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T O P S E C R E T SENSITIVE 220500Z JUNE 1974 EXCLUSIVELY

EYES ONLY VIA MARTIN CHANNEL
SAIGON 0617 IMMEDIATE
DELIVER DOB

State Dept. review completed

JUNE 21, 1974
TO: HENRY A. KISSINGER
FROM: AMBASSADOR GRAHAM MARTIN

1. IN VIEW OF OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE OF OTHER ITEMS ON AGENDA DURING MOSCOW VISIT I WOULD ASSUME INDOCHINA WOULD NOT BE ACCORDED MUCH TIME, NOR DO I THINK IT WOULD NEED TO DIVERT TOO MUCH ATTENTION FROM MORE IMPORTANT MATTERS. NEVERTHELESS IF A CONSENSUS OF AGREEMENT ON A FEW POINTS COULD BE REACHED, THE TIMING IS RIGHT FOR CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS WHICH COULD BE MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS TO BOTH SOVIET AND U.S. INTERESTS. IN ASCENDING ORDER OF IMPORTANCE THESE ARE:

2. LAOS - AS LONG AS EMMET KAY IS HELD BY THE PATHET LAO SIDE CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC OPINION WILL PUT UNCOMFORTABLE CONSTRAINTS ON FLEXIBILITY OF FUTURE AMERICAN OPTIONS. WHETHER SOVIETS REALLY HAVE ENOUGH LEVERAGE TO EFFECT HIS RELEASE IS QUESTIONABLE BUT THEY SHOULD BE ASKED TO HELP. RECOGNITION OF THE SO-CALLED "PRG" BY THE NEW LAOTIAN GOVERNMENT WILL ALSO MAKE IT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT FOR USG TO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT FRAGILE FACADE OF PGNU AND JCCIA OR TO OBTAIN CONTINUED APPROPRIATIONS FOR ECONOMIC AID TO LAOS. MAIN THRUST SHOULD BE TO HAVE SOVIETS "COOL" THE IMPATIENCE OF THE NVA CONTROLLED PATHET LAO FOR A PRECIPITATE TAKEOVER WHICH WOULD HARDEN POSITIONS IN SUCH A WAY THAT TEMPTATION MIGHT BECOME IRRESISTIBLE TO PRC TO USE THEIR NEW ROAD SYSTEM TO PUT IN A REGIMENT, WHICH THEY COULD DO IN A DAY. (I DON'T ACTUALLY BELIEVE THE CHINESE WOULD DO THIS BUT MY OLD FRIEND FIRUBIN HAS ALWAYS FEARED THIS AND AS KREMLIN SEA EXPERT MAY INFLUENCE HIS SOVIET COLLEAGUES TO ACCEPT THE POSSIBILITY.) WHILE YOU MAY WISH TO MAKE NOISES ABOUT NVN FAILURE TO REMOVE THEIR TROOPS, I DO NOT BELIEVE THE SOVIETS COULD FORCE THIS WITHOUT THREAT OF TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF AID TO NVN WHICH IS UNREALISTIC. IN SUMMARY, I WOULD HOPE YOU COULD GET HELP FOR RELEASE OF KAY AND SLOW DOWN OF PRESENT MAD GALLOP FOR COMPLETE TAKEOVER.

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HAK, SCOWCROFT, RODMAN

PSN:026194 PAGE 01 TOR:173/05:56Z DTG:220500Z JUN 74

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THAILAND - SOVIETS MIGHT BE OF INCIDENTAL HELP IN DAMPENING
NVA PRESSURE ON FRAGILE THAI EVOLUTION, PARTICULARLY ON PRESSURE
FOR PRECIPITATE US MILITARY EVACUATION WHICH COULD ONLY INCREASE
CHINESE INFLUENCE IN AREA.

PSN:026194

PAGE 02

TOR:173/05:56Z

DTG:220500Z JUN 74

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5. FOLLOWING MESSAGE WILL DEAL WITH VIET-NAM.

6. WARM REGARDS. MARTIN

PSN:026194

PAGE 03

OF 03

TOR:173/05:56Z

DTG:220500Z JUN 74

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