



TELEGRAM

Department of State

INCOMING AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

ACTION

S/S-15

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JAN 21 1947

CINCPAC PASS TO DEPUTY SECRETARY INGERSOLL

E.O. 11652: N/A

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

SUBJECT: TRAVELLING PRESS REPORTAGE, MORNING, JANUARY 21

FOR FUNSETH FROM S/PRS

FOR CINCPAC: PASS TO DEPUTY SECRETARY INGERSOLL

NO. 6

NEWSPAPERS:

(1) NYTIMES (GWERTZMAN) -- MOSCOW'S "FRIENDLY RECEPTION WAS IN CONTRAST TO THE SHARP STATEMENTS" BY KISSINGER IN WASHINGTON AND COPENHAGEN ABOUT DETERIORATION IN RELATIONS CAUSED BY ANGOLA SITUATION. REPORTERS ON PLANE WERE TOLD THAT IMPETUS FOR TALKS HAD COME FROM BREZHNEV IN NOVEMBER. U.S. HAD REQUESTED POSTPONEMENT BECAUSE OF DIFFERENCES WITHIN ADMINISTRATION. BUT BREZHNEV HAD REMAINED INTERESTED SO KISSINGER IS OPTIMISTIC THAT BREZHNEV WILL RESPOND WITH COMPROMISES TO AMERICAN NEGOTIATING POSITION PUT TO SOVIETS LAST WEEK. TO UNDERScore AMERICAN UNITY AND HELP FORD AGAINST CONSERVATIVE CRITICS, SENIOR DOD OFFICIAL WADE IS ALONG AND WILL REPORT DIRECTLY TO RUMSFELD. WADE OPPOSES CONCESSIONS ON SALT.

GWERTZMAN REVIEWS MAIN LINES OF CURRENT SALT.

(2) WALL STREET JOURNAL (KEATLEY) -- KISSINGER EXPECTS SHORT-TERM PROGRESS ON SALT BUT "HAS DEEP CONCERN ABOUT LONGER-TERM FUTURE OF DETENTE" BECAUSE OF ANGOLA IMPLICATIONS. "INDICATING AN APPARENT ESCALATION OF HIS WORRIES, KISSINGER IS SAID TO THINK ANGOLA COULD COMPLICATE" SALT AND M.E. NEGOTIATIONS. "... IF MOSCOW GETS AWAY WITH THIS ONE, IT WILL TRY AGAIN SOON. . ."

KISSINGER SAYS THAT U.S. WILL NOT ACCEPT SOVIET VICTORY IN ANGOLA AND "THERE ARE HINTS" BREZHNEV WILL NOT BE WELCOME FOR SALT SIGNING IN U.S. NOR CONGRESS READY TO RATIFY A NEW AGREEMENT UNLESS SOVIETS BEHAVE.

KISSINGER HAS NOT SEEN ANY SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR SALT AND THINKS THIS GIVES BREZHNEV MORE FLEXIBILITY BY NOT HAVING TO CLEAR EACH CHANGE WITH POLITBURO COLLEAGUES. BUT, KEATLEY ADDS, WITH U.S. ELECTIONS AND SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS, SALT COULD FOUNDER IF NO PROGRESS SOON.

- AMB
- MIN
- POL
- ECON
- P&C
- SCI
- CONS
- USDAO
- DAO/MED
- PPO
- AGRIC
- E/C
- ADMIN
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- C&R
- CEO/C
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- PER
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- DUTY OFFICER

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(3) WASHPOST (MARDER) -- "KISSINGER REPORTEDLY INTENDS TO LINK" SALT AND ANGOLA BUT HE IS IN A WEAK POSITION TO BARGAIN BECAUSE OF CONGRESSIONAL RELUCTANCE, AND SOVIETS KNOW THIS, AMERICAN SOURCES CONCEDE. THIS SELF-INFLICTED WOUND COULD LEAD TO ABJECT DEFEAT OF U.S. INTERESTS IN ANGOLA, REPORTERS WERE TOLD. REPORTERS ARE UNSURE HOW TO EVALUATE THIS PESSIMISTIC DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATING POSTURE.

PRESENCE OF DOD EXPERT WADE "APPEARS TO BE TANGIBLE RECOGNITION" THAT CAREFUL SCRUTINY OF ANY NEW AGREEMENT IS ALREADY UNDERWAY FOLLOWING CRITICISM OF PREVIOUS EFFORTS.

(4) DAILY NEWS (CARTER) -- KISSINGER INTENDS TO TELL RUSSIANS THAT ANGOLA THREATENS DETENTE BUT "WITHOUT MUCH REAL HOPE" THAT THEY WILL PULL OUT. ANGOLA ALSO COMPLICATES COOPERATION IN M.E. WHERE HE BELIEVES SOVIETS SHARE WORRIES ABOUT LEBANON.

KISSINGER IS HOPEFUL ON SALT AND SAYS THAT THOUGH SALT AND ANGOLA ARE RELATED, THERE IS NO ABSOLUTE LINK.

BUT "IF BOTH SALT AND ANGOLA GO DOWN THE DRAIN," IT WILL BE "JUMPED ON BY POLITICAL OPPONENTS" AND REFLECT ON U.S. "JUDGMENT OF VIABILITY OF DETENTE."

(5) LATIMES (JOHNSTON) -- ONLY ONE OF TODAY'S TRIP STORIES TO MAKE THE FRONT PAGE, IT SEEMS WORTH QUOTING EXTENSIVELY:

"(KISSINGER) ARRIVED PROJECTING AN UNUSUAL DEGREE OF PESSIMISM THAT THE DETENTE POLICIES OF RECENT YEARS MAY HAVE SUFFERED A DANGEROUS SETBACK IN ANGOLA.

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"IT SEEMS TO BE A MISSION OF CONTRADICTIONS. KISSINGER WANTS TO GAIN BASIC AGREEMENT ON ARMS, BUT HE FEELS INCREASINGLY IMPELLED TO RETALIATE AGAINST THE MASSIVE SOVIET INTERVENTION IN THE FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONY.

"REPORTERS ABOARD THE SECRETARY'S PLANE ON THE FLIGHT TO MOSCOW WERE TOLD THAT AN IRREVOCABLE SOVIET SUCCESS IN ANGOLA WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED BY THE FORD ADMINISTRATION, HOWEVER MUCH CONGRESS TIES ITS HANDS BY CLOSING OFF MONEY FOR CIA COUNTERACTION.

"IF THE RUSSIANS DO NOT MODERATE THEIR ANGOLA POLICY, REPORTERS WERE TOLD, THEN DETENTE WOULD SUFFER THROUGH AUTOMATIC RETALIATION ELSEWHERE:

-- IN THE MIDDLE EAST . . . "WE CAN TAKE OUR OWN INITIATIVES," REPORTERS WERE TOLD.

-- IN A POSSIBLE DELAY, IF NOT CANCELLATION, OF THE LONG-EXPECTED AND MUCH-DELAYED VISIT OF SOVIET LEADER LEONID I. BREZHNEV TO WASHINGTON FOR THE FOURTH U.S.-SOVIET SUMMIT OF THE NIXON-KISSINGER-FORD ERA.

"AT THE SAME TIME, KISSINGER IS STILL HOPING FOR SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS, IF NOT A REAL BREAKTHROUGH, ON THE ARMS NEGOTIATIONS. . .

"REPORTERS ABOARD THE KISSINGER PLANE WERE TOLD A PENTAGON FIGURE OF WADE'S STATURE HAD BEEN INVITED TO JOIN THE ARMS

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NEGOTIATING PARTY AS LONG AGO AS LAST NOVEMBER AT KISSINGER'S REQUEST. . .

"ABSENCE OF PENTAGON REPRESENTATION ON EARLIER ARMS EXPEDITIONS, SUCH AS AT VLADIVOSTOK IN LATE 1974, HAD BEEN A KEY CRITICISM OF SKEPTICS OF KISSINGER POLICIES SUCH AS SEN. HENRY JACKSON. FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY SCHLESINGER REPORTEDLY MADE REPEATED EFFORTS TO WIN A PLACE ON ARMS TEAMS BEFORE HIS OUSTER LAST YEAR.

"IN RECENT DAYS REPORTS FROM PENTAGON SOURCES HINTED AT A ARDENING IN THE FORD ADMINISTRATION ATTITUDE TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS ON THE SOVIET 5,600-MILE-RANGE BOMBER, THE BACKFIRE. . .

"- . . . REPORTERS WERE REMINDED TUESDAY THAT THE CRUCIAL ISSUE OF HOW TO COUNT THE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC MISSILES THAT EACH SIDE HAS EQUIPPED WITH MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETED WARHEADS (MIRVs) IS NOT DEFINITELY SETTLED. . .

"I THINK IF THEY REJECT VERIFICATION IT WILL BE VERY HARD TO CONCEIVE HOW THERE CAN BE A DEAL," KISSINGER SAID THEN."

WIRES:

(1) REUTER (NELSON) -- FULLEST RENDITION OF KISSINGER-BREZHNEV EXCHANGE ON ANGOLA IS CARRIED BY REUTER:

". . . MR. BREZHNEV, LOOKING IN ROBUST GOOD HEALTH AFTER A MONTH-LONG ABSENCE FROM THE MOSCOW SCENE, GREETED DR. KISSINGER IN THE KREMLIN WITH A HANDSHAKE AND THEN TOLD THE SECRETARY OF STATE: 'YOU LOOK MUCH YOUNGER.'

"BUT THE CHILL CAST BY ANGOLA OVER U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS SOON BECAME APPARENT. ASKED BY AMERICAN REPORTERS WHETHER ANGOLA WOULD BE A SUBJECT OF THE TALKS, THE 69-YEAR-OLD SOVIET LEADER REPLIED: 'I HAVE NO QUESTIONS. ANGOLA IS NOT MY COUNTRY.'

"DR. KISSINGER THEN INTERJECTED COLDLY: 'IT WILL CERTAINLY BE DISCUSSED.'

"SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO BROKE IN WITH A THIN SMILE: 'THE AGENDA IS ALWAYS ADOPTED BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT.'

"DR. KISSINGER PERSISTED: 'I WILL DISCUSS IT.'

"MR. BREZHNEV THEN SAID: 'YOU WILL DISCUSS IT WITH SONNENFELD (SIC). THAT WILL ENSURE COMPLETE AGREEMENT. I HAVE NEVER SEEN KISSINGER HAVE A DISAGREEMENT WITH SONNENFELD.' . . .

"ASKED WHEN HE EXPECTS TO VISIT WASHINGTON FOR A LONG-DELAYED SUMMIT WITH PRESIDENT FORD, MR. BREZHNEV SAID: 'THAT DEPENDS ON WHAT DR. KISSINGER TELLS ME.'

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"I EXPECT TO GO BUT I CAN'T SAY WHEN," MR. BREZHNEV CONTINUED.

"THE BASIC POINT OF THE VISIT IS THAT AN AGREEMENT MUST BE REACHED AND THEN COMRADE BREZHNEV CAN GO TO WASHINGTON AND SIGN IT," HE ADDED. . .

"DR. KISSINGER TOLD REPORTERS AT VNUKOVO AIRPORT THAT HE WOULD NOT HAVE COME TO MOSCOW IF HE HAD NOT FELT THAT PROGRESS COULD BE MADE IN THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS. . ."

NELSON THEN BRIEFLY REVIEWS STATUS OF SALT.

REUTER ALSO CARRIES A NO-BYLINE PIECE FROM MOSCOW DETAILING A NINE-POINT SECURITY ADVISORY GIVEN TO AMERICANS TRAVELLING WITH KISSINGER, "MAKING PLAIN THAT FOR ALL THE PROGRESS IN DETENTE IN RECENT YEARS, DEEP AND BASIC SUSPICIONS REMAIN."

(2) AP (SCHWEID) -- KISSINGER AND BREZHNEV "JOUSTED" OVER ANGOLA AT OPENING OF TALKS. SCHWEID REPORTS MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE EXCHANGE.

AT LUNCHEON THREE HOURS LATER KISSINGER, REPLYING TO A QUESTION, SAID OF ANGOLA, "IT WAS MENTIONED." IN HIS TOAST HE EMPHASIZED NEED FOR MUTUAL RESTRAINT AND WARNED THAT THERE COULD BE "STRONG AMERICAN ACTION IN ANOTHER AREA."

(3) UPI (NO BYLINE) -- KISSINGER LUNCHEON TOAST IS QUOTED ON AVOIDENCE OF CRISIS SITUATIONS AND UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE. OFFICIALS SAID HE WAS ALLUDING TO "ANGOLA, LEBANON AND MIDDLE EAST." KISSINGER SAID ANGOLA HAD BEEN MENTIONED IN MORNING MEETING. SPOKESMAN FUNSETH SAID DISCUSSIONS WERE ON "PREPARATION OF A NEW AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC ARMS."

TV/RADIO:

(1) ABC RADIO (DUNSMORE FROM MOSCOW) -- "SOVIET PARTY CHIEF BREZHNEV LOOKED WELL AND WAS IN APPARENT GOOD SPIRITS AS KISSINGER'S MOSCOW TALKS BEGAN THIS MORNING AT THE KREMLIN. THERE WAS SOME BANTERING ABOUT HOW GOOD EVERYBODY LOOKED. KISSINGER ALLOWED (GARBLED), THOUGH GROMYKO THOUGHT HE'D LOST WEIGHT. BREZHNEV SAID THE TALKS WOULD DEAL WITH SALT AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. AS FOR ANGOLA, HE SAID, 'ANGOLA IS NOT MY COUNTRY. I HAVE NO QUESTIONS ABOUT ANGOLA.' KISSINGER'S COMMENT WAS, 'IT WILL CERTAINLY BE DISCUSSED.' BREZHNEV INDICATED HE WOULD LIKE TO VISIT THE U.S. FOR A SUMMIT, BUT THIS WOULD DEPEND ON THE OUTCOME OF THE TALKS."

(2) CBS RADIO (KALB AND TOWNSEND) -- TOWNSEND: "SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER WENT TO THE KREMLIN THIS MORNING

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AND BEGAN HIS TALKS WITH SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER LEONID BREZHNEV. BERNARD KALB REPORTS FROM MOSCOW:"

KALB: "THE OPENING WAS RITUALISTIC. A WELL-PHOTOGRAPHED HANDSHAKE IN THE KREMLIN BETWEEN HENRY KISSINGER AND LEONID BREZHNEV. AND THEN, THE VISITING AMERICAN NEWSMEN TRIED TO PRY A FEW ANSWERS OUT OF THE SOVIET LEADER. HE SEEMED TO BE IN GOOD SPIRITS, A KIND OF SMILING SALESMAN OF DETENTE. BUT HIS REPLIES WERE GUARDED, SOMETIMES DIPLOMATICALLY PLAYFUL. ONE, FOR EXAMPLE, HE WAS ASKED WHETHER ANGOLA WILL BE AMONG THE SUBJECTS DISCUSSED (AND) HE REPLIED, 'I HAVE NO QUESTIONS ABOUT ANGOLA. ANGOLA IS NOT MY COUNTRY.' HE MADE NO MENTION OF THE MASSIVE SOVIET MILITARY AID TO THE PRO-SOVIET FACTION IN THAT AFRICAN NATION.

"KISSINGER QUICKLY ROSE TO THE CHALLENGE, SAYING 'ANGOLA CERTAINLY WILL BE DISCUSSED.' BUT THE PRIORITY ITEM CLEARLY IS TRYING TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK IN THE WAY OF A NEW AGREEMENT LIMITING NUCLEAR ARMS. ON THIS SUBJECT, BREZHNEV WAS AS CAUTIOUS AS KISSINGER HAS BEEN, NOT MAKING ANY ABSOLUTE PREDICTION ABOUT THE OUTCOME OF THESE TALKS. BUT BREZHNEV MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE'S READY TO SUMMIT WITH PRESIDENT FORD IN WASHINGTON IF A NEW NUCLEAR ARMS AGREEMENT IS REACHED."

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