



UNCLASSIFIED

28MAY2243Z

SS-15

Classification

O 282143Z MAY 74 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE 6169
BT
UNCLAS 308700Z MAY 74 STATE 111384

TOSEC 1104

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJECT: TRAVELING PRESS REPORTAGE: RADIO/TV

FOR ANDERSON FROM KING

TUESDAY MORNING RADIO AND TV ACCOUNTS UNIFORMLY REPORT POSSIBILITY OF RETURN TO WASHINGTON WITHOUT DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT.

1. VALERIANI (NBC-TV TODAY SHOW): THE BASIC DOCUMENT FOR THE DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT HAS BEEN DRAFTED WITH BLANK SPACES LEFT FOR THE UNRESOLVED ISSUES. THE MAIN PROBLEM AT THIS PRECISE STAGE OF THE TALKS IS THE WIDTH OF THE BUFFER ZONE BETWEEN ISRAELI AND SYRIAN FORCES, SOMETHING KISSINGER THOUGHT HAD ALREADY BEEN SETTLED UNTIL THE SYRIANS UNEXPECTEDLY REOPENED IT LATE LAST WEEK. THAT KIND OF SURPRISE HAS FREQUENTLY INTERRUPTED THE RHYTHM OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND IT'S ONE OF THE REASONS KISSINGER DECIDED TO STOP SHUTTLING. HE BELIEVED THE SYRIANS DEFINITELY WANT A DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT AND HE IS GAMBLING THAT NOW THAT THEY ARE FACED WITH THE END OF THIS ROUND OF TALKS THEY WILL FINALLY AGREE TO MAKE A DEAL. THOUGH TODAY IS DECISION DAY AND WHILE KISSINGER THINKS IT COULD GO EITHER WAY THE OUTLOOK IS NOT GOOD.

2. KALB (CBS-TV): KISSINGER IS RETURNING TO WASHINGTON TOMORROW AFTER MARATHON SESSIONS WITH THE SYRIANS SUNDAY NIGHT AND MONDAY; WITH THE ISRAELIS LAST NIGHT AND TODAY. THE UP-SHOT IS PHOTO FINISH DIPLOMACY. BOTH SIDES ARE VERY CLOSE TO AN AGREEMENT BUT THE AGREEMENT HAS NOT YET BEEN COMPLETED. THERE IS STILL A SLIM CHANCE FOR BRILLIANT FINALE TO KISSINGER'S 31-DAY MISSION TO THE MIDDLE EAST. AND THAT CHANCE HAS NOW BEEN ENHANCED BY A FEW LAST MINUTE ISRAELI CONCESSIONS EXTRACTED BY THE SECRETARY EARLY THIS MORNING. THOSE WILL BE TAKEN TO THE

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

SYRIANS LATER TODAY BY JOSEPH SISCO, KISSINGER'S CHIEF DEPUTY. IF THE SYRIANS AGREE TO THEM -- A DEAL. IF NOT A HEARTBREAKING NEAR MISS. A HUGE QUESTION MARK AT THIS POINT IS GROMYKO'S ROLE. THE SOVIET DIPLOMAT ARRIVED IN DAMASCUS LAST NIGHT JUST AS THE SECRETARY WAS LEAVING. THEY DID NOT MEET. BUT NO ONE IS SURE WHETHER HIS ROLE AT THIS CRITICAL MOMENT WILL BE A POSITIVE OR A NEGATIVE ONE.

3. KALB (CBS RADIO):...IF GROMYKO IS USING RUSSIA'S HUGE INFLUENCE IN SYRIA TOWARD COMPROMISE, THERE IS STILL A CHANCE FOR A BRILLIANT FINALE TO THE SECRETARY'S 31-DAY MISSION TO THE MIDDLE EAST. THE ISRAELIS ARE BEGINNING TO SOUND OPTIMISTIC ONCE AGAIN. THEY THEMSELVES ARE NOT SURE WHY. THEY KEEP THINKING KISSINGER WILL NOT ACCEPT FAILURE AND WILL SOMEHOW PRODUCE AN INCANDESCENT SUCCESS AT THE VERY LAST MINUTE.

4. ANDERSON (GROUP W NEWS). THE ISRAELI CABINET IS MEETING IN JERUSALEM THIS MORNING WITH DR. KISSINGER IN A FINAL ATTEMPT TO BRING ABOUT DISENGAGEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA. ON HIS LAST VISIT TO DAMASCUS YESTERDAY KISSINGER FAILED TO BRIDGE THE NARROW REMAINING GAP BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. IN FACT NEW DIFFERENCES AROSE DURING THE LAST VISIT. MORE PRECISELY SOME OLD DIFFERENCES WHICH KISSINGER AND THE ISRAELIS THOUGHT WERE SETTLED WERE RAISED AGAIN BY THE SYRIANS. ON THE PRINCIPLE SUBJECTS -- THE LOCATION OF THE CEASEFIRE LINE, THE LIMITING OF EWMS NEAR THAT LINE AND THE UN FORCE -- KISSINGER HAS ACHIEVED A SUBSTANTIAL SETTLEMENT. BUT A MAJOR PROBLEM HAS EMERGED -- THE ISRAELI INSISTANCE THAT THE SYRIAN-CONTROLLED TERRORISTS OPERATING FROM SYRIAN TERRITORY AND THE SYRIAN INSISTANCE THAT THIS IS A QUESTION FOR THE PALESTINIANS AND CAN ONLY BE SETTLED BY INCLUDING THE PALESTINIANS IN THE TALKS. THE ISRAELIS WILL DECIDE WHETHER TO ACCEPT SOME COMPROMISES PROPOSED BY KISSINGER IN A MEETING EARLY THIS MORNING. KISSINGER'S TOP AIDE, JOSEPH SISCO, WILL CARRY THAT MESSAGE BACK TO DAMASCUS TODAY FOR THE SYRIAN RESPONSE. BUT IT APPEARS UNLIKELY THAT AN EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES WILL ACCOMPLISH WHAT 12 SESSIONS OF INTENSIVE SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY COULD NOT.

5. KALB (CBS RADIO -- FIRST LINE REPORT): THIS IS THE 31ST DAY OF THE KISSINGER JOURNEY TO A DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL. THERE HAVE BEEN 16 VISITS TO ISRAEL, 12 TO DAMASCUS, 18,200 MILES FROM WASHINGTON AND BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN JERUSALEM AND DAMASCUS -- AN EXTRAORDINARY EXPENDITURE OF ENERGY AND PERSONAL INFLUENCE ON THE SECRETARY'S PART. HE WANTED

UNCLASSIFIED

AN AGREEMENT. THAT HE FAILED TO ACHIEVE IT, IT SEEMS, NO FAILURE OF EFFORT OR COMMITMENT.

THERE IS ALWAYS A CHANCE, A VERY SLIM CHANCE TODAY THAT KISSINGER AND HIS CHIEF DEPUTY, JOSEPH SISCO, CAN YET PULL OFF THE DEAL. SISCO RETURNS TO DAMASCUS TODAY, KISSINGER STAYS HERE, A LAST DITCH EFFORT TO BREAK THE DEAD-LOCK ON SEVERAL ISSUES. THE WIDTH OF THE UN BUFFER ZONE, THE QUESTION OF TERRORISM AND THE DRAFTING OF LANGUAGE MAKING DISENGAGEMENT ON THE GOLAN FRONT TO AN OVER-ALL SETTLEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA. THE ISSUES ARE FEW IN NUMBER BUT DEEP IN SIGNIFICANCE. THEY ARE TO QUOTE ONE SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL "VERY TOUGH." EVERYTHING ABOUT THIS NEGOTIATION HAS BEEN VERY TOUGH. MISTAKES AND MISJUDGMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE.

PERHAPS KISSINGER SHOULD NOT HAVE COME HERE AT ALL. PERHAPS HE SHOULD HAVE SENT SISCO TO DO THE BASIC DIPLOMATIC SPADE WORK AND COME HERE ONLY WHEN THE DIFFERENCES HAD NARROWED SUFFICIENTLY FOR HIM TO USE HIS INFLUENCE AND CRACK THE DEAD-LOCK. PERHAPS AFTER TWO WEEKS HE SHOULD HAVE GONE HOME AND NOT WAIT FOR THE CHANCE TO CONCLUDE A FINAL AGREEMENT. PERHAPS KISSINGER SHOULD NOT HAVE CONCENTRATED SO HEAVILY AT THE BEGINNING ON GETTING AGREEMENT ON THE LINE OF DISENGAGEMENT ASSUMING THAT EVERYTHING ELSE WOULD FALL INTO PLACE. PERHAPS HE SHOULD HAVE ANTICIPATED A FEW MORE SYRIAN SURPRISES AND NOT ASSUME THAT SYRIA IN HER REACTIONS AND TACTICS IS ANYTHING LIKE EGYPT. PERHAPS. WITH 20/20 HINDSIGHT MUCH WILL SOON BECOME APPARENT.

THE FACT IS THOUGH AGREEMENT HAS NOT YET BEEN REACHED IT IS STILL POSSIBLE. BOTH SYRIA AND ISRAEL HAVE COME A LONG WAY TOWARD NARROWING THEIR DIFFERENCES ON THE QUESTIONS OF DISENGAGEMENT. A LINE HAS BEEN AGREED TGVV THE NUMBER OF UN TROOPS BASICALLY AGREED TO; THE DISTRIBUTION OF STRATEGIC HILLS, SETTLEMENTS, CITIES, AGRICULTURE AREAS, ALL AGREED TO. THE DIVISION OF MT- HERMON AGREED TO TO- THE DRAFTING OF A BASIC AGREEMENT AGREED TO TOO- PROTOCOLS OF IMPLEMENTATION NOT ALL OF THEM AGREED TO.

LOGICALLY HAVING COME THIS FAR BOTH ISRAEL AND SYRIA SHOULD WISH TO GO ALL THE WAY AND GET THE AGREEMENT, BUT AS ONE OFFICIAL SAID, "THE CUPBOARD IS NOW BARE." BOTH SIDES HAVE GIVEN AS MUCH AS THEY THINK THEY CAN. AS IT TURNS OUT NOT ENOUGH FOR A DEAL, WHICH IS TOO BAD -- TOO BAD FOR THE MIDDLE EAST, TOO BAD FOR AMERICAN STRATEGY, TOO BAD FOR KISSINGER. HE INVESTED SO MUCH

UNCLASSIFIED

AND HE DID NOT GET HIS DEAL. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT HE WILL
EVERY INVEST SO MUCH AGAIN ON A SINGLE NEGOTIATION. HE
WILL RETURN TO WASHINGTON PROBABLY TOMORROW AND THEN HE
WILL HAVE TO ANSWER THE MANY QUESTIONS THAT WILL BE RAISED
ABOUT THE NEGOTIATION, ABOUT HIS JUDGMENT, ABOUT THE
FUTURE OF THE MIDDLE EAST. KISSINGER HAS ALWAYS BEEN
FATALISTIC ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS- THERE ARE THINGS THAT CAN
BE DONE, THERE ARE THINGS THAT CANNOT BE DONE. THE WORST
THING FOR HIM IS NOT TO HAVE TRIED. HE WILL NOT BE GUILTY
OF THAT. RUSH

BT

UNCLASSIFIED