



Department of State

TELEGRAM

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

\*SUBJECT: TRAVELING PRESS REPORTAGE: RADIO/TV

FOR ANDERSON FROM HARE

1. FOLLOWING TWO KALB RADIO REPORTS WERE CARRIED TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 7:  
 A. (FIRST LINE REPORT FROM JERUSALEM): "IT IS ONLY THE APPEARANCE OF A BIG-POWER DEAL ON THE ME. KISSINGER'S AIDES SAY IT REALLY ISN'T THAT WAY THOUGH. EVER SINCE KISSINGER CONFERRED IN GENEVA WITH GROMYKO TWO WEEKENDS AGO OFFICIALS ON THE SECRETARY'S PLANE TOLD REPORTERS THAT THERE WERE NO PLANS FOR A KISSINGER-GROMYKO MEETING IN DAMASCUS OR IN THE AREA. NOT ONLY NO PLANS BUT NO INFORMATION EITHER ON WHETHER GROMYKO WAS COMING TO THE ME OR WHEN. WELL IT NOW TURNS OUT THAT THE SECRETARY AND THE FM ACTUALLY DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR MEETING IN THE ME BACK IN GENEVA. GROMYKO PROPOSED THAT THE MEETING TAKE PLACE IN DAMASCUS. HE SUGGESTED TWO DATES EITHER TODAY OR TOMORROW. KISSINGER ACCEPTED THE IDEA OF A MEETING BUT HE BALKED AT THE SITE. NEITHER DAMASCUS NOR JERUSALEM WAS ACCEPTABLE BECAUSE BOTH ARE REALLY BELLIGERENTS IN THE CURRENT STRUGGLE. KISSINGER FINALLY SUGGESTED CYRPUS, GROMYKO YIELDED. TODAY'S MEETING WAS ARRANGED, FINAL DETAILS WERE BEING NAILED DOWN AT THE VERY SAME TIME THE OFFICIALS WERE SAYING, THERE ARE NO PLANS FOR A KISSINGER-GROMYKO MEETING, CREDIBILITY ONCE AGAIN. THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT WAS INFORMED AND IT RAISED NO OBJECTION. HOW COULD IT HOLD OFF THE TWO BIG POWERS IN ANY CASE.

WHEN THIS STORY WAS RELEASED TO NEWSMEN LATE YESTERDAY AMERICAN OFFICIALS WENT OUT OF THEIR WAY TO DENY THAT ANY SUPER-POWER DEAL WAS IN THE WORKS. IT WAS LATER EXPLAINED THAT THE RUSSIANS REALLY WANTED TO GET INTO THE DIPLOMATIC ACTION AND THERE WAS LITTLE KISSINGER COULD DO TO DENY THEM THEIR WISH. THEY PROPOSED THE MEETING IN GENEVA, THEY PROPOSED THIS CURRENT MEETING. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN IMPOLITE, IT IS SAID, TO HAVE SAID NO. SO, IT WENT, YES, ON THE

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ASSUMPTION THAT WITH THIS MEETING KISSINGER COULD BUY SOVIET FOREBEARANCE AS HE CONTINUES TO PLUNGE AHEAD WITH HIS WHIRLWIND EFFORT TO MID-WIFE A DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL. THE SECRETARY IS AWARE THAT IF HE SAID NO, IT WAS ALWAYS IN RUSSIA'S POWER TO PUSH A HARDLINE IN SYRIA AND FRUSTRATE HIS EFFORT.

IF THIS FRAMEWORK, IN FACT, REFLECTS THE SECRETARY'S JUDGMENT THEN THE CYPRUS MEETING IS A HIGH CLASS FORM OF WINDOW DRESSING, BUTTERING UP THE RUSSIANS WHILE THE SECRETARY HAS BEEN TRYING TO BUTTER UP THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS. IN HIS MIND THE MEANS JUSTIFY THE ENDS. THAT LEAVES THE DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT AS STILL THE MAIN THING, THE APPLE IN KISSINGER'S EYE. HE IS LEAVING TWO OF HIS TOP AIDES HERE, ROY AHERTON AND CARLYLE MAW, TO WORK WITH THE ISRAELIS TODAY ON A NEW MAP WHICH KISSINGER CAN TAKE WITH HIM AND PRESENT TO THE SYRIANS TOMORROW; WHEN ACCORDING TO HIS CONSTANTLY CHANGING SCHEDULE HE GOES TO DAMASCUS.

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT IF ALL GOES WELL THE ISRAELIS WILL COMPROMISE SUFFICIENTLY TO PRODUCE A MAP THE SYRIANS CAN ACCEPT. SUCH A MAP MUST RELECT AN ISRAELI DECISION TO PULL BACK FROM SOME OF THE LAND TAKEN DURING THE 1967 WAR, IN ADDITION TO ALL OF THE LAND OCCUPIED SINCE THE 1973 WAR INCLUDING THE KEY DISTRICT TOWN OF KUNETRA. THIS IS A TOUGH DECISION FOR PM MEIR'S CARETAKING CABINET TO MAKE. ISRAELI SETTLERS ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS REMIND MRS. MEIR THAT IT WAS ONLY A FEW WEEKS AGO THAT SHE PROMISED NEVER TO GIVE UP ANY OF THE LAND TAKEN DURING THE 1967 WAR, NOW THERE IS A STRONG LIKELIHOOD THAT SHE WILL OFFER TO RELINQUISH SUCH TERRITORY IF ARRANGEMENT FOR ISRAELI SECURITY CAN BE MADE. IT IS STILL A VERY DIFFICULT NEGOTIATION."

B. (FROM NOCOSIA): "KISSINGER ARRIVED AND THEN CONFERRED WITH ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS, POSED FOR THE SOVIET-AMERICAN MEETING, AND THEN OPENED HIS DAY-LONG CONFERENCE WITH SOVIET FM GROMYKO AT THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE. AMERICAN OFFICIALS ON HIS PLANE DENY THAT THERE IS NOW A SUPER-POWER PLAN FOR SETTLING ME PROBLEMS. KISSINGER STRIKES SOME OBSERVERS HERE AS A RELUCTANT PARTICIPANT AT THIS MEETING. IT WAS NOT HIS IDEA, IT WAS GROMYKO'S. HE DECLINED TO MEET THE SOVIET ENVOY IN AN ARAB CAPITAL, SO CYPRUS WAS SELECTED AS NEUTRAL TERRITORY AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THEIR MEETING SUGGESTS MORE THAN THE REALITY OF IT -- THAT THE TWO DIPLOMATS HAD TO BE HERE TO DISCUSS SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN ADDITION TO THE ME, WHEN EVERYONE KNOWS THE RUSSIANS WANTED PART OF THE ACTION & THE CREDIT FOR A DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL AND THAT IS THE REAL REASON FOR THE CYPRUS MEETING. KISSINGER AGREED TO ALL THIS, NOT BECAUSE HE IS SEEKING A SUPER-POWER SCRAMBLE FOR DISENGAGEMENT BUT

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RATHER BECAUSE HE WANTS TO BRING THE RUSSIANS IN JUST ENOUGH SO THAT THEY DO NOT THEN DISRUPT WHAT HE PLANS TO DO ANYWAY. "

2. FOLLOWING REPORTS WERE BROADCAST MONDAY EVENING FROM JERUSALEM:

A. KALB (CBS-TV): "GROMYKO HAS BEEN IN DAMASCUS SINCE YESTERDAY CONFERRING WITH TOP SYRIAN LEADERS INCLUDING PRESIDENT ASAD. HE WANTED TO MEET THE SECRETARY IN DAMASCUS BUT KISSINGER REFUSED PERFERRING A MORE NEUTRAL MEETING. GROMYKO YIELDED, CYPRUS WAS SELECTED. THE RUSSIANS WANT TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE CURRENT EFFORT TO DISENGAGE SYRIAN AND ISRAELI FORCES ON THE \*GOLAN HEIGHTS. KISSINGER WANTS TO GIVE THEM A VISIBLE BUT NOT A SUBSTANTIVE ROLE. WHEN HE ARRIVED IN ISRAEL IN LATE AFTERNOON THE SECRETARY WASTED LITTLE TIME. HE QUICKLY ENTERED TOP SECRET MEETINGS WITH ISRAELI LEADERS IN PM MEIR'S OFFICE, THE ISRAELIS STALLING ON A KEY DECISION TO WITHDRAW FROM LAND OCCUPIED SINCE 1967 OR WAITING ~~XX~~ UNTIL TOMORROW NIGHT FOR KISSINGER'S REPORT ON HIS TALKS ~~XXXX~~ WITH GROMYKO BEFORE MAKING THEIR FORMAL DECISION.

NO ONE HERE IS CONFIDENT THE RUSSIANS REALLY WANT TO HELP THE SECRETARY AND MANY ARE CONVINCED THEY WANT TO FRUSTRATE HIS EFFORT. AMERICAN OFFICIALS TRAVELING WITH KISSINGER DENY CATEGORICALLY THAT TOMORROW'S MEETING IN CYPRUS WILL HATCH A BIG-POWER DEAL ON THE ME. DESPITE MANY SIGNS TO THE CONTRARY THEY INSIST KISSINGER WILL ~~NNN~~ PROCEED IN HIS OWN WAY TO WORK OUT A DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL."

B. VALERINAI (NBC-TV): "A HELICOPTER FLOWN BY KING HUSSEIN HIMSELF CARRIED THE KISSINGERS TO THE SECOND CENTURY VILLAS IN THE FORUM IN THE ANCIENT ROMAN STRONGHOLD OF JERA. KISSINGER TOOK THIS SIGHTSEEING BREAK AFTER BRINGING HUSSEIN AND OTHER JORDANIAN LEADERS UP TO DATE ON HIS CURRENT PEACE MAKING MISSION. JORDANIAN SOURCES SAID HE LEFT UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WOULD NOT WORK OUT A DISENGAGEMENT DEAL BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA THIS WEEK BUT HOPED FOR AN AGREEMENT ON A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES TO KEEP THE NEGOTIATIONS GOING. AS USUAL KISSINGER WAS GIVEN A COLORFUL SENDOFF AT THE AIRPORT AFTER HIS RATHER RELAXED ENGAGEMENT IN JORDAN, AND THEN IT WAS BACK TO THE GRIND OF THE DISENGAGEMENT NEGOTIATIONS.

KISSINGER RETURNED TO ISRAEL TO BE BRIEFED ON YESTERDAY'S CABINET MEETING AND THE REPORTS SUGGEST THE CABINET WAS RESISTING ANY FURTHER TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS ON THE

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CRUCIAL QUESTION OF WHERE THE LINE OF DISENGAGEMENT SHOULD BE DRAWN. AS KISSINGER WAS MEETING WITH ISRAELI LEADERS HERE IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT HE WOULD FLY TO CYPRUS TOMORROW TO CONFER WITH SOVIET FM GROMYKO. THE RUSSIANS ARE INSISTING ON A MORE VISIBLE ROLE IN THE ME PEACE TALKS AND THEY SUGGESTED A MEETING IN SYRIA BUT KISSINGERTHOUGHT IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE TO MEET IN A COUNTRY SO CLOSELY ALLIED WITH THE RUSSIANS. U.S. OFFICIALS EMPHASIZED THAT THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE NOT GETTING TOGETHER IN ORDER TO TRY TO FORCE ISRAEL AND SYRIA TO ACCEPT A BIG-POWER PLAN FOR DISENGAGEMENT. KISSINGER AND GROMYKO ALSO PLAN TO DISCUSS PREPARATIONS FOR PRESIDENT NIXON'S PLANNED VISIT TO MOSCOW NEXT MONTH, INCLUDING THE NEGOTIATIONS ON SALT. BUT THE TIMING OF THEIR MEETING MAKES IT CLEAR THAT THE ME WILL BE THE NUMBER ONE TOPIC ON THE AGENDA."

C. KOPPEL (ABC-TV): "THE DAY BEGAN IN A LOW ENOUGH KEY. ALTHOUGH NEITHER THE SECRETARY NOR MRS. KISSINGER LIKES TO FLY ABOARD HELICOPTERS, JORDAN'S KING HUSSEIN IS AN AVID AND EXPERT PILOT AND WITH HIS MAJESTY AT THE CONTROLS THE KISSINGERS WERE FLOWN TO THE ANCIENT GRECO-ROMAN CITY OF JERA. (AND) NO ONE REMINDED THE SECRETARY THAT FIGHTING WAS HEAVY ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS TODAY DESPITE PREDICTIONS OF A REDUCTION IN FIGHTING BY SENIOR U.S. OFFICIALS LESS THAN TWO DAYS AGO. IT MAY HAVE BEEN THE CALM BEFORE THE STORM. NORMALLY A SENIOR U.S. OFFICIAL BRIEFS NEWSMEN ABOARD THE SECRETARY'S PLANE. TODAY FOR THE FIRST TIME THERE WAS NO SUCH BRIEFING. NORMALLY SECRETARY KISSINGER MAKES AN ARRIVAL STATEMENT WHEN HE LANDS IN ISRAEL. TODAY THERE WAS NONE.

AS THE SECRETARY LEFT HIS HOTEL IN JERUSALEM TO MEET WITH PM MEIR A U.S. OFFICIAL ANNOUNCED THAT KISSINGER AND SOVIET FM GROMYKO WILL BE MEETING TOMORROW ON CYPRUS. THE SOVIETS HAD WANTED THE MEETING TO TAKE PLACE IN DAMASCUS. THE U.S. INSISTED ON NEUTRAL TERRITORY. THERE WOULD REALLY BE NO REASON FOR KISSINGER AND GROMYKO TO MEET TOMORROW ON CYPRUS IF EVERYTHING WAS GOING ACCORDING TO PLAN. THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY ARE NOT BEING AS COOPERATIVE AS KISSINGER HAD HOPED AND THE VERY FACT THAT THE TWO MEN WILL ALSO BE DISCUSSING MATTERS OF BI-LATERAL INTEREST TOMORROW, LIKE TRADE AND THE LIMITATION OF NUCLEAR STRATEGIC WEAPONS SUGGESTS THAT KISSINGER WILL BE TELLING GROMYKO THAT OVER-ALL U.S. - SOVIET RELATIONS WILL SUFFER UNLESS MOSCOW COOPERATES IN BRINGING PEACE TO THE ME."

D. ANDERSON (GROUP W. NEWS): "HE WILL TAKE THESE IDEAS BACK TO DAMASCUS ON WEDNESDAY, BUT FIRST HE WILL MEET GROMYKO ON CYPRUS TO DISCUSSAMONG OTHER THINGS THE ME

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SITUATION. AMERICAN OFFICIALS ARE CAREFUL TO SAY THAT THE GROMYKO-KISSINGER MEETING IS NOT THE BEGINNING OF A SOVIET-AMERICAN DEAL ON THE ME. KISSINGER IS WILLING TO KEEP THE SOVIETS IN CONTACT BUT HE DOES NOT WANT TO GIVE THEM PARTNERSHIP, BECAUSE THAT WOULD DESTROY HIS EFFECTIVENESS AS HONEST BROKER GOING BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN TWO PARTIES, BOTH OF WHOM PUT THEIR TRUST IN HIM.

THERE HAD BEEN SPECULATION THAT THERE WOULD BE ANOTHER KISSINGER-GROMYKO MEETING AFTER THEIR SESSIONS IN GENEVA ONE WEEK AGO, BUT U.S. OFFICIALS INSISTED THERE WAS NO MEETING PLANNED. THEN ONE OF THOSE RANDOM INCIDENTS OCCURED WHICH GAVE THE NEWSMEN ABOARAD KISSINGER'S PLANE A TIP THAT SOMETHING WAS IN THE WORKS. WHILE KISSINGER'S PLANE WAS ON THE GROUND IN AMMAN A SOVIET PLANE LANDED NEARBY, APPARENTLY TO REFUEL AND FILE A FLIGHT PLAN. IT TOOK OFF AGAIN IMMEDIATELY AND NEWSMEN WAITING FOR KISSINGER WONDERED WHY NO PASSENGERS GOT ON OR OFF THE SOVIET AIRLINE PLANE. AN HOUR LATER THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE MEETING CAME OUT AND THE MYSTERY OF THE EMPTY SOVIET AIRLINER WAS SOLVED. IT WAS GROMYKO'S PLANE." RUSH

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