

S E C R E T / SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

19 MAY 1974 1822Z

H A K T O 111

TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

19 MAY 64 18 28z

FROM: BREMER/GOMPERT

SUBJECT: HAK'S DECISIONS

State Dept. review completed
pages 1-2, 9-10

REF: (A) TOHAK 241
(B) TOHAK 242

1. HAK APPROVES PROPOSED TALKING PAPER FOR PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH LUNS (REF A) WITH AMENDMENT. HE COMMENTS QUOTE HAVE SONNENFELDT SIT IN. MAKE SURE HE (ASSUMING PRESIDENT) TAKES TOUGH LINE ON EUROPE. UNQUOTE. HAK MADE FOLLOWING AMENDMENTS TO TEXT: UNDER CSCE AND MBFR, ADD ADDITIONAL SENTENCE AT END OF PARA THREE. QUOTE THIS SHOULD NOT BE THE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION HOWEVER, UNQUOTE UNDER SOVIET SUMMIT, PARA THREE SHOULD READ QUOTE CLEARLY, SALT POSES THE MOST DIFFICULT QUESTION TO BE DEALT WITH -- WE ARE CONSIDERING AN EXTENSION OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT PLUS AN AGREEMENT ON MIRVS. NATO WILL BE FULLY CONSULTED THROUGHOUT. UNQUOTE

MORI/CDF
C03344608 pages
1-2

2. HAK APPROVES TALKING PAPER FOR PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH OHIRA WITHOUT AMMENDMENT.

OSD review
completed pages 4-7

3. WARM REGARDS


S E C R E T / SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

SECRET/SENSITIVE
EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

HAKTO 111

TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: BREMER/GOMPERT 

Subject: HAK's Decisions

REF: (A) TOHAK 241
(B) TOHAK 242

1. HAK approves proposed talking paper for President's meeting with Luns (Ref A) with amendment. He comments QUOTE Have Sonnenfeldt sit in . Make sure he (assuming President) takes tough line on Europe. UNQUOTE. HAK made following amendments to text: Under CSCE and MBFR, ~~para three~~ at end of para three. QUOTE This UNQUOTE should not be the subject of discussion however,/ Under Soviet Summit, para three should read QUOTE Clearly, SALT poses the most difficult question to be dealt with -- we are considering an extension of the interim agreement plus an agreement on MIRVs. NATO will be fully consulted throughout. UNQUOTE
2. HAK approves talking paper for President's meeting with Ohira without amendment.
- 3, Warm regards

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

Sir:

Scowcroft has sent for your concurrence the proposed talking paper for the President's meeting with Luns.

Approve _____

As amended _____


David

Have Eisenhowerfeldt

Make it in the paper copy and

SECRET SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY
SECTION 01 OF 02

18 MAY 64 22 40z
WH41400

25X1

TOHAK 241

PLEASE DELIVER TO BREMER/RODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY

MAY 18, 1974

TO: HENRY A. KISSINGER

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

FOLLOWING IS THE PROPOSED TALKING PAPER FOR THE PRESIDENT'S
MEETING WITH LUNS. WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR CONCURRENCE OR
MODIFICATIONS:

(live day at 3:30)

I. PURPOSE

THIS MEETING WILL PERMIT YOU TO REAFFIRM TO LUNS THE IMPORTANCE
THE UNITED STATES ATTACHES TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AS THE
CORNERSTONE OF WESTERN STRENGTH AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY.

SINCE YOUR LAST MEETING WITH THE NATO SECRETARY GENERAL AT SAN
CLEMENTE IN JUNE 1973, US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS HAVE BEEN INFLUEN-
CED BY THE DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN THE DRAFTING OF THE US-
EC AND NATO DECLARATIONS. LUNS IS A FORCEFUL PROPONENT
OF ATLANTIC COOPERATION AND IN TWO AND ONE-HALF
YEARS AS SECRETARY GENERAL HAS CHAIRED ALLIED COUNCILS WITH
A FIRM HAND. NEVERTHELESS, HE IS CONCERNED LEST OUR BILATERAL
RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS, MBFR, PROBLEMS IN US-EC NINE
RELATIONS, ECONOMIC AND OTHER PRESSURES ON EUROPE'S NEW GENER-
ATION OF LEADERS, AND SENTIMENT IN THE US FAVORING TROOP
REDUCTIONS ERODE THE NATO PARTNERSHIP.

YOUR PURPOSE IN THIS MEETING WILL BE TO:

-- EMPHASIZE THAT THE ALLIANCE REMAINS OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE
TO THE UNITED STATES;

OSD review
completed pages 4-7

-- STRESS THE NEED FOR MEANINGFUL AND CONTINUING CONSULTATIONS
AS PART OF THE ALLIANCE PROCESS;

-- COMMEND LUNS ON THE EXCELLENT LEADERSHIP HE CONTINUES
TO BRING TO NATO COUNCILS;

-- ENCOURAGE THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO PROVIDE THE LEADERSHIP
REQUIRED TO PRODUCE A NATO DECLARATION CONTAINING A STRONG
STATEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP

A. BACKGROUND: LUNS HAS COME TO THE UNITED STATES TO RECEIVE AN HONORARY DEGREE FROM HOPE COLLEGE IN HOLLAND, MICHIGAN ON MAY 24. WHILE IN WASHINGTON, HE HAS DISCUSSIONS SCHEDULED WITH ME AND SECRETARY SCHLESINGER. HE ATTACHES THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO HIS MEETING WITH YOU FOR THE REVIEW IT WILL PERMIT OF ALLIANCE AND EAST-WEST ISSUES OF CURRENT IMPORTANCE.

OUR EFFORT TO REINVIGORATE ATLANTIC TIES REMAINS CENTERED ON COMPLETING A NATO DECLARATION. THE NEW TEXT WHICH THE BRITISH CIRCULATED IN NATO MAY 15, AFTER GENERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH US, IS A GOOD STATEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP. IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO ENCOURAGE LUNS' LEADERSHIP IN ACHIEVING A DECLARATION REFLECTING THE NEED FOR ENHANCED CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE ALLIES. FRENCH SENSITIVITIES SHOULD NOT STAND IN THE WAY OF EFFORTS BY OTHER ALLIES TO IMPROVE THE USEFULNESS OF THE ALLIANCE CONSULTATION PROCESS. LUNS AGREES WITH THIS VIEWPOINT.

LUNS MAY ASK YOUR VIEWS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF HAVING A WESTERN SUMMIT IN BRUSSELS, PERHAPS IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO YOUR MOSCOW VISIT, AND IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO NOTE THE NEED FIRST TO PRODUCE A DECLARATION WITH MEANINGFUL SUBSTANCE IN TIME FOR THE JUNE 18-19 MINISTERIAL MEETING IN OTTAWA.

LUNS IS WELL AWARE OF YOUR POSITION ON MAINTAINING THE US TROOP COMMITMENT TO EUROPE AND OF THE DOMESTIC PROBLEMS INVOLVED. HE HAS BEEN A STAUNCH SUPPORTER OF BURDENSARING AND OUR EFFORT TO PREVENT FORCE REDUCTIONS PURSUANT TO THE JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT. THE LATTER PROBLEM IS CLOSE TO RESOLUTION, AT LEAST FOR FISCAL YEAR 1974, THANKS TO THE US-FRG OFFSET AGREEMENT AND TO ANTICIPATED MILITARY PURCHASES IN THE US BY THE OTHER ALLIES. IMPROVEMENTS IN EUROPEAN FORCES ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF BURDENSARING; WE EXPECT THE ALLIES TO DO MORE IN THIS AREA.

ON EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS, LUNS' PRIME CONCERN IS THAT THE ALLIANCE PLAY AN ACTIVE COORDINATING ROLE, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO BOTH CSCE AND MBFR. EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION IN FORCE REDUCTIONS REMAINS A PRIME SOVIET GOAL IN MBFR, AND SOME MEANS OF ASSURING MOSCOW THAT SUCH REDUCTIONS WILL TAKE PLACE WILL BE A KEY FACTOR IN PERSUADING THE SOVIETS TO ACCEPT US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN A FIRST STAGE. OUR APRIL 30 PROPOSAL THAT THE ALLIES CONSULT IN NATO ON THE ELEMENTS OF AN ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME OF STAGE II OF CSCE -- AFTER WHICH DECISIONS COULD BE MADE ON THE TIMING AND LEVEL OF THE HELSINKI FINALE -- IS AN EARNEST EXPRESSION OF THE DESIRE OF THE US TO KEEP THE ALLIANCE AT THE CENTER OF DETENTE EFFORTS.

LUNS WILL, OF COURSE, WELCOME YOUR VIEWS ON YOUR FORTHCOMING SUMMIT TALKS IN MOSCOW.

- B. PARTICIPANTS: SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS, AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD, AND HENRY A. KISSINGER.
- C. PRESS PLAN: THE MEETING WILL HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED, AND THERE WILL BE A PRESS PHOTO OPPORTUNITY. (AT MID-DAY ON MAY 21, LUNS WILL HAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE WITH THE OVERSEAS WRITERS CLUB. ON THURSDAY, MAY 23, HE WILL HAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS IN CHICAGO. ON THESE OCCASIONS, HE CAN BE EXPECTED TO REFER TO HIS MEETING WITH

SECRET SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY
FINAL SECTION OF 02
YOU.)

WH41400

25X1

III. TALKING POINTS

NATO AND THE NATO DECLARATION

1. THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE REMAINS THE CORNERSTONE OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY.
2. AT THE SAME TIME, I STRONGLY SUPPORT EUROPEAN UNITY IN WHICH EUROPE WORKS CONFIDENTLY AND COOPERATIVELY WITH THE US DIRECTLY AND WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.
3. I HAVE, AS YOU KNOW, BEEN DISAPPOINTED AT THE RESPONSE OF EUROPEAN ALLIES OVER THE PAST YEAR TO OUR PROPOSAL FOR REDEFINING THE BASIS OF ATLANTIC COOPERATION.
4. I FAVOR MOVING AHEAD TO COMPLETE A NATO DECLARATION FOR CONSIDERATION BY MINISTERS AT THE OTTAWA MEETING JUNE 18-19. HOWEVER, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE DECLARATION CONTAIN A CLEAR REAFFIRMATION OF THE NEED FOR FULL AND TIMELY CONSULTATION.
5. I RECOGNIZE THAT THE OBLIGATION TO CONSULT IS RECIPROCAL, AND WE HAVE WELCOMED YOUR SUPPORT FOR OUR PROPOSALS TO BROADEN AND STRENGTHEN THE PROCESS OF NATO CONSULTATIONS.
6. WE DO NOT RULE OUT EVENTUAL COMPLETION OF A US-EC DECLARATION, IF THE NINE SO DESIRE, BUT FOR NOW A NATO TEXT OFFERS MORE PROSPECTS OF EARLY AGREEMENT. THE LAST TEXT OF THE US-EC DRAFT CONVEYED TO US BY THE EC MEMBERS WOULD NEED CONSIDERABLE REDRAFTING, PARTICULARLY ON THE ISSUE OF PRIOR CONSULTATION, TO MAKE IT ACCEPTABLE TO US.

U.S. TROOPS IN EUROPE

1. I FULLY INTEND TO MAINTAIN U.S. TROOP STRENGTH IN EUROPE, IN THE ABSENCE OF RECIPROCAL REDUCTIONS. DOMESTIC U.S. SUPPORT FOR OUR TROOP COMMITMENT WILL CONTINUE TO BE AFFECTED BY THE ALLIED WILLINGNESS TO MORE EQUITABLY SHARE THE BURDEN.
2. THE US-FRG OFFSET AGREEMENT, TOGETHER WITH LIKELY MILITARY PURCHASES IN THE U.S. BY THE OTHER ALLIES, SHOULD ENABLE US TO MEET THE IMMEDIATE REQUIREMENTS OF THE JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT.
3. CONTINUING EUROPEAN EFFORTS TO IMPROVE CONVENTIONAL FORCES WILL BE NECESSARY TO SUSTAIN THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT OVER THE

1. I AM PLEASED WITH THE HIGH DEGREE OF ALLIED COHESION TO DATE IN NEGOTIATIONS ON MBFR AND CSCE AND RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF CLOSE CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE ALLIES TO HARMONIZE APPROACHES TO BOTH ISSUES.
2. ON CSCE, GIVEN THE MANY ISSUES YET TO BE RESOLVED, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE GENEVA STAGE II NEGOTIATIONS CAN CONCLUDE BEFORE THE END OF JUNE, AT THE EARLIEST. *discuss*
3. WE BELIEVE THE ALLIES SHOULD RESERVE FINAL JUDGMENT ON THE LEVEL OF A THIRD STAGE CSCE MEETING PENDING A CLEAR INDICATION OF THE GENEVA RESULTS, BUT BELIEVE THE ALLIES SHOULD CONSIDER WHAT RESULTS WOULD WARRANT A SUMMIT GATHERING. *They should not be the subject of debate however.*
4. ON MBFR, WE FAVOR A STEADY DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALLIES' POSITION ALONG LINES AT PRESENT UNDER DISCUSSION IN NATO, CONTINUING TO SEEK SOVIET AGREEMENT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN A FIRST PHASE AS A STEP TOWARD A COMMON CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER.

SOVIET SUMMIT

1. PLANS FOR MY MEETINGS WITH GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV IN MOSCOW TOWARD THE END OF JUNE ARE PROCEEDING.
2. I VIEW THE TALKS AS AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY FOR POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS ON US-USSR RELATIONS -- THIS REDUCES THE CHANCES OF MISCALCULATIONS AND STRENGTHENS THE CHANCES FOR GREATER STABILITY.
3. CLEARLY, SALT POSES THE MOST DIFFICULT QUESTION TO BE DEALT WITH -- WE ARE ~~MOVING SLOWLY IN THE DIRECTION OF~~ AN EXTENSION OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT PLUS AN AGREEMENT ON MIRVS. *NATO will be fully consulted throughout*
4. AS IN THE PAST WE WILL CONTINUE CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ALLIANCE ON THE PROSPECTS WE SEE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

END TEXT
689
2690

NNNN

S E C R E T SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

[Redacted Box]

WH41401

25X1

TOHAK 242

13 MAY 64 00

45z

PLEASE DELIVER TO BREMER/RODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY

MAY 18, 1974

TO: HENRY A. KISSINGER
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

FOLLOWING IS THE PROPOSED TALKING PAPER FOR THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH OHIRA, ON TUESDAY, MAY 21 AT NOON. WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR CONCURRENCE OR MODIFICATIONS.

BEGIN TEXT.

I. PURPOSE

TO UNDERLINE YOUR PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT IN U.S. -JAPANESE AFFAIRS AND YOUR DESIRE FOR CONTINUED PROGRESS IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THAT COUNTRY.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN

A. BACKGROUND: FOREIGN MINISTER OHIRA IS COMING TO THE U.S. TO RECEIVE AN HONORARY DEGREE FROM YALE UNIVERSITY AND TO ADDRESS THE JAPAN SOCIETY IN NEW YORK. HE REQUESTED THE OPPORTUNITY TO CALL ON YOU.

RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE U.S. ARE GOOD AND THERE ARE NO CONTENTIOUS ISSUES TO DISCUSS. THE FOREIGN MINISTER CAN BE EXPECTED TO RAISE THE SUBJECT OF JAPANESE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, PARTICULARLY THE PROPOSALS FOR JOINT RUSSIAN-JAPANESE DEVELOPMENT OF SIBERIAN RESOURCES. (AT TAB A IS A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS NOW UNDER CONSIDERATION. THESE ARE THE PROJECT DESCRIPTIONS WHICH TANAKA SAID HE WOULD SEND YOU WHEN YOU MET WITH HIM IN PARIS.) THE FOREIGN MINISTER WILL ALSO WISH TO REVIEW JAPANESE RELATIONS WITH THE PRC.

B. PARTICIPANTS: FOREIGN MINISTER OHIRA; JAPANESE AMBASSADOR YASUKAWA; JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTRY HEAD OF AMERICAN AFFAIRS, MR. OKAWARA; SECRETARY KISSINGER.

C. PRESS PLAN: PRESS PHOTO OPPORTUNITY. MEETING HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED.

III. TALKING POINTS

1. I AM PLEASED THAT THE OCCASION OF YOUR BEING HONORED AT YALE UNIVERSITY PRESENTED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO MEET.
2. I WAS GLAD TO HAVE A CHANCE TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH PRIME MINISTER TANAKA IN PARIS LAST MONTH, AND HOPE TO CONTINUE FREQUENT EXCHANGES OF VIEWS BETWEEN US. PLEASE EXTEND MY PERSONAL GREETINGS TO THE PRIME MINISTER.
3. I APPRECIATE THE CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES OF MUTUAL INTEREST AS WELL AS THE MANY BILATERAL MATTERS WHICH CONCERN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

State Dept. review completed
pages 9-10

PLEASE THANK PRIME MINISTER TANAKA FOR THE INFORMATION
SENT ME ON YOUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON PROJECTS
FOR SIBERIAN DEVELOPMENT. WE ARE STUDYING IT CLOSELY AND I
WILL SEND A REPLY SHORTLY. WE APPRECIATE THE WAY YOU ARE
KEEPING US INFORMED ON THESE PROJECTS. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED
IN PARTICIPATING IN PROJECTS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF NATURAL
RESOURCES, BUT EXIM BANK FINANCING OF SUCH PROJECTS IN THE
SOVIET UNION IS NOW A CONTENTIOUS SUBJECT WITHIN OUR CONGRESS.
WE SHALL TRY TO RESOLVE IT. I DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT WE WILL
FIND IT POSSIBLE TO SUPPORT THE SIBERIAN RAILWAY PROJECT.

5. THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS MURKY. WHAT IS YOUR PERCEPTION OF THE CURRENT INTERNAL POLITICAL SCENE IN THE PRC? HAS IT AFFECTED THEIR RELATIONS WITH YOUR COUNTRY?

(IN RESPONSE) I APPRECIATE THE DESCRIPTION OF YOUR EFFORTS TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. I HOPE WE WILL ALSO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH ON THIS MATTER. THE FUNDAMENTAL COURSE TOWARD NORMALIZATION OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRC IS CONTINUING.

6. I AM PLEASED THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES ARE EXCELLENT. WE SHALL DO ALL WE CAN TO KEEP THEM THAT WAY. LIKE ALL AMERICANS, I ATTACH THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES.

PROPOSALS FOR JOINT RUSSIAN-JAPANESE DEVELOPMENT OF SIBERIAN RESOURCES

1. YAKUTSK NATURAL GAS EXPLORATION PROJECT, TO WHICH JAPAN HAS AGREED, SUBJECT TO U.S. PARTICIPATION. JAPAN WOULD LIKE AN ANSWER BY OCTOBER (THE DEADLINE IN THEIR AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIETS), BUT IS PREPARED TO WAIT LONGER.
2. A YAKUTSK COKING COAL PROJECT, TO WHICH JAPAN HAS AGREED.
3. A TIMBER DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, TO WHICH JAPAN HAS AGREED.
4. THE TYUMEN PIPELINE PROJECT, WHICH JAPAN IS DISCUSSING WITH THE SOVIETS AND IN WHICH JAPAN WOULD LIKE U.S. PARTICIPATION. THE SOVIETS RECENTLY ASKED JAPAN TO HELP CONSTRUCT A RAILWAY-- RATHER THAN THE PIPELINE--TO CARRY OIL FROM YAKUTSK TO VLADIVOSTOK. JAPAN TOLD THE SOVIETS THAT U.S. PARTICIPATION IN ANY RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION WILL BE NECESSARY; IN FACT, THEY HAVE NO INTENTION OF HELPING THE SOVIETS WITH A RAILWAY BUT WOULD LIKE OUR OPPOSITION AS AN ADDITIONAL EXCUSE.
5. OIL AND NATURAL GAS EXPLORATION ON THE SAKHALIN CONTINENTAL SHELF, WHICH JAPAN IS DISCUSSING WITH MOSCOW AND IN WHICH JAPAN WOULD ALSO LIKE U.S. PARTICIPATION.

END TEXT
898
2691