A SMILE WHEN I CAME TO THE FACT THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ARE IN DISAGREEMENT WITH



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EO. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3 *State Review*
State Dept Guidelines *12/9/03*

By *HR* NAW, Date *8/5/10*

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RESPECT TO WHAT IS AN APPROPRIATE STANDARD OF COMPENSATION.

4. THE PRESIDENT IN RESPONSE CONCEDED THAT PERHAPS NOT ENOUGH ATTENTION HAD BEEN GIVEN TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE SMALLER PRODUCERS. HE SAID IT WAS THE INTENTION OF THE GOV TO MAINTAIN RELATIONS WITH ALL THE COMPANIES THAT WANT TO CONTINUE HERE. HE NOTED THAT THE ELEMENT OF "PROFIT" IN THE CONTRACTS UNDER NEGOTIATION REPRESENT AN INDUCEMENT TO THAT END.

5. ON DRAINAGE, THE PRESIDENT ACKNOWLEDGED THE EXTREME DIFFICULTY OF APPLYING EQUITABLY THIS CONTROVERSIAL PROVISION OF THE LAW. THE PROBLEM HAS BEEN POLITICAL, WITH THE OPPOSITION HIGHLIGHTING THE ISSUE BY FABRICATING A LAW SUIT ADVANCING HUGE CLAIMS FOR DRAINAGE (CARACAS 10317). THE PRESIDENT SAID HE HAD BEEN FORCED INTO A DIFFICULT "MANEUVER" TO REPLACE THE JUDGE IN THE CASE WHO WAS ON THE POINT OF ISSUING ARREST ORDERS AGAINST A NUMBER OF COMPANY PRESIDENTS. HE HAD ALSO ASKED THE FRENCH NATIONAL OIL COMPANIES TO PROVIDE A TECHNICAL OPINION ON THE DRAINAGE QUESTION, FULLY EXPECTING THAT SUCH AN OPINION WOULD BE FAVORABLE TO THE COMPANIES. AFTER THE FRENCH DECLINED THERE WAS NO CHOICE BUT PROCEED UNDER THE LAW, SEEKING THE LEAST ONEROUS FORMULA. IN THE PRESIDENT'S VIEW, THE DEDUCTIONS NOW INDICATED CAME TO ONLY A SMALL FRACTION OF WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN TAKEN--AMOUNTING IN TOTAL, HE SAID, TO LESS THAN 200 MILLION BOLIVARES.

6. WITH RESPECT TO THE COMPENSATION BONDS, THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED SATISFACTION OVER WHAT HE TOOK TO BE A RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUE. HE THOUGHT THE BONDS AS TAX-FREE INSTRUMENTS WOULD BE HIGHLY NEGOTIABLE AND ATTRACTIVE TO INVESTORS. HE THOUGHT IT TO VENEZUELA'S ADVANTAGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL MONEY MARKET TO ISSUE SUCH GOOD PAPER RATHER THAN THE HEAVILY DISCOUNTABLE BONDS INITIALLY CONTEMPLATED. (I DID NOT TELL HIM SO BUT THE COMPANIES WE HAVETALED TO SEEM AT LEAST MODERATELY SATISFIED BY THE CONCESSIONS THE GOV HAS MADE IN THIS AREA.)

7. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THE GOV IS EXAMINING WAYS TO LIQUIDATE THE GUARANTEE FUND AT A MORE RAPID RATE THAN INITIALLY INTENDED. AS FOR THE AMORTIZATION OF CONCESSION BONUSES, THE PRESIDENT ACKNOWLEDGE THAT SOME COMPANIES WERE BEING PENALIZED RATHER HEAVILY FOR HAVING RECEIVED CONCESSIONS AT A DATE TOO LATE TO PERMIT FULL AMORTIZATION. BUT HE SAW NO METHOD OF PROVIDING RELIEF UNDER THE LAW.

8. I RESPONDED TO THESE COMMENTS BY SUGGESTING THAT THE REACTIONS OF THE COMPANIES AFFECTED BY ONE OR MORE OF THESE PROBLEMS COULD BE SKEWERED IF THEY THOUGHT THEY WERE BEING TRATED UNFAIRLY OVERALL. IT SEEMED TO ME THAT EACH CASE SHOULD BE EXAMINED INDIVIDUALLY IN THAT LIGHT. THE PRESIDENT ASKED ME FOR SPECIFICS. WHATS CASES DID



I HAVE IN MIND AND WHAT WERE THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED? I SAID WE WERE FAR FROM FAMILIAR WITH ALL THE DETAILS OF ALL THE COMPANY SITUATIONS. HOWEVER, WE WERE AWARE OF PARTICULAR DIFFICULTIES IN SOME INSTANCES. I MENTIONED AMOCO, SUN AND CHEVRON, WHILE NOTING THAT THIS WAS BY NO MEANS A COMPLETE LIST. THE PRESIDENT SAID HE WOULD CHECK WITH THE MINISTER OF MINES ON THE VARIOUS PROBLEM AREAS OF THE VARIOUS COMPANIES AND THAT HE MIGHT WANT TO ASK ME TO MEET LATER IN THE WEEK WITH THE MINISTER, THE PRESIDENT OF PETROVEN AND HIMSELF TO GO OVER THIS GROUND AGAIN.

9. COMMENT. CARLOS ANDRES REACTED DISPASSIONATELY AND EVEN WITH A TOUCH OF CONCILIATION TO MY PRESENTATION. MY GUESS IS THAT HE WAS REFLECTING WHAT OF LATE I HAVE DETECTED TO BE A STRONG PERSONAL SENSE OF CONFIDENCE IN THE SMOOTH PASSAGE OF NATIONALIZATION. I SUSPECT THAT HE HAS NOT BEEN KEPT FULLY INFORMED ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE SMALLER COMPANIES OR THAT THEY HAVE NOT PUT FORWARD THEIR POSITIONS WITH SUFFICIENT CANDOR AND DETAIL. IN THAT SENSE THE DEMARCHE WAS PROBABLY PARTICULARLY TIMELY. MY HOPE IS THAT IT WILL SUGGEST THE POSSIBILITY OF ADJUSTMENTS IN THE MORE DIFFICULT CASES, PARTICULARLY ON THE FEE-PER-BARREL SIDE.

10. IT SHOULD BE CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THE CORDIAL AND FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE OF TODAY'S MEETING COULD CHANGE VERY RAPIDLY. THE PRESIDENT MANIFESTED HIS CONCERN ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS OVER THE OCCIDENTAL AFFAIR WHICH HE SEES AS A THREAT TO ALL THE COMPANIES AND TO HIS ABILITY TO DEAL WITH THEM ON AN EVEN-HANDED BASIS. HE IS TROUBLED BY THE "IRRESPONSIBILITY" OF THE OPPOSITION AS PARTICULARLY DEMONSTRATED BY COPEI'S EXPLOITATION OF THE ANTI-US, ANTI-MN LINE. (HE SPECIFICALLY CRITICIZED CALDERA AND HIS "UNNECESSARY" ATTACK ON THE OIL COMPANIES LAST AUGUST - CARACAS 8105.)

11. IS IS MY MOST DEVOUT HOPE THAT WORD OF THIS DEMARCHE WILL NOT REPEAT NOT REACH THE OIL COMPANIES. THE PRESIDENT BROUGHT UP WITH ME AGAIN THE APPREHENSION HE FEELS WHENEVER ENGAGED IN CONFIDENTIAL DISCUSSION WITH USG. HE IS NOTHING LESS THAN APPALED AT WHAT HE BELIEVES IS OUR INABILITY TO PREVENT LEAKS OF PRIVATE EXCHANGED WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS. IF WE KEEP HIS CONFIDENCE HE COULD HAVE SOME EFFECT ON THE NATIONALIZATION OUTCOME; IF WE FAIL ON THAT SCORE WE SURELY WILL NOT.

12. ACTION REQUESTED. I WAS SOMEWHAT DISTRESSED TO FIND MYSELF PRESSED ON THE NAMES OF COMPANIES WITH PROBLEMS. I GAVE AS LITTLE AS I COULD IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESIDENT'S FRANK AND FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE. IF ANOTHER MEETING IS CONVOKED HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES MAY WELL ASK FOR MORE SPECIFICS. MY INCLINATION IS TO DECLINE TO GO BEYOND THE GENERALIZED PRESENTATION OF TODAY BUT I WOULD APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE ON THAT POINT, SHLAUDAMAN



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Department of State

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 248521 TOSEC 160064

EXD1S

FOLLOWING REPEAT CARACAS 10879, SENT SECSTATE OCTOBER 19:

~~QUOTE CONFIDENTIAL~~ CARACAS 12879

EXD18

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO THE SECRETARY

EO 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: ENRG VE

SUBJECT: PETROLEUM REVERSION - DEMARCHE TO THE PRESIDENT

REF: STATE 241175

1. SUMMARY. PRESIDENT CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ RESPONDED IN A FORTHCOMING MANNER TO THE DEMARCHE I CARRIED OUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SECRETARY'S INSTRUCTIONS. HE SAID HE WOULD LOOK AT THE VARIOUS PROBLEM AREAS OF THE VARIOUS COMPANIES AND MIGHT WANT TO MEET AGAIN WITH ME NEXT WEEK IN THE COMPANY OF THE MINISTER OF MINES AND THE PRESIDENT OF PETROVEN. IT IS MOST IMPORTANT IF WE ARE TO MAINTAIN THE PRESIDENTS CONFIDENCE THAT THE OIL COMPANIES NOT GET WORD OF THIS DEMARCH.

DECLASSIFIED *State Review*

EO. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3 12/9/03

By HR NARA, Date 8/5/10

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Department of State TELEGRAM

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ACTION REQUESTED. IF ANOTHER MEETING DOES OCCUR I MIGHT BE PRESSED ON THE SPECIFIC PROBLEMS OF SPECIFIC COMPANIES. I AM DISINCLINED TO GO BEYOND TODAY'S GENERALIZED PRESENTATION BUT WOULD APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE. END SUMMARY.

2. I BREAKFASTED ALONE WITH PRESIDENT CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ THIS MORNING (OCTOBER 19) AND TOOK THE OCCASION TO CARRY OUT THE SECRETARY'S INSTRUCTIONS IN THE REFTEL.

3. IN COVERING EACH OF THE POINTS IN ORDER (PARAS 2-5D OF REFTEL) I STRESSED OUR CONCERN THAT ALL COMPANIES RECEIVE FAIR TREATMENT AND THAT ALL WISHING TO DO SO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONTINUE IN VENEZUELA UNDER EQUITABLE CONDITIONS. I TOLD HIM QUITE FRANKLY THAT IF ONE OR MORE COMPANIES PERCEIVE AN ELEMENT OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE PROCESS WE COULD HAVE PROBLEMS BETWEEN US. CARLOS ANDRES HEARD ME OUT WITHOUT INTERRUPTION, ONLY OFFERING A SMILE WHEN I CAME TO THE FACT THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ARE IN DISAGREEMENT WITH RESPECT TO WHAT IS AN APPROPRIATE STANDARD OF COMPENSATION.

4. THE PRESIDENT IN RESPONSE CONCEDED THAT PERHAPS NOT ENOUGH ATTENTION HAD BEEN GIVEN TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE SMALLER PRODUCERS. HE SAID IT WAS THE INTENTION OF THE GOV TO MAINTAIN RELATIONS WITH ALL THE COMPANIES THAT WANT TO CONTINUE HERE. HE NOTED THAT THE ELEMENT OF "PROFIT" IN THE CONTRACTS UNDER NEGOTIATION REPRESENT AN INDUCEMENT TO THAT END.

5. ON DRAINAGE, THE PRESIDENT ACKNOWLEDGED THE EXTREME DIFFULTY OF APPLYING EQUITABLY THIS CONTROVERSIAL PROVISION OF THE LAW. THE PROBLEM HAS BEEN POLITICAL, WITH THE OPPOSITION HIGHLIGHTING THE ISSUE BY FABRICATING A LAW SUIT ADVANCING HUGE CLAIMS FOR DRAINAGE (CARACAS 10317). THE PRESIDENT SAID HE HAD BEEN FORCED INTO A DIFFICULT "MANEUVER" TO REPLACE THE JUDGE IN THE CASE WHO WAS ON THE POINT OF ISSUING ARREST ORDERS AGAINST A NUMBER OF COMPANY PRESIDENTS. HE HAD ALSO ASKED THE FRENCH NATIONAL OIL COMPANIES

TO PROVIDE A TECHNICAL OPINION ON THE DRAINAGE QUESTION, FULLY EXPECTING THAT SUCH AN OPINION WOULD BE FAVORABLE TO THE COMPANIES. AFTER THE FRENCH DECLINED THERE WAS NO CHOICE BUT PROCEED UNDER THE LAW, SEEKING THE LEAST ONEROUS FORMULA. IN THE PRESIDENT'S VIEW, THE DEDUCTIONS NOW INDICATED CAME TO ONLY A SMALL FRACTION OF

The seal of the United States Department of State is located in the top right corner. It features an eagle with wings spread, perched on a shield with vertical stripes. Above the eagle's head is a constellation of stars. The words "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" are arched above the eagle, and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" is arched below it. Two small stars flank the central emblem.

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WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN TAKEN--AMOUNTING IN TOTAL, HE SAID, TO LESS THAN 200 MILLION BOLARIVARES.

7. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THE GOV IS EXAMINING WAYS TO LIQUIDATE THE GUARANTEE FUND AT A MORE RAPID RATE THAN INITALLY INTENED. AS FOR THE AMORTIZATION OF CONCESSION BONUSES, THE PRESIDENT ACKNOWLEDGE THAT SOME COMPANIES WERE BEING PENALIZED RATHER HEAVILY FOR HAVING RECEIVED CONCESSIONS AT A DATE TOO LATE TO PERMIT FULL AMORTIZATION. BUT HE SAW NO METHOD OF PROVIDING RELIEF UNDER THE LAW.

9. COMMENT. CARLOS ANDRES REACTED DISPASSIONATELY AND EVEN WITH A TOUCH OF CONCILIATION TO MY PRESENTATION. MY GUESS IS THAT HE WAS REFLECTING WHAT OF LATE I HAVE DETECTED TO BE A STRONG PERSONAL SENSE OF CONFIDENCE IN THE SMOOTH PASSAGE OF NATIONALIZATION. I SUSPECT THAT HE HAS NOT BEEN KEPT FULLY INFORMED ON THE



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PROBLEMS OF THE SMALLER COMPANIES OR THAT THEY HAVE NOT PUT FORWARD THEIR POSITIONS WITH SUFFICIENT CANDOR AND DETAIL. IN THAT SENS THE DEMARCHE WAS PROBABLY PARTICULARLY TIMELY. MY HOPE IS THAT IT WILL SUGGEST THE POSSIBILITY OF ADJUSTMENTS IN THE MORE DIFFICULT CASES, PARTICULARLY ON THE FEE-PER-BARREL SIDE.

10. IT SHOULD BE CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THE CORDIAL AND FORTH-COMING ATTITUDE OF TODAY'S MEETING COULD CHANGE VERY RAPIDLY. THE PRESIDENT MANIFESTED HIS CONCERN ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS OVER THE OCCIDENTAL AFFAIR WHICH HE SEES AS A THREAT TO ALL THE COMPANIES AND TO HIS ABILITY TO DEAL WITH THEM ON AN EVEN-HANDED BASIS. HE IS TROUBLED BY THE "IRRESPONSIBILITY" OF THE OPPOSITION AS PARTICULARLY

DEMONSTRATED BY COPEI'S EXPLOITATION OF THE ANTI-US, ANTI-MN LINE. (HE SPECIFICALLY CRITICIZED CALDERA AND HIS "UNNECESSARY" ATTACK ON THE OIL COMPANIES LAST AUGUST - CARACAS 8105.)

11. IS IS MY MOST DEVOUT HOPE THAT WORD OF THIS DEMARCHE WILL NOT REPEAT NOT REACH THE OIL COMPANIES. THE PRESIDENT BROUGHT UP WITH ME AGAIN THE APPREHENSION HE FEELS WHENEVER ENGAGED IN CONFIDECNTIAL DISCUSSION WITH USG. HE IS NOTHING LESS THAN APPALED AT WHAT HE BELIEVES IS OUR INABILITY TO PREVENT LEAKS OF PRIVATE EXCHANGED WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS. IF WE KEEP HIS CONFIDENCE WE COULD HAVE SOME EFFECT ON THE NATIONALIZATION OUTCOME; IF WE FAIL ON THAT SCORE WE SURELY WILL NOT.

12. ACTION REQUESTED. I WAS SOMEWHAT DISTRESSED TO FIND MYSELF PRESSED ON THE NAMES OF COMPANIES WITH PROBLEMS. I GAVE AS LITTLE AS I COULD IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESIDENT'S FRANK AND FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE. IF ANOTHER MEETING IS CONVOKED HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES MAY WELL ASK FOR MORE SPECIFICS. MY INCLINATION IS TO DECLINE TO GO BEYOND THE GNERALIZED PRESENTATION OF TODAY BUT I WOULD APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMEN'S GUIDANCE ON THAT POINT. SHLAUDEMAN UNQUOTE
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NODIS

FOR SONDENFELT FROM HINTON

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: ETRD, EEWT, US, UR

SUBJECT: GRAIN/OIL NEGOTIATIONS

REF: SECTO 16031

1. RE REFTTEL PARA 4, THE TEXT OF GRAIN AGREEMENT REMAINS UNCHANGED. FIRST PARAGRAPH OF LETTER OF INTENT NOW READS QUOTE THIS IS TO CONFIRM THE UNDERSTANDING ARISING OUT OF OUR DISCUSSIONS THAT OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS INTEND TO COMMENCE NEGOTIATION PROMPTLY TO CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE PURCHASE AND SHIPMENT OF SOVIET OIL. THIS AGREEMENT WILL PROVIDE FOR THE FOLLOWING: UNQUOTE. REMAINDER OF TEXT REMAINS UNCHANGED.

2. RE PARA 5, PLAN IS TO PROVIDE TEXT OF GRAIN AGREEMENT AND LETTER OF INTENT. DRAFT FACT SHEET WILL BE CABLED TOMMORROW (10/20) SEPTTEL. INGERSOLL

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By HR NARA, Date 8/5/10

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DRAFTED BY NEA:HNSAUNDERS:CSA
APPROVED BY P - JOSEPH J. SISCO
S/S - P. JOHNSON
S: J. COVEY (PHONE)
NSC: GEN. SCOWCROFT (PER SIT RM)

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS

F.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (PRESIDENT SADAT)

SUBJECT: SADAT VISIT SCHEDULE - PONTE VEDRA NOVEMBER 2

ACTION MEMORANDUM (S/S 7520878)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SISCO

1. NOW THAT WE KNOW FROM YOU THE FACT THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL GO TO FLORIDA TO BE WITH SADAT THE MORNING OF NOV 2 AND RETURN TO WASHINGTON THAT EVENING, WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE YOUR REACTION TO A SCHEDULE FOR THAT DAY AND YOUR GUIDANCE ON SEVERAL POINTS WHICH THE SCHEDULE RAISES.

2. WE WOULD SUGGEST FOLLOWING SCHEDULE:

11 AM - PRESIDENT ARRIVES AT PONTE VEDRA FOR A MEETING
WITH SADAT

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By NR NARA, Date 8/5/10

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3 PM - REST

3. THE ABOVE SCHEDULE WOULD HAVE SOME FLEXIBILITY IN IT. THE TIME FOR REST COULD BE ADJUSTED TO ALLOW FOR A FURTHER CHAT BETWEEN THE TWO PRESIDENTS BEFORE THE DINNER IF THEY WISHED.

RECOMMENDATION: THAT THIS BE A STAG WORKING LUNCH WITH SEPARATE LUNCHES FOR THE STAFF AND LADIES.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

ALTERNATIVELY, HAVE THE LADIES PRESENT WITH A SEPARATE LUNCH FOR THE STAFF

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

5. AS SOON AS WE HAVE YOUR REACTIONS TO THE ABOVE, WE WILL CHECK WITH THE WHITE HOUSE AND THEN HAVE EILTS CHECK WITH THE EGYPTIANS.

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6. THIS MESSAGE DRAFTED BY NEA: H.SAUNDERS; APPROVED:
P: J.SISCO; CLEARED BY NSC: GENERAL SCOWCROFT AND S: J.
COVEY. INGERSOLL



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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE 3046

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 248526 TOSEC 168866

EXDIS
E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (PRESIDENT SADAT)

SUBJECT: SADAT VISIT SCHEDULE - PONTE VEDRA NOVEMBER 2

ACTION MEMORANDUM (8/9 7520878)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SISCO

1. NOW THAT WE KNOW FROM YOU THE FACT THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL GO TO FLORIDA TO BE WITH SADAT THE MORNING OF NOV 2 AND RETURN TO WASHINGTON THAT EVENING, WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE YOUR REACTION TO A SCHEDULE FOR THAT DAY AND YOUR GUIDANCE ON SEVERAL POINTS WHICH THE SCHEDULE RAISES.

2. WE WOULD SUGGEST FOLLOWING SCHEDULE:

11 AM - PRESIDENT ARRIVES AT PONTE VEDRA FOR A MEETING WITH SADAT

1 PM - WORKING LUNCH

3 PM - REST

7 PM - PRIVATE DINNER OR POSSIBLY ONE GIVEN BY GOVERNOR ASKEW. PRESIDENT FORD WILL REMAIN FOR DINNER.---

3. THE ABOVE SCHEDULE WOULD HAVE SOME FLEXIBILITY IN IT. THE TIME FOR REST COULD BE ADJUSTED TO ALLOW FOR A FURTHER CHAT BETWEEN THE TWO PRESIDENTS BEFORE THE DINNER IF THEY WISHED.

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4. THE QUESTIONS THAT ARISE AND OUR RECOMMENDATIONS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

A. THERE ARE TWO OPTIONS FOR LUNCH. ONE WOULD BE TO HAVE A VERY SMALL WORKING LUNCH WITH ONLY THOSE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE TALKS. FOR INSTANCE ON OUR SIDE IN ADDITION TO THE PRESIDENT AND YOU THERE MIGHT BE EILTS AND SISCO. ON THE EGYPTIAN SIDE, THERE MIGHT BE FAHMY PLUS ANOTHER ONE OR TWO DEPENDING ON SADAT'S WISHES. IN THIS CASE, AND IF MRS. FORD WILL BE ALONG, WE COULD ARRANGE SEPARATE LUNCH FOR THE LADIES. IF MRS. FORD DOES NOT COME TO FLORIDA, MRS. SADAT IS LIKELY TO TAKE HER CHILDREN TO DISNEY WORLD THAT DAY. THE OTHER POSSIBILITY WOULD BE TO HAVE A SOMEWHAT LARGER LUNCH WITH THE LADIES PRESENT.

RECOMMENDATION: THAT THIS BE A STAG WORKING LUNCH WITH SEPARATE LUNCHES FOR THE STAFF AND LADIES.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

ALTERNATIVELY, HAVE THE LADIES PRESENT WITH A SEPARATE LUNCH FOR THE STAFF

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

5. AS SOON AS WE HAVE YOUR REACTIONS TO THE ABOVE, WE WILL CHECK WITH THE WHITE HOUSE AND THEN HAVE EILTS CHECK WITH THE EGYPTIANS.

6. THIS MESSAGE DRAFTED BY NEA: H. SAUNDERS; APPROVED: P: J. SISCO; CLEARED BY NSC: GENERAL SCOWCROFT AND S: J. COVEY, INGERSOLL
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DRAFTED BY NEA/AFN:STESCUDEMO:MRC
APPROVED BY NEA:HNSAUNDERS
P:JSISCO
S/S-O: P. JOHNSON
S: J. COVEY

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY TUNIS IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~ STATE 248531 TOSEC 160067

NODIS
TUNIS EYES ONLY FOR ASST SECY ATHERTON

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PFOR, US, MO

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMO: TALKING POINTS FOR ATHERTON'S
MEETING WITH KING HASSAN (S/S NO 7520899)

FOR SECRETARY FROM SAUNDERS THROUGH SISCO

1. FOLLOWING FOR YOUR APPROVAL ARE PROPOSED TALKING POINTS
FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON DURING HIS AUDIENCE AS
YOUR EMISSARY WITH KING HASSAN II OF MOROCCO

2. RECOMMENDATION; THAT YOU APPROVE THE FOLLOWING CABLE
TO ATHERTON.

3. BEGIN CABLE TEXT:

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR ASST. SECY ATHERTON'S MEETING

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By HR NARA, GPO 8/5/10



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WITH KING HASSAN
ACTION IMMEDIATE TUNIS NIACT
INFO: IMMEDIATE RABAT
TUNIS EYES ONLY FOR ATHERTON FROM SECRETARY

1. THE FOLLOWING ARE APPROVED TALKING POINTS ON THE SPANISH SAHARA FOR YOUR AUDIENCE WITH KING HASSAN:

YOU SHOULD SAY:

2. THE US IS PLEASED WITH HIS MAJESTY'S CONSTRUCTIVE AND RESPONSIVE REPLY TO MY MESSAGE. IN HIS REJECTION OF MILITARY ACTION AGAINST SPAIN, KING HASSAN HAS AGAIN DEMONSTRATED THE WISDOM AND STATESMANSHIP WHICH I HAVE COME TO ASSOCIATE WITH HIS REIGN.

3. AS HIS MAJESTY KNOWS, THE UNITED STATES IS NEUTRAL WITH REGARD TO THE SAHARA DISPUTE ALTHOUGH WE FOLLOW SAHARAN DEVELOPMENTS CLOSELY AND ARE CONCERNED THAT THE PROBLEM BE RESOLVED PEACEFULLY. MY VIEWS ON THE PREFERABLE OUTCOME OF THIS ISSUE REMAIN AS I STATED THEM TO HIS MAJESTY IN OUR LAST MEETING, BUT I CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT ALL PARTIES WILL APPROACH RESOLUTION IN A MANNER WHICH WILL NOT LEAD TO POLITICAL OR MILITARY CONFRONTATION.

4. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF EACH PARTY COULD GIVE SOME CONSIDERATION TO THE DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED BY THE OTHER PARTIES. SPAIN, BESET WITH INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES, DOES NOT FEEL ABLE TO OPPOSE INTERNATIONAL OPINION IN DIVERTING ITSELF OF THIS COLONIAL APPURTENANCE AND ALGERIA, REGARDLESS OF ITS LEGAL POSITION IS, AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, INVOLVED. IF A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION IS TO TAKE PLACE, SOME METHOD MUST BE FOUND TO ACCOMMODATE OR AT LEAST APPEAR TO ACCOMMODATE EVERYONE'S LEGITIMATE INTEREST.

5. IN THIS CONTEXT, WE HAVE NOTED HIS MAJESTY'S ADDRESS ANNOUNCING PLANS FOR A MARCH OF UNARMED MOROCCAN CIVILIANS INTO THE SAHARA AND WE ARE CONCERNED THAT THIS PLAN, IF IMPLEMENTED, COULD MAKE DIPLOMATIC RESOLUTION OF PROBLEM MORE DIFFICULT IN THAT IT WOULD FORCE THE PARTIES TO FOCUS THEIR ATTENTION ON THIS SINGLE ACTION

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RATHER THAN ON THE BROADER PROCESS OF RESOLUTION. WE BELIEVE THAT THERE NOW EXISTS IN THE UN AN OPPORTUNITY FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BUT IT WOULD TAKE TIME TO WORK ITSELF OUT, AND THE COURSE OF ITS DEVELOPMENT SHOULD NOT BE DISTURBED PREMATURELY. IN THIS REGARD HIS MAJESTY SHOULD BE AWARE THAT THERE ARE MANY THINGS THE US CAN DO TO ASSIST THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS WITHIN A UN FRAME-
WORK WHICH WE COULD NOT DO APPROPRIATELY OUTSIDE OF THAT CONTEXT.

6. AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, WE DOUBT THAT SPAIN WOULD BE PREPARED TO TRANSFER SOVEREIGNTY IN THE SAHARA TO MOROCCO. WE WONDER WHAT POSSIBLE ROUTES HIS MAJESTY SEES AND WHAT

COURSES OF ACTION HE MIGHT PROPOSE WHICH COULD LEAD TO A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION FAVORABLE TO MOROCCO.
END CABLE TEXT.

4. APPROVED BY NEA: H.SAUNDERS; CLEARED BY P: J.SISCO;
S: J.COVEY, INGERSOLL



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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 962

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EXDIS
FOR CATTO FROM BREMER
E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR EGY
SUBJ: MRS. KISSINGER'S TEA FOR MRS. SADAT
(1) AS YOU KNOW, MRS. KISSINGER WANTS TO HOST A TEA FOR MRS. SADAT AT 5:00 P.M. MONDAY. SHE AND THE SECRETARY ARE MOST ANXIOUS TO FINALIZE PLANNING FOR THE TEA AND GET THE INVITATIONS ISSUED RIGHT AWAY. MRS. KISSINGER HAS GIVEN ME THE MAIN PORTION OF THE GUEST LIST AND LEAVES TO YOU AND LUCY WINCHESTER TO FILL IN A FEW ADDITIONAL NAMES AS INDICATED BELOW.
(2) MRS. KISSINGER WOULD LIKE TO LEAVE THE CHOICE OF LOCATION FOR HER TEA TO YOU AND LUCY, SINCE SHE OBVIOUSLY CANNOT USE THE BLAIR HOUSE. SHE DID MENTION THAT SHE WOULD LIKE TO CONSIDER DOING IT IN ANDERSON HOUSE. SHE WANTS YOU TO DECIDE WHERE IT SHOULD BE AND GET THE INVITATIONS OUT WITHOUT REFERRING THE QUESTION OF LOCATION BACK TO US.
(3) THE FOLLOWING WOMEN SHOULD BE INVITED TO THE TEA: MRS. SISCO, MRS. ATHERTON, MRS. CATTO, MRS. EILTS, MRS. HUGH SCOTT, MRS. HUBERT HUMPHREY, MRS. CHARLES PERCY, MRS. FRANK CHURCH, MRS. MIKE MANSFIELD, MRS. WILLIAM PULBRIGHT. NANCY WOULD LIKE YOU TO INVITE ABOUT FIVE OR SIX WIVES OF CONGRESSMEN, PRESUMABLY THOSE WHO ARE ON THE HIRC.
(4) IN ADDITION TO THE ABOVE, MRS. KISSINGER WOULD LIKE THE FOLLOWING WOMEN INVITED: MRS. NELSON ROCKEFELLER; MRS. HEINTZ (NOT OTHERWISE IDENTIFIED BUT I ASSUME LUCY WILL KNOW); SUSAN MARY AND TISH ALSOP; MRS. SALLY PETERSON; MRS. BETTY LORD; MRS. GEORGE BROWN; MRS. BRENT SCOWCROFT; MRS. JOAN BRADON; MRS. KAY EVANS; MRS. POLLY KRAFT; MRS. SUSAN BRINKLEY; MRS. FRANCES BREMER, AND MRS. HOWARD (SCRIPTS-HOWARD PUBLISHING).
(5) IN ADDITION MRS. KISSINGER WOULD LIKE TO INVITE SOMEONE INTERESTING WHO MAY BE IN TOWN PLAYING AT THE KENNEDY CENTER OR AT ONE OF THE THEATERS.



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EO. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3
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By HR NARA, Date 8/5/10

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(6) PLEASE CABLE US ASAP ON YOUR DECISION AS TO WHERE THE TEA WILL
BE HELD. IN ADDITION, MRS. KISSINGER WOULD LIKE A STATUS REPORT
ON ACCEPTANCES AND REGRETS BY WEDNESDAY EVENING YOUR TIME.
(7) WARM REGARDS, KISSINGER
BT



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APPROVED BY EA/PRCM:JSROY
EA:RHMILLER (SUBST)
L:GHALDRICH(SUBST)
L/C:FAKWIATEK
S/S:O: PJOHNSON

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EO. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3
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E.O. 11652: GDS

By NR NARA, Date 8/5/10

TAGS: CPRS EFIN OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) CH US

SUBJECT: US-PRC CLAIMS/ASSETS SETTLEMENT

REF: SECTO 16050

1. WITH REGARD TO BONDHOLDERS ISSUE RAISED REFTEL, DEPARTMENT HAS NO OBJECTION TO WITHDRAWAL OF US STATEMENT OF MARCH 21, 1973 AND OUR AIDE MEMOIRE OF OCTOBER 27, 1973 IF YOU BELIEVE THIS WOULD BE HELPFUL.

2. YOU ARE ALSO AUTHORIZED TO INDICATE WILLINGNESS TO INCLUDE A REFERENCE TO "PERTINENT PRC LAWS AND REGULATIONS; IN SECTIONS OF BASIC LETTER OR DRAFT SIDE LETTER DEALING WITH U.S. PRIVATE CLAIMS, PROVIDED THAT PHRASE IS LINKED SOLELY TO DESCRIPTION OF MANNER IN WHICH PROPERTY WAS TAKEN AND NOT TO VALIDITY OF CLAIMS THEMSELVES. HOWEVER, WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE

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OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW SPECIFIC LANGUAGE IN WHICH
PHRASE WOULD BE INCLUDED TO BE SURE THAT IT IS
INNOCUOUS. INGERSOLL



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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE 3048

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CPRS EPIN OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) CH US

SUBJECT: US-PRC CLAIMS/ASSETS SETTLEMENT

REF: SECTO 16850

1. WITH REGARD TO BONDHOLDERS ISSUE RAISED REFTEL, DEPARTMENT HAS NO OBJECTION TO WITHDRAWAL OF US STATEMENT OF MARCH 21, 1973 AND OUR AIDE MEMOIRE OF OCTOBER 27, 1973 IF YOU BELIEVE THIS WOULD BE HELPFUL.

2. YOU ARE ALSO AUTHORIZED TO INDICATE WILLINGNESS TO INCLUDE A REFERENCE TO "PERTINENT PRC LAWS AND REGULATIONS; IN SECTIONS OF BASIC LETTER OR DRAFT SIDE LETTER DEALING WITH U.S. PRIVATE CLAIMS, PROVIDED THAT PHRASE IS LINKED SOLELY TO DESCRIPTION OF MANNER IN WHICH PROPERTY WAS TAKEN AND NOT TO VALIDITY OF CLAIMS THEMSELVES. HOWEVER, WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW SPECIFIC LANGUAGE IN WHICH PHRASE WOULD BE INCLUDED TO BE SURE THAT IT IS INNOCUOUS. INGERSOLL
BT



DECLASSIFIED

EO. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

State Dept. Guidelines

By NR NAFA, Date 8/5/10

***** W H S R C O M M E N T *****

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TELEGRAM

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 S: JCOVEY
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 NEA:MR. SAUNDERS

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 USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~ STATE 248536 TOSEC 160069

NODIS.

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PFOR, US, MO

SUBJECT: SPANISH SAHARA: OCTOBER 17 MEETING BETWEEN
SECRETARY AND MOROCCAN AMBASSADOR

TUNIS EYES ONLY FOR ASST SECRETARY AHERTON

1. AMBASSADOR BOUTALEB REQUESTED MEETING TO MAKE FORMAL
 PRESENTATION OF KING HASSAN II'S REPLY TO SECRETARY
 KISSINGER'S MESSAGE URGING MOROCCAN RESTRAINT IN SPANISH
 SAHARA. BOUTALEB NOTED THAT THE KING HAD PLEDGED NOT TO
 LAUNCH MILITARY AGGRESSION IN SAHARA AND DESCRIBED RECENT
 MOROCCAN ACTIONS AS INTENDED TO AID THE INSTITUTION OF
 SPANISH-MOROCCAN DIALOGUE ON THE SAHARA. BOUTALEB THEN

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State Dept Guidelines

By HR NARA, Date 8/5/10

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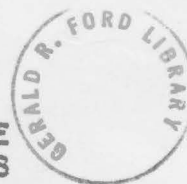
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REITERATED STANDARD MOROCCAN CLAIM TO SPANISH SAHARA AND ACCUSED SPAIN OF WORKING IN THE ALGERIAN INTEREST TO HELP CREATE "A FICTITIOUS NATIONAL ENTITY" IN THE COLONY. BOUTALEB DESCRIBED SPAIN'S POLICY IN THE SAHARA AS INCONSISTENT WITH ITS STANDS ON BASQUE SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS AND REFERENDUM FOR GIBRALTAR. HE THEN OPINED THAT ICJ AND UN FACT-FINDING MISSION REPORTS FAVOR MOROCCAN POSITIONS. HE NOTED SPECIFICALLY THAT ICJ DECLARED SAHARA WAS NOT TERRA NULLIUS PRIOR TO SPANISH OCCUPATION AND AFFIRMED EXISTENCE OF TIES AND ALLEGIANCES WITH MOROCCO PRIOR TO SPANISH COLONIALIZATION. BOUTALEB DISMISSED COURT STATEMENTS SUGGESTING SELF-DETERMINATION FOR SAHARANS AS BEING POLITICAL RATHER THAN JURIDICAL AND THEREFORE OUTSIDE PURVIEW OF COURT.

2. SECRETARY EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING FOR MOROCCAN VIEW BUT SUGGESTED MOROCCO WAIT FOR A TIME TO SEE IF RESULTS OF JURIDICAL DECISION COULD BE EXPLOITED DIPLOMATICALLY.

3. AMBASSADOR BOUTALEB REPLIED THAT MOROCCAN SENSE OF URGENCY STEMS FROM FEAR OF SPANISH-ALGERIAN COLLUSION TO ESTABLISH "AN ARTIFICIAL MOVEMENT FOR THE PURPOSE OF OCCUPYING THE TERRITORY," AND THAT FURTHER DELAY COULD BE RUINOUS TO THE MOROCCAN CAUSE. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES MOROCCANS FEEL IT WITHIN THEIR RIGHTS TO ASK US TO BE ACTIVELY SYMPATHETIC TO THEIR CAUSE.



4. SECRETARY KISSINGER DESCRIBED MULTIPLE COMPLICATIONS WHICH AFFECT THIS QUESTION AND NOTED THE NEED FOR FURTHER REFLECTION. HE AGAIN SUGGESTED THAT HASSAN DELAY ANY PLANNED ACTION FOR SEVERAL WEEKS UNTIL DIPLOMATIC POSSIBILITIES OF THE SITUATION CAN BE DETERMINED.

5. AMBASSADOR BOUTALEB AGREED TO TRANSMIT THIS ADVICE TO HASSAN AND REQUESTED US MAKE DEMARCHE TO SPAIN ON SAHARA.

6. SECRETARY AGREED AND PROMISED TO INFORM MOROCCANS REGARDING DEMARCHE AT A LATER DATE. HE ALSO INFORMED BOUTALEB THAT HIS EMISSARY TO KING HASSAN WILL BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON.

7. ABOVE IS INTENDED FYI ONLY. INGERSOLL

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH

~~SECRET~~ SECTO 16071

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, IS, EG
SUBJECT: OCTOBER 22 TRANSIT OF ISRAELI CARGO THROUGH SUEZ CANAL

REF: TOSEC 160074

1. REFERENCED MESSAGE ARRIVED HERE AFTER 1:00 A.M., LONG AFTER THE SECRETARY WAS ASBED. I HAVE CONSULTED MY COURAGE AND BOB OAKLEY. WE AGREE NOT TO WAKE THE SECRETARY BUT TO SUGGEST THAT IF IT MUST BE RAISED WITH THE ISRAELIS, AS IT APPEARS TO US IT SHOULD BE, YOU SHOULD DO IT THERE AND REPORT BACK FLASH TO US THAT YOU HAVE SO THAT WE CAN SHOW THE SECRETARY THE EXCHANGE IN THE MORNING HERE.

2. IF INSTEAD YOU DECIDE YOU WANT TO AWAIT THE SECRETARY'S VIEWS PLEASE FLASH US SO THAT I CAN ASK HIS VIEWS IN THE MORNING.

3. WARM REGARDS.
KISSINGER



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By NK NARA Date 8/5/10

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PRIORITY

DE RUEHC #8543 2931114

P 201112Z OCT 75 ZPP4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY 3052

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 248543 TOSEC 160072

EXDIS

FOLLOWING TEL SENT SECSTATE FROM CAIRO OCT 20:

QUOTE ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ CAIRO 10471

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (SADAT, ANWAR)

SUBJECT: SADAT VISIT: MRS. KISSINGER'S TEA

REF: A. STATE 248504 (SECTO 16041); B. CAIRO 10403 (PARA 6)

HAVE BEEN ADVISED THIS MORNING THAT MRS. SADAT

ACCEPTS WITH THANKS MRS. KISSINGER'S KIND OFFER

TO HOLD A TEA FOR HER AT 5:00 PM, OCTOBER 27.

EILTS UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

BT



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EO. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

State Dept Guidelines

By HR NARA, Date 8/5/10

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 248575 TOSEC 160075

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), OGEN

SUBJECT: SAFIRE ARTICLE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EAGLEBURGER

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF TOTALLY VICIOUS SAFIRE PIECE THAT APPEARED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES TODAY. IT IS WELL POISONING OF THE FIRST ORDER; MY BASIC CONCERN IS THAT HE WAS EITHER TALKED TO SOME NIXON PEOPLE OR IS AIMING AT FIRING THE PARANOIA IN THAT CAMP. I WILL PURSUE THE SUBJECT GENTLY WITH RON EITHER TODAY OR TOMORROW.

2. BEGIN TEXT: AT A BANQUET IN A FOREIGN COUNTRY, THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE--JUST MAKING CONVERSATION WITH SOME PEOPLE HE DID NOT KNOW--CHATTED ABOUT THE PREMIER OF CHINA, TO WHOSE COUNTRY HE WAS ABOUT TO PAY A VISIT.

HE'S VERY ILL, THE SECRETARY OF STATE CONFIDED TO HIS

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PAGE 02 STATE 248575 TOSEC 160075

CANADIAN LISTENERS, HOLDING CENTER STAGE WITH HIS INSIDE TIDBITS, "I THINK HE'S DYING."

IN ONE OF FATE'S EXQUISITE IRONIES--THE BUGGER BUGGED--A SPEAKER'S MICROPHONE HAD BEEN LEFT OPEN AT THE TABLE, AND ALL THE KISSINGER TABLE TALK WAS BROADCAST TO A PRESS ROOM.

NOT SINCE "UNCLE DON," THE KIDDIES' RADIO HERO OF THE THIRTIES, SAID "THAT SHOULD HOLD THE LITTLE BASTARDS" INTO A SUPPOSEDLY DEAD MIKE--AND THEREUPON DISAPPEARED FROM THE AIRWAVES--HAS THERE BEEN A SIMILAR EPISODE.

WHEN UNCLE HENRY'S OPEN-MIKE SURGERY WAS REPORTED, THE SECRETARY EXPRESSED DISMAY AT THE INVASION OF HIS PRIVACY, AND THE PRESS DUTIFULLY BEGAN A SOUL-SEARCHING ABOUT WHETHER IT WAS ETHICAL TO WRITE ABOUT ALL THAT HAD BEEN SO WIDELY OVERHEARD. NOBODY POINTED TO THE EMPEROR'S NAKEDNESS: THAT IT WAS UNFORGIVABLY INDISCREET FOR A DIPLOMAT TO BE MAKING THAT KIND OF CONVERSATION, ESPECIALLY OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY.

THE ATTENTION CENTERED ON DR. KISSINGER'S ESTIMATION OF HIS FORMER LEADER AS "UNPLEASANT" AND "ARTIFICIAL," HARDLY AN ORIGINAL INSIGHT, BUT FASCINATING TO FOREIGN NATIONS WHO ARE NOT ACCUSTOMED TO HEARING AMERICAN SECRETARIES OF STATE RUNNING DOWN PAST PRESIDENTS OR COMMENTING ON THE RELATIVE SEXINESS OF PREVIOUS FIRST LADIES AT A DINNER.

BEING A CYNOSURE IS FUN, AND THERE IS PLEASURE IN PUTTING DOWN THE MAN WHO PUT YOU UP, ESPECIALLY WHEN YOU USED TO BE HIS MOST FAWNING AND OBSEQUIOUS COURTIER. BUT LAST WEEK'S

PUBLIC EXPOSURE OF THE PRIVATE TABLE TALK LIFTS THE LID ON THE CURRENT STATE OF THE NIXON-KISSINGER POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP, WHICH HAS BEEN DETERIORATING THIS YEAR.

THEY NEVER TRUSTED EACH OTHER, AND BOTH WERE RIGHT: WITHOUT TELLING THE PRESIDENT, A KISSINGER SECRETARY ON A "DEAD KEY" EAVESDROPPED ON EVERY CONVERSATION WITH NIXON; WITHOUT TELLING KISSINGER, NIXON TAPED EVERYTHING. A FORMER TOP WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL RECALLED JUST THE OTHER DAY,

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PAGE 03 STATE 248575 TOSEC 160075

"HENRY WAS THE MAIN REASON WHY NIXON INSTALLED THE TAPING SYSTEM IN THE FIRST PLACE."

AFTER THE FALL, WHEN MR. EX BECAME CERTAIN THAT FOREIGN POLICY WAS HIS HISTORIC SALVATION AND LEGACY, AND WAS HUNGRY FOR HENRY'S CURRENT BRIEFINGS, THE WORD WAS PASSED TO LAY OFF THE CRITICISM, AND INDEED TO "GIVE HENRY A PAT ON THE BACK WHENEVER YOU FEEL YOU CAN."

BUT AT THE VLADIVOSTOK SUMMIT, DR. KISSINGER SOUGHT TO TOUT MR. FORD AT MR. NIXON'S EXPENSE ("HE WOULD NEVER LOOK BREZHNEV IN THE EYE"). IN A FEW MONTHS, WORD OF KISSINGER'S WAY OF INGRATIATING HIMSELF WITH DINNER PARTNERS BY DENIGRATING HIS OLD BOSS DRIFTED OUT TO SAN CLEMENTE, AND MR. NIXON'S DOGGED SUPPORT BEGAN TO FRAY.

NOT LONG AGO, AS THE SECRETARY OF STATE BASKED IN THE ADORATION OF SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY IN THE MIDEAST, MR. FORD RECEIVED A MESSAGE FROM MR. NIXON WARNING THE PRESIDENT OF THE DANGER OF KISSINGER HUBRIS, AND THE NEED TO CUT HIM DOWN TO MERE SUPERSTAR SIZE.

AND EVEN AFTER HENRY CALLED WITH "PROFUSE APOLOGIES" AFTER LAST WEEK'S DINNERTABLE REVELATIONS, MR. NIXON'S FRIENDS LET IT BE KNOWN THAT HIS ATTORNEYS WOULD EXAMINE WITH CARE THE KISSINGER REPLIES TO 72 QUESTIONS ON WIRETAPPING SUBMITTED BY LAWYERS FOR THE EGREGIOUSLY TAPPED MORTON HALPERIN. IF DR. K TRIES TO PASS THE BUCK ON EVERYTHING TO MR. EX, HE MIGHT FIND HIMSELF WITHOUT CORROBORATION.

CURIOUSLY, THAT WIRETAPPING LAWSUIT IS A FINANCIAL INCENTIVE FOR DR. KISSINGER TO CLING TO HIS GOVERNMENT JOB. HIS LONG-TIME PERSONAL LAWYER IN NEW YORK, CARLYLE MAW HAS BEEN ON THE PUBLIC PAYROLL WITH CAR AND DRIVER AS "UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE FOR SECURITY ASSISTANCE," BUT THE PRIMARY SECURITY HE ASSISTS IS HENRY'S; TOGETHER WITH THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT LAWYERS ASSIGNED TO DEFEND HIM, THE LEGAL COSTS RUN WELL INTO SIX FIGURES YEARLY, WHICH THE SECRETARY PREFERS TO HAVE THE TAXPAYER PICK UP.

THIS WEEK, AT THE BANQUET TABLE IN PEKING, AMERICA'S

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PAGE 04 STATE 248575 TOSEC 160075

REPRESENTATIVE WILL HAVE ONLY PLEASANT, NON-ARTIFICIAL RECOLLECTIONS OF MR. NIXON, BECAUSE THAT IS WHAT THOSE HOSTS LIKE TO HEAR. BUT LAST WEEK'S INDISCRETION ABOUT CHOU EN-LAI--THAT CALLOUS "I THINK HE'S DYING" WAS SURELY HEARD HALF A WORLD AWAY--RAISES A NEW QUESTION ABOUT SECRETARY KISSINGER'S STEWARDSHIP.

FOR THE REMARK WAS NEITHER VENAL NOR AMORAL, TRAITS WHICH THE KIS SYCHOPHANTS CLAIM ARE OFFSET BY HIS BRILLIANCE AND METICULOUS CARE. TO SAY ANYTHING LIKE THAT, JUST TO SHOW OFF TO SOME DINNER PARTNERS, IS BOTH STUPID AND CARELESS. AND WHOM THE GODS WOULD DESTROY, THEY FIRST MAKE CARELESS.
END TEXT INGERSOLL



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PRIORITY

DE RUEHC #8781 2931826

P 201804Z OCT 75 ZPP4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY 3059

UNCLAS STATE 248781 TOSEC 160070

REF: SECTO 16065

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 5151, SENT SECSTATE OCTOBER 18:

QUOTE UNCLAS USUN 5151

DEPT PASS ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: UNGA, SHUM, PFOR

SUBJ: FINAL VOTE ON ZIONIST RESOLUTION

1. 70 COUNTRIES VOTING IN FAVOR OF RESOLUTION DETERMINING THAT ZIONISM IS A FORM OF RACISM: AFGHANISTAN, ALBANIA, ALGERIA, BAHRAIN, BANGLADESH, BRAZIL, BULGARIA, BURMA, BYELORUSSIA, CAMBODIA, CAPE VERDE, CHAD, CHILE, CHINA, CONGO, CUBA, CYPRUS, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, DAHOMEY, DEMOCRATIC YEMEN, EGYPT, GABON, GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, GUINEA, GUINEA-BISSAU, GUYANA, HUNGARY, INDIA, INDONESIA, IRAN, IRAQ, JORDAN, KUWAIT, LAOS, LEBANON, LIBYA, MADAGASCAR, MALAYSIA, MALI, MALTA, MAURITANIA, MAURITIUS, MEXICO, MONGOLIA, MOROCCO, MOZAMBIQUE, NIGER, NIGERIA, OMAN, PAKISTAN, POLAND, PORTUGAL, QATAR, SAUDI ARABIA, SENEGAL, SINGAPORE, SPAIN, SRI LANKA, SUDAN, SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC, TUNISIA, TURKEY, UGANDA, UKRAINE, USSR, UNITED ARAB EMIRATES, CAMEROON, TANZANIA, YEMEN, YUGOSLAVIA.

2. 29 COUNTRIES VOTING AGAINST: AUSTRALIA, AUSTRIA, BAHAMAS, BARBADOS, BELGIUM, CANADA, COSTA RICA, DENMARK, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, ECUADOR, FINLAND, FRANCE, FRG, HAITI, ICELAND, IRELAND, ISRAEL, ITALY, IVORY COAST, LIBERIA, LUXEMBOURG, NETHERLANDS, NEW ZEALAND, NICARAGUA, NORWAY, SWEDEN, UK, USA, URUGUAY.

3. 29 COUNTRIES ABSTAINING: ARGENTINA, BOTSWANA, COLOMBIA, ETHIOPIA, FIJI, GAMBIA, GHANA, GRENADA, HONDURAS, JAMAICA, JAPAN, KENYA, LESOTHO, MALAWI, NEPAL, PAPUA NEW GUINEA, PERU, PHILIPPINES, ROMANIA, RWANDA, SIERRA LEONE, SINGAPORE, SWAZILAND, THAILAND, TOGO, UPPER VOLTA, VENEZUELA, ZAIRE,



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CAMBIA.

4. 14 COUNTRIES NOT VOTING: BHUTAN, BOLIVIA, BURUNDI,
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, EL SALVADOR, EQUATORIAL GUINEA,
GREECE, GUATAMALA, MALDIVES, PANAMA, PARAGUAY, SAO TOME
AND PRINCIPE, SOUTH AFRICA, TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO.

5. NOTE THAT USUN RECORDS INDICATE TWO MORE ABSTAINING
DELEGATIONS THAN OFFICIAL TALLY OF 27 ABSTENTIONS.

MONNIHAN UNQUOTE. INGERSOLL

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE 3060

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 246700 TOSEC 100070

EXDIS
FOLLOWING REPEAT CAIRO 10527, SENT SECSTATE, OCTOBER 20:
QUOTE ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ CAIRO 10527
EXDIS
E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (SADAT, ANWAR)
SUBJECT: SADAT VISIT: MEETING WITH CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE
REF: STATE 246371: CAIRO 10462

1. STATE REFTEL RECEIVED TODAY AFTER MY PERTINENT CONVERSATION OF YESTERDAY WITH HASSAN KAMEL REPORTED CAIRO REFTEL. AS INDICATED LATTER MESSAGE, MY DISCUSSION OF YESTERDAY WAS BASED ON TELECON.

2. I CALLED HASSAN KAMEL TODAY TO ASK THAT HE AGAIN TAKE A LOOK AT THE OCT 28 SCHEDULE. I SAID THAT WHILE WE WISH BE GUIDED BY EGYPTIAN VIEWS, THE SECRETARY BELIEVES THE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT FORD SHOULD BE RETAINED ON THE SCHEDULE. AS I HAD TOLD HIM YESTERDAY, IT IS ALSO DESIRABLE THAT PRESIDENT SADAT MEET WITH THESE TWO IMPORTANT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES. ONE POSSIBLE WAY TO DO THIS WOULD BE TO REARRANGE THE OCT 28 SCHEDULE ALONG THE LINES SUGGESTED PARA 3 STATE REFTEL. IT WOULD MEAN PRESIDENT SADAT WOULD ON THAT MORNING HAVE TO BEGIN A LITTLE EARLIER THAN HE NORMALLY PREFERENCES, BUT DOING SO WOULD ENABLE HIM TO GET ALL THE IMPORTANT MEETINGS IN. I RECALLED THE PRESIDENT HAD MADE A SPECIAL POINT OF TELLING ME THAT HE WANTS A FULL WASHINGTON SCHEDULE.

3. KAMEL WAS AGREEABLE. HE MADE A NOTE OF THE PROPOSED ARRANGEMENT OF THE OCT 28 SCHEDULE AND SAID WE CAN ASSUME THAT IT WILL BE AGREEABLE TO THE PRESIDENT.

4. I HAVE ALSO BRIEFED FAHMY ON THE ABOVE REARRANGEMENT. HE MADE NO SPECIAL COMMENT. EILTS UNQUOTE. INGERSOLL
BT



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E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

State Dept Guidelines

By NR NARA, Date 8/5/10

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OP IMMED
DE RUEHC #8782 2931907
O 201806Z OCT 75 ZPP4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE 3061

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 248782 TOSEC 160080

LINDIS
FOR HABIB
FOLLOWING REPEAT JAKARTA 12778, SENT SECSTATE, INFO BANGKOK,
KUALA LUMPUR, MANILA, SEOUL, SINGAPORE, TOKYO, USUN, OCTOBER
20:

QUOTE ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ JAKARTA 12778

LINDIS
EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR INGA KS KN ID
SUBJ: KOREA AT 30TH UNGA
REF: A. JAKARTA 12742 B. STATE 246947

1. SUMMARY: DISCUSSION WITH PRESIDENT SUHARTO CONFIRMS
THAT INDONESIA CONTINUING TO COUNT OF VICTORY FOR
CANADIAN/FRENCH RESOLUTION AND RELUCTANT FACE UP TO
POSSIBLE NEGATIVE VOTE ON NORTH KOREAN RESOLUTION. END
SUMMARY.

2. I SAW PRESIDENT SUHARTO OCTOBER 20 AND INFORMED
HIM THAT I WAS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS RAISE QUESTION OF KOREA
WITH HIM BECAUSE OF OUR STRONG FEELING THIS CONSTITUTED
ISSUE RELATED TO PEACE AND SECURITY IN ASIA WHICH TRANS-
CENDED NORMAL UN CONSIDERATIONS. WHILE WE WELCOMED
INDONESIAN DECISION TO DEFEND PRIORITY FOR AND TO VOTE
FOR CANADIAN/FRENCH RESOLUTION, WE STILL EXPECTED
STRONG EFFORT TO BE MADE, REGARDLESS, TO BRING NORTH
KOREAN RESOLUTION TO VOTE. NORTH KOREA WAS AGGRESSIVE
POWER WHICH COULD ONLY BE ENCOURAGED BY SUCCESSFUL
PSYCHOLOGICAL VICTORY IN UN. KOREAN PENINSULA WAS DANGER
POINT, CONFLICT THERE COULD AFFECT ALL OF ASIA AND PARTI-
CULARLY JAPAN. NORTH KOREA WAS SEEKING REMOVE SECURITY
UMBRELLA AND ISOLATE SOUTH KOREA. WE BELIEVE THOSE
CONCERNS SHOULD TRANSCEND NORMAL CONSIDERATION OF NON-
ALIGNMENT IN UN POLITICS AND STRONGLY HOPE THAT IF NORTH
KOREAN RESOLUTION COMES TO VOTE, INDONESIA AND OTHER



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EO. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3
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By NR NARA, Date 8/5/10

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ASEAN COUNTRIES WILL VOTE AGAINST IT.

3. PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT INDONESIA IN PRINCIPLE AGAINST NORTH KOREAN RESOLUTION BUT UNDERSTANDS THAT CANADIAN RESOLUTION AS AMENDED HAS CHANCE OF ACCEPTANCE AND INDONESIA WILL VOTE FOR IT. HE SAID I WAS CORRECT IN CITING PROBLEM OF NONALIGNMENT RELATIONSHIP. NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES HAVE ENDORSED NORTH KOREAN RESOLUTION AND THIS WOULD MAKE IT VERY DIFFICULT FOR INDONESIA TO VOTE AGAINST IT.

4. I SAID WE APPRECIATED DIFFICULTY BUT BELIEVED THAT PERHAPS OTHER CONSIDERATIONS CLOSER TO HOME SHOULD PREVAIL. I SAID THAT EVENTS COULD MOVE QUICKLY IN NEW YORK AND WE MIGHT ALL BE FACED WITH UNPLEASANT DILEMMA OF VOTE ON NORTH KOREAN RESOLUTION O

VERY SHORT NOTICE. WE ATTACHED MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO THIS ISSUE AND HOPED THAT OUR FRIENDS IN ASIA WOULD THINK VERY SERIOUSLY REGARDING CONSEQUENCES OF SUCCESSFUL NORTH KOREAN EFFORT. I SAID I HAD DISCUSSED MATTER WITH FOREIGN MINISTER MALIK AND THAT I TOLD MALIK I WOULD BE KNOCKING ON HIS DOOR AGAIN IF IT LOOKED AS IF NORTH KOREAN RESOLUTION WOULD ACTUALLY COME TO VOTE.

5. PRESIDENT SAID HE UNDERSTOOD SERIOUSNESS OF MATTER AND THAT HE WAS CONSULTING CLOSELY WITH OTHER ASEAN COUNTRIES. HE AGREED THAT I SHOULD KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH MALIK.

6. COMMENT: IN MY DISCUSSIONS WITH BOTH MALIK AND PRESIDENT I HAVE NOT SUGGESTED (AS PROPOSED REF B) THAT WE WOULD UNDERSTAND INDONESIAN ABSTENTION ON CANADIAN/FRENCH RESOLUTION. WE HAVE INDONESIAN SUPPORT ON THIS AND I BELIEVE WE SHOULD KEEP THEIR FEET TO FIRE. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THEY SEE ABSTENTION ON CANADIAN RESOLUTION AS ALTERNATIVE TO UNPLEASANT PROSPECT OF NEGATIVE VOTE ON NORTH KOREAN RESOLUTION. CERTAINLY ONE KEY TO THEIR ACTION IS WHAT OTHER ASEAN COUNTRIES WILL DO. STRONG JAPANESE POSITION WOULD ALSO HELP BUT WE HAVE NOT YET SEEN ANY CLEAR EVIDENCE OF SUCH HERE. AS EVENTS MAY UNFOLD IN NEW YORK--PROBABLY RAPIDLY--IT IS VERY IMPORTANT KEEP IN TOUCH WITH GOI AMBASSADOR SANI AND TO GIVE US HERE AS MUCH NOTICE AS POSSIBLE WHEN IT APPEARS VOTE ON NORTH KOREAN RESOLUTION IS INESCAPABLE. NEWSOM, UNQUOTE, INGERSOLL

BT



OP IMMED
DE RUEHC #8816 2931935
O 201918Z OCT 75
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE 3067

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 248816 TOSEC 160003
E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN (KISSINGER, H. A.)

SUBJECT: SECVISIT: BACKGROUNDER GROUND RULES

FOR FUNSETH FROM ANDERSON
NO. 6

1. IN HIS STORY DATED LINED PEKING, OCTOBER 19 AND CARRIED
IN OCTOBER 20 ISSUE OF WASHINGTON POST, GREENWAY CARRIES
FOLLOWING DIRECT QUOTES FROM BACKGROUNDER ON WAY TO PEKING:
(A) WHAT CHINESE WANT FROM UNITED STATES IS QUOTE MAINTEN-
ANCE OF THE WORLD EQUILIBRIUM TO THE EXTENT THAT WE LOOK
DECISIVE, AUTHORITATIVE AND CONFIDENT...AS LONG AS THEY
RESPECT US WE ARE NOT IN DIFFICULTIES UNQUOTE.
(B) CHINESE PERCEPTION OF UNITED STATES IS DESCRIBED AS
QUOTE BUMBLING AROUND WITHOUT A PERCEPTION OF THE WORLD
AND WITHOUT AN ABILITY TO EXECUTE IT, THEN WE ARE IN
TROUBLE UNQUOTE.
(C) EXAMPLE OF QUOTE BUMBLING AROUND UNQUOTE WAS QUOTE
DUMPING OUT UNQUOTE OF INTELLIGENCE SECRETS WHICH MUST HAVE
BEEN QUOTE INCOMPREHENSIBLE UNQUOTE TO THE CHINESE.

2. SUGGEST YOU REMIND GREENWAY RULE OF NO DIRECT QUOTES.
INGERSOLL
BT



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EO. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3
State Dept Guidelines

By NR NAWA, Date 8/5/10

PSN1046790

PAGE 01

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TOR:293/19:41Z

DTG:201918Z OCT 75

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OP IMMED
DE RUEHC #8815 2931941
O 201918Z OCT 75 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE 3068

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 248815 TOSEC 160084
EXDIS
E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS:OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS
REFTEL: SECTO 16061

FOR BREMER FROM REINHARDT

WE HAVE BEGUN TO EXPLORE PITTSBURGH PER SECTO 16061
AND WILL MEET YOUR DEADLINE. REFTEL DOES NOT INDICATE THAT
SECRETARY RESPONDED TO PROPOSALS IN BOTH OCTOBER 16 AND 17
MEMOS, BUT WE ASSUME HE DID AND THAT PITTSBURGH IS FIRST
OF ALL POSSIBLE CHOICES. WOULD APPRECIATE CONFIRMATION
BEFORE WE GO TOO FAR DOWN THE PIKE WITH PITTSBURGH. INGERSOLL
BT

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

State Dept Guidelines

By HR NARA, Date 8/5/10



PSN:046797 PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:293/19:47Z DTG:201918Z OCT 75

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PRIORITY
DE RUEHC #8838 2931959
P 281948Z OCT 75 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY 3869

UNCLAS STATE 248838 TOSEC 168285

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, US, PINT

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIAL, SUNDAY,
OCTOBER 19, 1975, HEADLINED "NEO-MCCARTHYISM?"

2. SECRETARY KISSINGER'S REFUSAL, DESPITE A SUBPOENA,
TO HAND THE HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE A MIDDLE-LEVEL
STATE DEPARTMENT MEMORANDUM DISSENTING FROM ADMINIS-
TRATION POLICY IN THE 1974 CYPRUS CRISIS CAN ONLY BE
EVALUATED IN TERMS OF WHAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAS
OFFERED THE COMMITTEE.

3. MR. KISSINGER'S LETTER TO THE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN,
REPRESENTATIVES OTIS G. PIKE OF NEW YORK, OFFERED A FULL
SUMMARY OF ALL CONTRARY AND OTHER ADVICE HE RECEIVED ON
THE CYPRUS CRISIS, AND CRITICISM OF ADMINISTRATION HANDLING
OF IT, WITHOUT IDENTIFICATION OF THE AUTHORS.

4. HE ALSO OFFERED TO APPEAR HIMSELF BEFORE THE COMMIT-
TEE, TO AUTHORIZE TESTIMONY ON THE FACTS OF PAST CRISES BY
ANY FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER AND TO PERMIT ALL POLICY
LEVEL OFFICERS TO TESTIFY ON ALL POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS
RECEIVED OR FORWARDED.

5. THE MEMORANDUM IN QUESTION WAS THE RESULT OF AN
IMAGINATIVE NEW PROCEDURE TO IMPROVE POLICY-MAKING PRO-
POSED BY TWO TASK FORCES OF FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS.

***** W H S R COMMENT *****

VANDERHYE



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THEY RECOMMENDED A "DISSENT CHANNEL" TO PERMIT OFFICERS WHO DISAGREE WITH ESTABLISHED POLICY OR HAVE NEW POLICIES TO RECOMMEND TO GET THEIR VIEWS DIRECTLY TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE; THEIR MEMORANDA CANNOT BE STOPPED BY ANY INTERMEDIATE OFFICIAL.

6. IN VIEW OF THE FACTS, THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE'S INSISTENCE THAT IT HAS THE RIGHT TO REACH INTO THE INTERIOR OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO SUBPOENA THE DISSENTING MEMORANDA OF JUNIOR AND MIDDLE-RANK OFFICIALS--AND TO SUMMON THEM TO TESTIFY ON POLICY ISSUES--IS CLEARLY CONTRARY TO THE NATIONAL INTEREST. THAT PROCEDURE WOULD DESTROY THE FREE EXPRESSION OF VIEWS WITHIN THE STATE DEPARTMENT--THE BEST ASSURANCE OF SOUND POLICY-MAKING--BY TELLING EVERY JUNIOR AND MIDDLE-LEVEL OFFICIAL THAT HIS REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ARE SUBJECT TO CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION AFTERWARD.

7. THE PRINCIPLE MR. KISSINGER IS INVOKING IS THE CENTRAL PRINCIPLE OF RESPONSIBLE, REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT. IT IS THAT THE RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS, TO WHOM POLICY-MAKING IS DELEGATED--OFFICIALS APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT AND CONFIRMED BY CONGRESS--BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THEIR DECISIONS, BUT NOT THE LOWER-LEVEL ASSISTANTS WHO ANALYZE THE FACTS AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS.

8. MR. KISSINGER HAS THE OVERWHELMING SUPPORT OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE IN HIS STAND, WHICH HAS BEEN SUPPORTED IN A LETTER SIGNED BY MORE THAN 200 MIDDLE-RANK OFFICERS. THEIR LETTER COMPARES THE HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE'S PROPOSED PROCEDURE, WHICH UNDOUBTEDLY IS WELL-INTENDED, TO THE SIMILAR BUT LESS WELL-INTENDED METHODS OF THE MCCARTHY PERIOD AND STATES:

9. "MANY OF US BELIEVE THAT THE FOREIGN SERVICE IS JUST NOW--AFTER TWENTY YEARS--OVERCOMING THE LEGACY OF THAT BITTER QUESTION: 'WHO LOST CHINA?' SOME OF US RECALL THE FATE OF THOSE OF OUR COLLEAGUES WHO WERE SWEEPED UP--AND AWAY--IN THE DEBATE."

10. THE HOUSE COMMITTEE WOULD BE WELL ADVISED TO RECOGNIZE THAT IT WILL NOT IMPROVE THE NATION'S INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES BY DESTROYING ITS FOREIGN SERVICE.
(END TEXT) INGERSOLL



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PRIORITY
DE RUEWC #8839 2932881
P 281941Z OCT 75 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY 3871

UNCLAS STATE 248839 T0SEC 160887

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, US, CH

SUBJECT: MEDIA COVERAGE

1. DAN RATHER, FIRST LINE REPORT, CBS MORNING REPORT.

2. HENRY KISSINGER'S TRIP TO MAINLAND CHINA IS, IN PART, A PART OF GERALD FORD'S ELECTION CAMPAIGN. JUST AS RICHARD NIXON'S VISIT TO CHINA IN 1972 WAS PLANNED, TIMED AND CARRIED OUT FOR MAXIMUM BENEFIT TO THE RE-ELECT NIXON DRIVE, SO IT IS WITH MR. FORD'S GRAND CHINA TOUR PLANNED FOR LATER THIS YEAR. THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN DOING THIS FOR A DECADE--PLAYING THE DIPLOMATIC GAME OF PLANNING VISITS TO AND VISITS FROM AMERICAN PRESIDENTS FOR JUST BEFORE ELECTIONS, FOR THEIR OWN BENEFIT, OF COURSE, AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE.

3. THE CHINESE HAVE LEARNED FROM MOSCOW ABOUT SUCH THINGS, AND TODAY, BEGINNING IN 1972, STARTED PLAYING THE SAME GAME--TO THEIR BENEFIT WHEN POSSIBLE.

4. THE CHINESE AND SOVIETS KNOW THAT THE BEST TIME TO NEGOTIATE THEIR INTERESTS WITH U.S. PRESIDENTS IS JUST BEFORE ELECTIONS IN WHICH THE PRESIDENT IS DIRECTLY INVOLVED FOR ONE THING, THEY KNOW THAT IT IS RARE WHEN A PRESIDENT IS WILLING TO RISK GOING TO A BIG INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

AND COMING HOME TO SAY 'WELL FOLKS, NOTHING WAS ACCOMPLISHED' OR RARER STILL 'FOLKS, WE FAILED TO REACH ANY AGREEMENT.'

***** WHSR COMMENT *****

VANDERHYE

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5. NO, PEACE IS ALWAYS AN ISSUE IN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS --HOW TO GET IT, HOW TO HELP IT--AND EVERY PRESIDENT WHO IS IN OFFICE AND IS RUNNING TO REMAIN THERE SEEMS TO WANT TO RUN WITH A NEW "PEACE" AGREEMENT IN HIS HAND FROM THE SOVIETS AND, MOST RECENTLY, FROM THE CHINESE, TOO. ALL THAT BY WAY OF EMPHASIZING THAT KISSINGER ON HIS CURRENT TRIP TO PEKING IS PART OF THE FORD ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

6. THE BEAUTY OF IT, FOR KISSINGER AND FOR THE PRESIDENT, IS, AS WAS THE CASE WITH THE NIXON TRIP IN '72, IMPORTANT FOREIGN POLICY NEGOTIATIONS ALSO ARE PART OF THE VISITS. AND LAST NIGHT, KISSINGER'S FIRST NIGHT IN CHINA ON THE PRESENT TRIP, THERE WAS A GOOD EXAMPLE. THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER DELIVERED A THINLY-VEILED WARNING ON THE DANGERS OF UNITED STATES POLICY OF DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. HE PUT IT BLUNTLY IN ONE PARTICULAR PASSAGE, SAYING OF THE SO-CALLED DETENTE "TO BASE ONE'S SELF ON ILLUSIONS IS TO MISTAKE HOPES OR WISHES FOR REALITY, AND TO ACT ACCORDINGLY WILL ONLY ABET THE AMBITIONS OF EXPANSIONISM AND LEAD TO GRAVE CONSEQUENCES." THE EXPANSIONISM HE IS TALKING ABOUT IS SOVIET EXPANSIONISM. THE CHINESE ARE SOUNDING THE MESSAGE LOUD AND CLEAR. THEY DON'T TRUST THE RUSSIANS. THEY ARE SURPRISED WE DO, AND CANNOT FOR THE LIFE OF THEM UNDERSTAND WHY WE DO. THE CHINESE ARE FRUSTRATED BY WHAT THEY CONSIDER TO BE THE SLOWNESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO FOLLOW UP ON THE OPENING TO PEKING STARTED IN 1972. THEY WORRY ABOUT THAT, AND HAVE BEEN TRYING TO PASS THE WORD THAT CONDITIONS INSIDE CHINA MAY NOT REMAIN CONDUCTIVE TO BETTERING RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. IF WE DON'T DO MORE, QUICKLY, TO HELP.

7. THE CHINESE TAKE CARE NOT TO BE TOO HARD ON DR. KISSINGER OR FOR THAT MATTER, ON THE U.S. AS A WHOLE. THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP SEEMS TO UNDERSTAND WELL THE UNIQUE CIRCUMSTANCES OF A SITTING PRESIDENT, RICHARD NIXON, BEING CAUGHT IN WHAT WERE UNETHICAL IF NOT OUTRIGHT CRIMINAL ACTS, AND BEING FORCED OUT OF OFFICE BECAUSE OF THEM. THE CHINESE MAY NOT AGREE WITH WHAT WAS DONE AND THEY MAY BE PUZZLED ABOUT THE WORKINGS OF THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, BUT THEY ARE WISE ENOUGH TO KNOW THAT THINGS IN THIS COUNTRY HAVE BEEN, TO SAY THE LEAST, A BIT UNSETTLED THIS PAST YEAR. BUT THEY ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT



KISSINGER AND PRESIDENT FORD HAVE BEEN WORKING HARDER TO PLEASE THE SOVIETS, MUCH HARDER, THAN THEY HAVE TO PLEASE THE CHINESE. THEY ARE TIRED OF THAT AND ARE SAYING SO, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME WARNING US THAT WHILE THE SOVIET UNION MAY POSE A THREAT TO CHINA, IT ALSO--WHATEVER WE MAY CHOOSE TO BELIEVE AS A RESULT OF SOMETHING CALLED DETENTE--STILL POSES A REAL AND PRESENT DANGER TO AMERICA AS WELL.

8. THE CHINESE WANT TO HELP THEMSELVES BY GETTING US TO BE AT LEAST A LITTLE LESS BELIEVING OF THE RUSSIANS. INGERSOLL
BT



PRIORITY
DE RUEHC #8848 2932884
P 201943Z OCT 75 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY 3072

UNCLAS STATE 24884 TOSEC 160068

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, US, PINT

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT THREE LETTERS TO THE EDITOR, WASH-
INGTON POST, MONDAY, OCTOBER 20, HEADED "KISSINGER'S
CONVERSATION."

2. IN RECENT MONTHS, THE PRESS HAS JUSTIFIABLY POINTED AN
ACCUSATORY FINGER AT CERTAIN FEDERAL AGENCIES FOR INFRING-
ING UPON CONSTITUTIONALLY GUARANTEED RIGHTS THROUGH VARIOUS
FORMS OF EAVESDROPPING, SUCH AS WIRETAPS, PLANTED MICRO-
PHONES, MAIL OPENINGS, ETC. I FIND IT DIFFICULT ON MORAL
GROUNDS TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THESE KINDS OF EAVESDROPPING
AND THE SURREPTITIOUS LISTENING TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S
DINNER CONVERSATION IN OTTAWA WHICH LED TO THE MUCH-PUBLI-
CIZED NEWS STORY.

3. THERE COULD HAVE BEEN NO DOUBT IN ANY OF THE LISTENERS'
MINDS THAT THEY WERE OVERHEARING REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY
WHICH HE BELIEVED, AND WAS ENTITLED TO BELIEVE, WERE BEING
MADE IN PRIVATE. LEAVING ASIDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT AN
AMBITIOUS REPORTER MAY HAVE ARRANGED TO HAVE THE MICROPHONE
LEFT OPEN, THERE MAY BE A LEGAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN THIS

TYPE OF EAVESDROPPING AND AN INTENTIONALLY PLANTED MICRO-
PHONE--BUT MORALLY?

4. WHY DID NOT SOMEONE GET WORD TO THE SECRETARY OR TAKE

*****WHSR COMMENT*****

VANDERHYE

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OTHER STEPS TO CORRECT THE OVERSIGHT? HOW MUCH MORE REFRESHING, AND NEWSWORTHY, WOULD THE STORY HAVE BEEN HAD THE HEADLINE READ: "REPORTER'S INITIATIVE PROTECTS SECRETARY OF STATE'S PRIVACY." INSTEAD, WE HAD JUST ANOTHER SORDID EXAMPLE OF THE VIOLATION OF AN INDIVIDUAL'S RIGHTS. THE PRESS NOT ONLY MISSED A MUCH BETTER NEWS STORY, BUT ALSO A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE ITS INTEGRITY IN A HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL AREA. (FROM JOHN B. OLIVER, MCLEAN.)

5. I FIND IT ABSOLUTELY AMAZING THAT A NEWSPAPER AS PROFESSIONAL AS THE POST PRINTED BRUCE GARVEY'S "GOSSIP COLUMN" ABOUT KISSINGER'S PRIVATE OBSERVATIONS ON RICHARD NIXON ON THE FRONT PAGE OF THE OCTOBER 17 PAPER.

6. EVEN MORE INTERESTING IS THE FACT THAT THE HEADLINE READS "KISSINGER CALLS NIXON 'UNPLEASANT,' WHEN FURTHER DOWN HE READ THAT HE ALSO CALLED HIM "ONE OF OUR BETTER PRESIDENTS."

7. I AM NO NIXON FAN, BUT WHAT'S FAIR IS FAIR. (FROM BRENDA HATTON, ARLINGTON.)

8. WHILE MANY LIBERALLY-MINDED PEOPLE DEPLORE THE ILLEGAL SPY TACTICS OF THE FBI OR CIA, NEVERTHELESS, THEIR EARS EAGERLY EXTEND A FOOT LONGER AT THE OPPORTUNITY TO EAVESDROP ON THE NIXON TAPES, OR MORE RECENTLY, THE SECRETARY

OF STATE'S CASUAL DINNER CONVERSATION. THE NOBLE AS WELL AS THE ETHICAL REMEDY WOULD HAVE BEEN TO APPRISE DR. KISSINGER THAT HIS CONVERSATION WAS BEING MONITORED AND TO TURN THE MICROPHONE OFF. FAILURE TO DO SO ON THE PART OF THOSE WHO ADVOCATE RIGHTS OF PRIVACY REPRESENTS AN INDEFENSIBLE DOUBLE STANDARD. PAUL L. SILVERMAN, ROCKVILLE.
(END TEXT) INGERSOLL
BT



PRIORITY

DE RUEHC #8929 2932104

P 202047Z OCT 75 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY 0000

UNCLAS STATE 248929 TOSEC 160090

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN (KISSINGER, H. A.)

SUBJECT: TRAVELLING PRESS SUMMARY, MONDAY, OCTOBER 20

FOR FUNSETH FROM S/PRS

NO. 7

1. WIRES

UPI OVERNIGHT - GROWALD REPORTED HAK AND VICE PREMIER TENG BEGAN TALKS MONDAY BY LAUGHING OFF A DINNER DISPUTE OVER DETENTE. TENG SAID QUARREL DOES NOT MATTER; HAK REPLIED THAT AN ARGUMENT QUOTE GIVES THE PRESS SOMETHING TO WRITE ABOUT UNQUOTE.

QUOTE THERE WAS LITTLE SMILING 12 HOURS EARLIER AS KISSINGER AND CHINESE FM CHIAO CROSSED SWORDS BETWEEN COURSES OF SHARK'S FIN SOUP AND STUFFED WHITE MELON. CHINA'S TOP DIPLOMAT CRITICIZED US-SOVIET DETENTE, INDICATING ONLY WAY TO DEAL WITH KREMLIN 'IS TO WAGE A TIT-FOR-TAT STRUGGLE AGAINST IT. TO BASE ONESELF ON ILLUSIONS, TO MISTAKE HOPES OR WISHES FOR REALITY AND ACT ACCORDINGLY, WILL ONLY ABET AMBITIONS OF EXPANSIONISM AND LEAD TO GRAVE CONSEQUENCES.' UNQUOTE.

QUOTE KISSINGER DEFENDED DETENTE, SAYING AMERICA BACKS 'EVERY EFFORT TO AVOID NEEDLESS CONFRONTATIONS... EACH COUNTRY MUST ASSUME POLICY SUITABLE TO ITS OWN CIRCUMSTANCES.' UNQUOTE

QUOTE US DIPLOMATS PLAYED DOWN DEBATE, SAYING IT WOULD HAVE BEEN SURPRISING IF CHINA FAILED TO CRITICIZE A NEW FRIEND-- AMERICA--FOR GETTING TOO CLOSE TO AN OLD ENEMY -- SOVIET



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UNION UNQUOTE.

25

LATER DAYLEAD SAYS HAK AND TENG MET FOR ONE HOUR AND 48 MINUTES IN THE GREAT HALL BEFORE BREAKING FOR LUNCH AND A TOUR OF MUSEUM. A SPOKESMAN SAID TALKS WERE QUOTE CORDIAL AND FRANK UNQUOTE BUT ONLY DESCRIBED THEM AS QUOTE A REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL SITUATION UNQUOTE.

AP - OVERNIGHT RADIO SPOTS CITES QUOTE A SENIOR MEMBER OF AMERICAN DELEGATION NOW IN PEKING UNQUOTE THAT HE FEELS QUOTE THE CHINESE BELIEVE THE US HAS GAINED STRENGTH IN THE PAST YEAR. UNQUOTE THEY DO NOT BELIEVE THE US IS AS STRONG AS BEFORE WATERGATE. LATER REPORT TELLS OF MORNING MEETING WITH TENG AND TOUR OF ANCIENT ART MUSEUM, AS WELL AS PLANS FOR OPERA THIS EVENING.

FREED REPORT IN MIDMORNING REPEATS EARLIER STORIES ABOUT TOASTS AND DETENTE, GOES ON TO CITE TENG SAYING QUOTE IT SHOULD BE SAID THAT THERE ARE QUITE A FEW CHANGES IN WORLD IN LAST ELEVEN MONTHS (SINCE KISSINGER'S LAST VISIT). THERE IS, THEREFORE, A NEED TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THESE CHANGES. UNQUOTE KISSINGER NODDED IN AGREEMENT.

2. NEWSPAPERS

NYTIMES - GELB ON PAGE ONE (WITH PHOTO OF HAK, TENG, AND CHIAO ARRIVING FOR BANQUET) SAYS CHIAO'S WELCOME WAS THINLY VEILED WARNING ON THE DANGERS OF DETENTE. TIT-FOR-TAT, HEGEMONISM, AND AMBITIONS OF EXPANSIONISM CITED; HAK RESPONSE OF OPEN COMMUNICATION TO BOTH MOSCOW AND PEKING, AS WELL AS WILLINGNESS TO STAND UP TO SOVIETS IF NECESSARY. QUOTE THUS, WITHOUT EITHER SIDE'S HAVING NAMED THE SOVIET UNION, BASIC PURPOSE OF KISSINGER'S FOUR-DAY VISIT AND OF TRIP SOON TO BE MADE BY PRESIDENT FORD WAS REVEALED. PEKING AND WASHINGTON DO NOT FORESEE IMMEDIATE CONFLICTS WITH EACH OTHER, BUT BOTH WOULD LIKE TO USE THEIR RELATIONSHIP AS A PRESSURE POINT AGAINST MOSCOW. UNQUOTE

FM CHIAO QUOTED IN TOAST: QUOTE ON THE WHOLE CHINESE-US RELATIONS HAVE MOVED FORWARD IN THE LAST FEW YEARS. UNQUOTE GELB: QUOTE IT WAS MADE CLEAR THAT THIS WAS INTENDED TO DAMPEN RECENT SPECULATION THAT PEKING WAS UNHAPPY WITH

ASHINGTON'S PROGRESS TOWARD FULFILLING THE OBJECTIVE OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE... IT WAS ALSO FULLY CONSISTENT WITH ANALYSIS OF CHINESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS OFFERED BY THE OMNI-PRESENT QUOTE SENIOR OFFICIAL UNQUOTE ON MR. KISSINGER'S PLANE AFTER IT LEFT TOKYO FOR PEKING. UNQUOTE



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DESPITE MIYAZAWA URGING RECONCILIATION BETWEEN KOREAS, REPORTERS WERE TOLD TO EXPECT NO SURPRISES. PRC WOULD DISCOURAGE AGGRESSION ON KOREAN PENINSULA, BUT NEITHER SENIOR OFFICIAL NOR ANY OTHER US OFFICIAL WOULD DEAL WITH NORTH KOREAN WITHOUT SOUTH'S PARTICIPATION. NO DEALS PLANNED FOR OIL OR GRAIN, NOR FOR ECONOMIC OR MILITARY AID TO PRC, BUT ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE SYMPATHETIC TO A REQUEST FOR HIGH TECHNOLOGY ITEMS. REMAINDER OF STORY TELLS OF TOASTS AND SHORT SPEECH IN CHINESE BY THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON POST - GREENWAY LEADS FRONT PAGE FROM PEKING SAYING HAK AND FM CHIAO QUOTE AIRED SOME OF THEIR DIFFERENCES PUBLICLY...AT A BANQUET HONORING SECRETARY'S EIGHTH VISIT TO THIS COUNTRY UNQUOTE. CHIAO CITED ON HEGEMONISM, TIT-FOR-TAT, AND AMBITIONS OF EXPANSIONISM; QUOTE THE LECTURING TONE OF THE TOAST WENT FAR BEYOND THE USUALLY BLAND LANGUAGE UNQUOTE OF PREVIOUS VISITS. HAK'S REPLY CITED, INCLUDING QUOTE TRIUMPH OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT UNQUOTE DURING THE LONG MARCH 40 YEARS AGO.

GREENWAY: QUOTE DESPITE RATHER MORE FORCEFUL THEN USUAL TONE OF BANQUET TOASTS TO AIR THESE DIFFERENCES (ON DETENTE) THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE...WAS OF FRIENDLINESS IN THE INTEREST OF PROMOTING SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIPS...

QUOTE THE SENIOR OFFICIAL WHO IS USUALLY QUOTED ON KISS-INGER'S PLANE SAID, BEFORE THE LANDING IN PEKING, THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT ANY SIGNIFICANT ANNOUNCEMENTS TO EMERGE FROM THE SECRETARY'S TRIP ... WHATEVER WAS DISCUSSED DURING HIS VISIT SPECIFIC ISSUES WERE NEVER AS IMPORTANT IN THE SECRETARY'S ANNUAL MEETINGS IN PEKING AS AN ASSESSMENT OF THE GLOBAL SITUATION.

QUOTE IN THIS REGARD, THE SENIOR OFFICIAL SAID, WHAT THE CHINESE WANT FROM THE U.S. IS MAINTENANCE OF THE WORLD EQUILIBRIUM TO THE EXTENT THAT WE LOOK DECISIVE, AUTHORITATIVE AND CONFIDENT ... AS LONG AS THEY RESPECT US WE ARE NOT IN DIFFICULTIES.

QUOTE BUT IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CHINESE PERCEIVE THE U.S. AS 'BUNGLING AROUND WITHOUT A PERCEPTION OF THE WORLD AND WITHOUT AN ABILITY TO EXECUTE IT, THEN WE ARE IN TROUBLE THE SENIOR OFFICIAL SAID.

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QUOTE AN EXAMPLE OF SUCH 'BUNGLING AROUND' WAS THE 'DUMPING OUT' OF INTELLIGENCE SECRETS, WHICH, THE SENIOR OFFICIAL SAID, MUST HAVE BEEN 'INCOMPREHENSIBLE



TO THE CHINESE. UNQUOTE

WSJOURNAL - KEATLEY ON PAGE FOUR SAYS TALKS BEGAN TODAY QUOTE DESIGNED TO PROLONG THE MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHINA. UNQUOTE THE MAIN CONCERN, ASIDE FROM PROTOCOL RELATING TO THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP, WILL BE ASSURING THE PRC THAT THE U.S. QUOTE REMAINS A STRONG NATION WITH A COHERENT FOREIGN POLICY, ABLE TO BLUNT SOVIET EFFORTS TO SPREAD ITS WORLD INFLUENCE. UNQUOTE. WARNING IN BANQUET TOASTS CITED. NOTHING DRAMATIC IS EXPECTED; NO EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS, NO TRADE IMPROVEMENTS. TAIWAN REMAINS MOST VISIBLE BILATERAL ISSUE; U.S. REFUSES TO BREAK RELATIONS, CHINA SHOWS PATIENCE. OTHER ISSUES WHERE THERE MIGHT BE MOVEMENT INCLUDE FROZEN ASSETS, WHICH WOULD OPEN POSSIBILITY OF DIRECT SEA AND AIR TRAVEL, AND MOST-FAVORED-NATION, AS WELL AS SCHOLARLY EXCHANGES, NEWS BUREAUS, AND ABILITY OF DIPLOMATS TO TRAVEL WITHIN HOST COUNTRIES.

(CHITRIB AND LATIMES NOT YET IN)

3. NETWORKS

TED KOPPEL, ABC TV: AS HAK FLEW LAST LEG INTO PEKING YESTERDAY HE WAS APPROACHING A GOVT IN FLUX. ITS TWO MOST PROMINENT AND INFLUENTIAL LEADERS, MAO TSE-DUNG AND CHOU EN-LAI, ARE OLD AND SICK, AND ALTHOUGH AMERICAN CHINA SPECIALISTS BELIEVE THAT TRANSITION TO NEW LEADERSHIP IS PROCEEDING SMOOTHLY, THERE IS AT MOMENT NOT MUCH ROOM FOR MANEUVERING IN CHINESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

FOLLOWING AN IN-FLIGHT BRIEFING FOR NEWSMEN AND SOME LAST MINUTE DISCUSSIONS WITH HIS TOP CHINA EXPERTS, HAK LANDED IN PEKING FOR EIGHTH TIME IN FOUR YEARS. HE WAS MET IN WHAT HAS BECOME A STANDARD PATTERN OVER THAT PERIOD -- A LOW-KEY BUT FRIENDLY RECEPTION COMMITTEE HEADED BY CHINA'S FM CHAO KUAN-HUA. THEN, LAST NIGHT, A WELCOMING BANQUET AT GREAT HALL OF PEOPLE. IN ATTENDANCE TENG HSIAO-PING, MAN WHO NOW WIELDS DAY TO DAY POWER IN CHINA.

IN HIS WELCOMING TOAST, FM CHAO WASTED NO TIME IN SPELLING OUT CHINA'S FEARS -- A GENERAL LACK OF FAITH IN DETENTE, A SPECIFIC MISTRUST OF SOVIET UNION. HAK GAVE AN UNUSUALLY BLUNT REPLY. QUOTE EACH COUNTRY UNQUOTE HE SAID QUOTE MUST PURSUE A POLICY SUITABLE TO ITS OWN CIRCUMSTANCES UNQUOTE AND DETENTE, HE WAS CLEARLY SAYING, IS SUITABLE TO

AMERICAN CIRCUMSTANCES.



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WHETHER BY ACCIDENT OR DESIGN, CHINESE DIMMED LIGHTS DURING TOUGHEST SECTION OF HAK'S TOAST, AND FILMING BECAME POSSIBLE AGAIN ONLY DURING CORDIAL CLINKING OF GLASSES FOLLOWING TOAST.

A COMMON THEME HAD BEEN SOUNDED THOUGH, MUTUAL INTEREST DESPITE OVERWHELMING DIFFERENCES.

THERE WILL BE NO DRAMATIC ANNOUNCEMENTS OUT OF THIS TRIP, AND PROBABLY NONE OUT OF PRESIDENT FORD'S NEXT MONTH. TAIWAN CONTINUES TO STAND IN WAY OF A NORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN US AND CHINA. AS LONG AS THERE IS A MUTUAL DEFENSE PACT BETWEEN TAIWAN AND US THERE CAN BE NO EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND PEKING. AND SINCE PRESIDENT FORD IS NOT ABOUT TO ALIENATE CONSERVATIVE WING OF REPUBLICAN PARTY BY CANCELLING THAT DEFENSE PACT DURING AN ELECTION YEAR, BEST THAT CAN BE HOPED FOR IN CHINESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS IS A QUIET STATUS QUO. IT IS TO THAT END THAT HAK WILL BE WORKING THIS WEEK.

DON OLIVER, NBC TV: DR. KISSINGER TOLD REPORTERS ON WAY TO CHINA NOT TO LOOK FOR ANY SPECTACULARS. BUT HE SAID HE FELT THAT PROGRESS WOULD BE MADE ON NORMALIZING RELNS.

JUDGING FROM RECEPTION HE GOT AT PEKING AIRPORT, PROGRESS WILL BE SLOW IN COMING. THERE WERE ONLY A HANDFUL OF CHINESE OFFICIALS, LEAD BY FM CHAO. OBSERVERS SAID IT WAS COLDEST SHOULDER THAT HAK HAS GOTTEN ON ANY OF HIS EIGHT TRIPS TO CHINA.

CHINESE ARE SAID TO BE UNHAPPY ABOUT US DETENTE WITH RUSSIA, DISTURBED BECAUSE THERE HAS BEEN NO REAL ADVANCE IN AMERICAN-CHINESE RELATIONSHIPS IN ALMOST TWO YEARS. AND THEY ARE QUESTIONING WHETHER US HAS WILL ANY MORE TO EXERT LEADERSHIP IN WORLD POWER POLITICS.

AT A PICTURE-TAKING SESSION IN GREAT HALL, BOTH SIDES WERE ALL SMILES. CHINESE VICE PREMIER TENG TOLD HAK A STORY ABOUT CHINESE COMMUNIST LONG MARCH IN 1930'S.

TENG IS MAN US MUST DEAL WITH NOW, SINCE BOTH MAO TSE-DUNG AND CHOU EN-LAI ARE IN POOR HEALTH AND MAY NOT SEE SECSTATE AT ALL.

THERE WAS NO SUBSTANCE IN FIRST DAY'S MEETINGS, BUT AT EVENING BANQUET THERE WAS A HINT OF DIFFICULTIES TO COME. FM CHAO PROPOSED A TOAST, BUT IN DOING SO HE CAUTIONED THAT



DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR IS MOUNTING. CHINA, HE SAID, IS MAKING ALL NECESSARY PREPARATIONS. HE ADDED THAT COMMON DESIRE OF CHINESE AND AMERICAN PEOPLES IS THAT SINO-US RELATIONS CONTINUE TO MOVE AHEAD.

IN HIS FOLLOW-UP TOAST, DR. KISSINGER ACKNOWLEDGED THAT EACH COUNTRY MUST PURSUE A POLICY SUITABLE TO ITS OWN CIRCUMSTANCES. BUT HE SAID THE US WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO AVOID NEEDLESS CONFRONTATIONS, AND IT CAN DO SO WITHOUT THREATENING SECURITY OF THIRD COUNTRIES.

KISSINGER: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US ARE APPARENT. OUR TASK IS NOT TO INTENSIFY THOSE DIFFERENCES, BUT TO ADVANCE OUR RELATIONSHIP ON BASIS OF OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS.

OLIVER: NOW THAT PUBLIC RHETORIC IS OUT OF WAY, GLASSES HAVE BEEN CLINKED, TWO SIDES WILL SIT DOWN TO HASH OVER THEIR VIEWS OF WORLD SITUATION AND TO MAKE PLANS FOR PRESIDENT FORD'S CHINA TRIP LATER THIS YEAR.

AS REHEARSED AND STILTED AS THESE PEKING CONFERENCES ARE, THEY STILL PROVIDE ONLY REAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ANY DIALOGUE BETWEEN US AND CHINA. AS TONIGHT'S BANQUET INDICATED, RELATIONSHIP STILL HAS A LONG WAY TO GO.

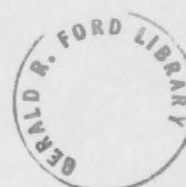
BERNARD KALB, CBS TV: SECRETARY AND MRS. KISSINGER WERE WELCOMED BY FM CHAO, THIS VISIT BY HAK HIS EIGHTH SINCE HIS CELEBRATED SECRET VISIT IN 1971. BUT HIS FIRST VISIT SINCE US SETBACK IN INDOCHINA LAST SPRING.

RITUAL OF A DIPLOMATIC VISIT TO PEKING CALLS FOR A RENDEZVOUS AT GREAT HALL OF PEOPLE. IN PAST, IT WAS HERE THAT HAK CONFERRED WITH PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI. THE 77 YEAR OLD LEADER HAS BEEN HOSPITALIZED FOR AN EXTENDED PERIOD.

HAK MEETING NOW TIH DEPUTY PREMIER TENG, WHO RUNS CHINA'S DAY TO DAY AFFAIRS, AND IS WIDELY REGARDED AS AN EXTENSION OF CHOU AND CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-DUNG IN ADVOCATING AN AMERICAN CONNECTION TO OFFSET MENACE THAT CHINESE SEE IN RUSSIANS.

THERE IS ALWAYS ON A VISIT TO PEKING A KIND OF FAMILY PORTRAIT OF GUESTS AND HOSTS, A SOUVENIER FOR FOLKS BACK HOME. AND THEN BANQUET, INEVITABLY A CULINARY WORK OF ART. SHARKS' FINS WITH CRAB, CRISP PIGEON, MANDARIN FISH, WINTER MELON SOUP.

TIME OF TOASTS SAW FM SHARPLY BLAST WITHOUT MENTIONING ANY COUNTRY BY NAME, SHARPLY BLAST US POLICY OF DETENTE WITH



MOSCOW AS BEING BASED ON ILLUSIONS.

HAK, IN HIS TOAST OF REPLY, BEGAN BY TRYING OUT SOME INSTANT CHINESE THAT WAS TOO INSTANT FOR MOST OF HIS LISTENERS. (HAK SPEAKING CHINESE) QUOTE...WHICH FOR THOSE OF YOU WHO THINK I SPOKE CANTONESE, MEANS 'IT IS EASY TO PREPARE A BANQUET, BUT IT IS HARD TO BE A GOOD HOST.' UNQUOTE

HAK DEFENDED DETENTE, SAYING US POLICY IS GUIDED BY REALITIES AND NOT RHETORIC.

KISSINGER: QUOTE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US ARE APPARENT. OUR TASK IS NOT TO INTENSIFY THOSE DIFFERENCES, BUT TO ADVANCE OUR RELATIONSHIP ON BASIS OF OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS. UNQUOTE

...CHINESE PHRASE OF 'BOTTOMS UP', AS HAK MADE ROUNDS IN TOASTING FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES ON THIS VISIT, AND TO FIX SCHEDULE FOR RETURNING TO PEKING BY PRESIDENT FORD, EXPECTED SHORTLY AFTER THANKSGIVING.

NOW THAT THEY'VE TAKEN THEIR POSITIONS PUBLICLY, CHINESE AND AMERICANS WILL BEGIN THREE DAYS OF PRIVATE NEGOTIATIONS, WITH BOTH SHARING A WARINESS OF SOVIET POWER AND A DESIRE TO CURB SOVIET INFLUENCE.

KEN FREED, AP RADIO - KISSINGER AND CHINESE DEPUTY PREMIER TENG BEGAN THEIR TALKS TODAY JUST A FEW PAGES FROM BANQUET ROOM WHERE HAK HAD EARLIER HEARD A DENUNCIATION OF HIS FAVORITE POLICY -- DETENTE WITH SOVIET UNION. THERE WAS NO SIGN OF BITTERNESS OR DISAGREEMENT TODAY, BUT TENG MADE IT CLEAR HE WANTS TO SPEND A LOT OF TIME ON INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

AMERICAN OFFICIALS HAVE TRIED TO CONVINCE REPORTERS THAT LAST NIGHT'S CRITICISM OF DETENTE WAS MOSTLY CHINESE RHETORIC. BUT A COMPARISON OF THIS YEAR'S TOAST AGAINST ONE GIVEN LAST YEAR CLEARLY SHOWS A MUCH STRONGER LINE NOW. IT IS HAK'S TASK TO CONVINCE CHINESE THAT DETENTE IS NO THREAT TO THEM.

4. MAGAZINES: BOTH TIME AND NEWSWEEK FEATURE COVER STORIES ON ROCK SINGER BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN.

TIME LEADS FOREIGN SECTION WITH DIPLOMACY STORY HEADLINED QUOTE WORKING FROM A NEW MAP IN ASIA UNQUOTE. AS HAK BEGAN HIS EIGHTH TRIP TO PRC, QUOTE AROUND WASHINGTON,



SOME OF SECRETARY'S CRITICS WERE ASKING, 'IS THIS TRIP NECESSARY?' UNQUOTE SINCE LAST TRIP A YEAR AGO, QUOTE MAP OF ASIA HAS GREATLY CHANGED...THE US IS NOW MORE

CONCERNED WITH NORTHEAST ASIA -- KOREA AND JAPAN -- THAN WITH INDOCHINA. VIETNAM EARTHQUAKE MAY YET SHAKE LOOSE FRAGILE PEACE ON KOREAN PENINSULA... IN HIS TALKS IN PEKING, HAK WILL TRY TO GET CHINESE TO GO ALONG WITH A MULTINATIONAL EFFORT TO SECURE A PERMANENT KOREAN PEACE. KOREA, HE REASONS, IS VITAL TO SECURITY OF JAPAN, ECONOMICALLY MOST POWERFUL NATION IN ASIA. IF KOREA SHOULD GO COMMUNIST, OR BE SWEEPED BY WAR, TOKYO MIGHT WELL BE FORCED TO REARM IN A MASSIVE WAY, PROBABLY WITH ATOMIC WEAPONS. UNQUOTE

QUOTE A STRONGER, MORE CONFIDENT, MORE PRACTICAL CHINA WILL PRESUMABLY BE AN EASIER CHINA FOR HAK TO TALK TO. UNQUOTE MAJOR DIFFICULTY IS SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE, RARELY AS HEATED. HAK POLICY OF DETENTE QUOTE HAS AFFECTED HIS STANDING WITH CHINESE. UNQUOTE

QUOTE STATE DEPT OFFICIALS ARE ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT A CURIOUSLY HOSTILE CHINESE TONE TOWARD US IN RECENT WEEKS. UNQUOTE REFUSAL TO ALLOW PUERTO RICAN MAYOR, TIBETAN OFFICE IN NEW YORK. QUOTE WASHINGTON IS PUZZLED BY SUCH SEEMINGLY SILLY INCIDENTS, COMING JUST BEFORE HAK'S VISIT, AND IS UNCERTAIN JUST WHAT SHOULD BE MADE OF THEM. BEST GUESS IS THAT CHINESE ARE WARNING US THAT IT CANNOT FOREVER SUPPORT TAIWAN AND REMAIN FRIENDS WITH PEKING AS WELL. UNQUOTE

(AFTER ARTICLES ON LEBANON, TURKEY'S ELECTIONS, SPANISH SAHARA, ARGENTINA, INDIA, NIGERIA, AND ANTI-ZIONIST VOTE AT UN, HAK'S INTERVIEW RUNS FOR THREE FULL PAGES, DELETING RESPONSES ON BIPARTISAN FOREIGN POLICY AND POSSIBLE MEETING BETWEEN FORD AND ASSAD.)

NEWSWEEK REPORTS ON OPEN MIKE IN OTTAWA AND SUBSEQUENT CALL TO SAN CLEMENTE TO APOLOGIZE. LEAD FOREIGN STORY HEADLINED QUOTE RUBBING SALT IN DETENTE? UNQUOTE SAYS TALKS ARE IN SERIOUS TROUBLE AND MIGHT COLLAPSE ALTOGETHER. HAK WILLING TO MAKE CONCESSIONS, SECDEF SCHLESINGER NOT, FORD UNWILLING TO TAKE SIDES. LINKING OF GRAIN AND OIL DEALS ALSO STRAINS DETENTE. BEFORE HAK LEFT FOR PEKING, QUOTE SEVERAL ADVISERS URGED FORD TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH CHINA. FORD VETOED IDEA AS POLITICALLY ILL-TIMED. UNQUOTE DIFFERENCES ON SALT SURFACED AT NSC MEETING LAST MONTH, ESPECIALLY ABOUT BACKFIRE AND THROW-WEIGHTS. QUOTE HAK'S CELEBRATED BARGAINING TALENTS MAY



YET AVERT SUCH A SETBACK. BUT THIS TIME HE WILL HAVE TO
FIND AN ACCOMMODATION WITH BOTH KREMLIN AND JAMES
SCHLESINGER. UNQUOTE INGERSOLL
BT

