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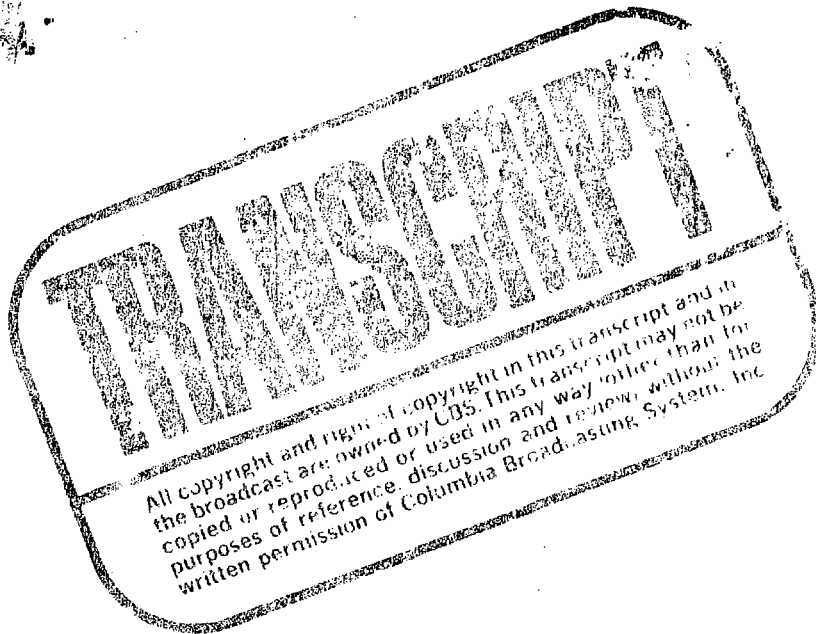
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FROM:
DE: Gunnar Jarring *GJ*



CBS NEWS
2020 M Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

FACE THE NATION
as broadcast over the
CBS Television Network
and the
CBS Radio Network

Sunday, February 14, 1971 -- 11:30 AM - 12:00 Noon, EST

Origination: Washington, D. C.

GUEST: JOSEPH SISCO
Assistant Secretary of State

REPORTERS:

George Herman, CBS News

Henry L. Trewhitt, Newsweek

Marvin Kalb, CBS News

PRODUCERS: Sylvia Westerman and Prentiss Childs

NOTE TO EDITORS: Please credit CBS News' "Face the Nation."

GEORGE HERMAN: Secretary Sisco, reports from Israel this morning say the Israelis consider U.N. Ambassador Jarring's latest set of questions to be in fact a set of thinly disguised substantive proposals. Do you agree with this evaluation?

SEC. SISCO: Mr. Herman, Ambassador Jarring is mandated by the Security Council resolution of November 19, 1967, to promote an agreement between the two sides. We feel he has a very broad mandate, and he is acting strictly in accord with that mandate.

ANNOUNCER: From CBS Washington, FACE THE NATION, a spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview with Joseph Sisco, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. Mr. Sisco will be questioned by CBS News Diplomatic Correspondent Marvin Kalb, Henry Trewhitt, Diplomatic Correspondent for Newsweek Magazine, and CBS News Correspondent George Herman.

HERMAN: Mr. Sisco, I take it that the answer was not exactly no. Is it yes, that these are in fact some kind of proposals that are being put to the Israelis and the Egyptians on the behalf of the U.N.?

SEC. SISCO: I'm not, of course, going to get into the specifics of the discussions between the parties under Ambassador Jarring's auspices. I will say this, that Ambassador Jarring is now getting at the very crucial questions that have long divided the Arabs and the Israelis. We think these talks have reached an important stage. We think that there are difficult decisions to be made for both sides, and we hope that both sides will respond positively, because

we think that this is an important stage.

TREWHITT: Mr. Sisco, do you think it perhaps possible that the Israelis are less opposed to this kind of role for Mr. Jarring than they were in the past? I seem to detect that sort of note in Mrs. Meir's speech last week.

SEC. SISCO: Well, first of all, Henry, I would recall that last June the Israelis accepted the American initiative, and as part of that proposal the Israelis as well as the UAR and Jordan committed themselves to abide by whatever procedures Ambassador Jarring decided to pursue his mandate. And as I say, this, coupled with the Security Council resolution, we feel gives Ambassador Jarring very wide latitude indeed.

KALB: Mr. Sisco, you said that he has this wide latitude. Do you see Ambassador Jarring as a mediator or as a negotiator?

SEC. SISCO: I think in the broadest sense his job is, in the words of the resolution, to try to promote an agreement between the two parties. He has explored various ideas over the months, and these talks at this stage are reaching some of the core questions. He is free under that resolution to take as little and as much initiative as he desires, and I think that one of the problems has been that neither side has been willing really to take the kind of decision and take the kind of initiative which would give assurance to the other. There are two principal concerns, Marvin, as you know. The question of whether in fact the Arabs want to make peace with Israel -- this has been a fundamental concern of the Israelis -- and in turn the Arabs have been concerned with the whole question of withdrawal, and I'm not revealing any secrets when I say that

these are the two key issues that are being addressed at the present time.

TREWHITT: Would you pursue that, Mr. Secretary? One has the feeling that there has been considerable movement in the last year, yet it's terribly hard to pin down the specifics. Would you take a look at those core issues you mentioned and suggest to us what changes have occurred in the last few months?

SEC. SISCO: Well, yes. Before I do that, Henry, let me say this, that you mentioned for example that a year ago the situation was considerably different than it is today. For example, in looking back, the situation along the Egyptian-Israeli border, for example, there were incidents, exchanges of fire, a great deal of tension. The efforts of diplomacy were at an impasse. The situation in Jordan was quite shaky. The Fedayeen were expressing themselves in very strong terms in favor of a forceful solution. Now it was in these circumstances that Secretary Rogers, with the full backing of President Nixon, decided on the American initiative of last June. Now that initiative was a very simple one, in order to get the parties to stop shooting and start talking. And we feel that as a result of President Nixon's initiative, that the situation today affords an opportunity for both sides which did not exist a year ago. We are now in the seventh month of the cease-fire. Ambassador Jarring's efforts in the context of negotiations between the parties are focusing on the key issues.

The situation in Jordan, while we will see from time to time that incidents will occur, but the situation in Jordan is much better today than it was a year ago. And King Hussein has embarked

upon a policy of reconciliation and reconstruction, and even in the Fedayeen movement itself there are some very modest signs, and I don't want to over-dramatize this, that at least some Palestinians are thinking about the notion of a political solution based on the idea of coexistence with Israel. So that the American initiative of last June, in our judgment, was the principal catalyst, and we think the situation is improved. There are many, many risks that are still there, but at least the minimal conditions are prevalent in a non-shooting context, whereby Ambassador Jarring can pursue private diplomacy with the parties.

KALB: Do you think the time is near when Ambassador Jarring will be able to sit down with the Israelis and the Egyptians in one room and discuss these issues?

SEC. SISCO: In accepting the American initiative of last June, it was stated quite specifically that Ambassador Jarring would decide what procedures he would utilize. In my judgment, both parties are committed to abide by whatever procedures Ambassador Jarring decides to pursue, and no procedure is barred, and I think this is a judgment which Ambassador Jarring will have to make, dependent upon the progress in the negotiations.

KALB: Well, I mean do you think so, though?

SEC. SISCO: We definitely --

KALB: What does the State Department think?

SEC. SISCO: We definitely feel that no procedure is barred. At the moment the discussions are indirect, under his auspices.

(MORE)

HERMAN: When Ambassador Jarring makes, in any form, under whatever procedure he wishes to, proposals to both sides, have these proposals been discussed with the Big Four, the Big Two, with the United States, specifically with your office?

SEC. SISCO: Ambassador Jarring is conducting the negotiations. Obviously he is in consultation with not only the major powers and the principal parties, but a number of other U. N. members and the Secretary-General himself.

Yes, he is consulted with, broadly across the board, but whatever ideas he's discussing are his own; he is the man who is conducting the negotiations.

HERMAN: If you do not approve of them, if you think there's something wrong, you are presumed free to tell him so. It's his discussions.

SEC. SISCO: We're not trying to second guess the negotiations. Our objective is to give support to Ambassador Jarring's efforts. Our role is to encourage both sides to try to make the painful compromises that are going to be required in order to achieve a peace settlement. I've said on previous occasions that neither side can expect to achieve their maximum positions. I believe that the talks have reached a stage where some of the painful decisions really have to be made. It is time for a decision.

HERMAN: Well, if you think that the American initiative of last June was the catalyst, is there a second step catalyst in sight, for the United States to make some new move, some new helping hand that we should be contributing at this point or in the near future?

SEC. SISCO: No, the central process of negotiation is going on

under Ambassador Jarring's auspices. We will help; we will try to encourage the parties, but the negotiations are in his hands.

TREWHITT: Mr. Sisco, did--isn't actually the United States, in an indirect sense, taking a form of initiative by agreeing in the Big Four discussions to discuss supplemental guarantees for whatever sort of peace might be reached in the Middle East?

SEC. SISCO: Yes, we have agreed to begin preliminary talks on the question of supplementary guarantees. However, let me make clear that the principal focus of the effort has to be the negotiations under Ambassador Jarring's auspices. The discussions of supplementary guarantees in the Four cannot be a substitute for negotiations. Guarantees cannot be a substitute for a peace agreement between the parties. The principal element of security for both sides must be a binding peace agreement.

KALB: Mr. Sisco, Secretary Rogers stated--and I think I'm quoting you correctly--the parties themselves are in the best position to work out the nature and the details of security arrangements. Now why the Big Four even getting into this kind of an operation?

SEC. SISCO: For this reason--first of all, for the Big Four have a direct interest in this matter, and in particular the United States. Here is a situation where there is very heavy Soviet involvement. We feel that the Middle East today is perhaps the most dangerous area in the world. Now we feel quite strongly that the Four cannot substitute themselves for the parties, that Big Four guarantees cannot be a substitute for the primary reliance of the parties upon themselves. But if a common understanding can be achieved on guarantees by the Four, it would add, as a minimum, an important psycholog-

ical and political support of the agreement between the parties.

KALB: Isn't pressure a better word than support? I mean, doesn't this--the Big Four stand there and negotiate this thing, and the little powers underneath with this above them, I would imagine could feel only pressure, not support.

SEC. SISCO: On the contrary, the discussions as they relate to guarantees are very general at this stage. Moreover, before the Four could in any way come to any concrete judgments, it's going to be necessary to know just what it is to be guaranteed, and that's another way of saying that in the first instance a peace agreement has to be negotiated by the parties themselves, and the question of guarantees can only be supplementary, and can only add in a marginal sort of way.

HERMAN: What's the climate? What's the status of the negotiations among the Big Four? Is there a climate that the Soviet Union, for example, would like to see total stability in the Middle East, rather than the unbalanced situation which they've been apparently so fond of?

SEC. SISCO: Well, first of all, I wouldn't say that there are negotiations going on between the Four. I think there are general discussions. Insofar as the Soviet attitude is concerned, I would say this. We feel that we and the Soviets have a common interest in avoiding a confrontation over this area. We have the impression that the Soviets would be as concerned as we would be in the event the Middle East were to break out into a broad hostility once again.

Where we have had reservations about the Soviet attitude is whether in fact they are willing to put their full weight behind a

stable peace settlement. And in this connection, let me say this, that we feel that from the point of view of the United States, there is only one real answer--a peace agreement that meets the legitimate concerns of both sides. And President Nixon has embarked upon a policy of active diplomacy, simply because there is such an inherent and high degree of risk in this area. We would be remiss if we didn't pursue all avenues of diplomacy.

TREWHITT: Mr. Secretary, look at the other side of that coin for a second. You speak of American interests in the--and the common Soviet-American interest in avoiding confrontation. But do you believe that the Soviet Union has made a fundamental decision that they can preserve their interest in the Middle East during a situation of general stability between the Arabs and the Israelis?

SEC. SISCO: Henry, it's very difficult to say. What the Soviet Union has to weigh is what unilateral advantage it may feel it can derive from the turmoil, against the risk that this situation could get out of control. And that is the crucial factor, insofar as we're concerned, as to what has to be weighed in a given instance in the Middle East.

We feel quite strongly that stability is required. We feel that the parties need to take risks for peace, and we think that these risks are in the mutual interest of not only the parties in the area, but the major powers as well, because a situation which is as unstable as the Middle East has been over the last three years, is one with--which is obviously rife with difficulty, and very risky indeed.

KALB: Mr. Sisco, do you feel that Egypt at this point is a

thoroughly sovereign state, or in part a Soviet protectorate?

SEC. SISCO: Well, first of all, we're impressed with the fact that following the death of President Nasser, that the new leadership was able to succeed into power without any instability having occurred in the country. Secondly, we're equally impressed that the new leadership promptly announced basically the continuation of the policy of trying to achieve a political solution pursuant to the U. N. Security Council resolution of November, 1967. We do feel that it is sovereign; we do feel that it is in a position to take the decisions in order to achieve a peace settlement.

HERMAN: The cease-fire, which has just barely been agreed to, or at least that's the impression that was given, expires in three weeks--on March 7th. One of the conditions is that there--at least as imposed by Cairo--that there be some signs of progress, of motion, by that time. Is three weeks enough time, so that we will see some signs of motion, enough to please the Egyptians?

SEC. SISCO: Well, George, we regret the short deadline very much. We would have strongly preferred a longer extension. And as you say, this is the seventh month of the cease-fire that really began with the American initiative last June. Three weeks is a short time; we think these deadlines do not facilitate either agreement or facilitate negotiations. On the other hand, there is this time, and I think this is one of the reasons why Ambassador Jarring is pursuing the matter quite vigorously.

HERMAN: If you were a betting man, would you put some money down that there would be another extension, that there will be some progress?

SEC. SISCO: Well, I am always cautiously optimistic by nature--

HERMAN: I seem to have heard that word from the State Department before.

SEC. SISCO: Well, I borrowed it at the moment from U. N. Secretary-General Thant. But you see, in this problem on the Middle East, one has to take it on a day-by-day basis, and I can recall a year ago the expressions of doom and gloom. And here today, I think there is--without again overdrawing it--an opportunity. There is an opportunity to make progress which may not be in existence three months from now, six months from now, a year from now. And I think that the question of building a peace in the Middle East is a step-by-step process, building block by building block.

TREWHITT: Mr. Secretary, the Israelis have pretty generally held out for the proposition that they would not take partial measures toward a settlement outside of a broad framework of settlement. Yet in the last week--the last couple of weeks--we've heard a great deal of discussion of details, of specifics. And now we have this very, very specific matter of the possibility of reopening the Suez Canal. Has the thinking in Washington changed on that--on that possibility of partial agreements leading to a broader agreement?

SEC. SISCO: Well, first of all, let me say that the--in our judgment--the statement made by President Sadat last week, and the statement made by Prime Minister Meir, leaves the door open. We don't feel that any doors have been closed with respect to a proposal to open the Suez Canal.

Our position has long been that the problem of the Suez Canal was really one of the key elements of an overall settlement. There

is now some indication on the part of both sides to consider this matter as at least an initial step. Our own feeling is this--that any step that the two sides can agree to, that will help diminish tension, any step that will be a step toward a peaceful settlement, we would have a positive attitude on such a step.

KALB: Including a partial Israeli rollback from the Suez Canal?

SEC. SISCO: Well again, I'm not going to be very specific, because actually, what all of us have to go on are largely the two public statements that have been made by the leaders of the U.A.R. and Israel.

KALB: We assume that you're in pretty close touch with the Egyptians and the Israelis, much more than we are.

SEC. SISCO: Oh, I think that's a fair assumption, but I would merely add, Marvin, that we've not made any judgment with respect to the specifics. All that I'm saying is that this matter, as the Secretary said the other day, rests with the parties. And if the parties desire to explore this further, if they're able to achieve a common understanding, our attitude would be positive.

(MORE)

HERMAN: Mr. Secretary, included in your area, apparently in the State Department's definition of the Near East, is the country of Greece. A number of my friends would like very much to visit there but they don't want to give any money to the military dictatorship. When will they be able to go to Greece?

SEC. SISCO: Well, of course, they are free to go to Greece at any time, but let me just say a word about our policy on Greece. First of all, candidly, we have been disappointed in the fact that there hasn't been more progress towards the establishment of parliamentary government. On the other hand--

HERMAN: Are you surprised?

SEC. SISCO: On the other hand, I think one must bear in mind that Greece is a loyal NATO ally. The Greek people have a tremendous affection for America and the American people. Greece is important to the United States as part of the southern flank of NATO, and we have really tried to pursue a two-pronged policy, namely, to support the present leadership insofar as its responsibilities are concerned within the NATO framework, and we would hope that more progress in the future can be made towards the establishment of democratic institutions.

KALB: Back on the Middle East, if I might. Do you see a trip by Secretary Rogers to that area coming up soon?

SEC. SISCO: There is no immediate trip planned, Marvin. I am sure, as the Secretary has said on several occasions, that if the time comes when such a trip would be useful, I'm sure that he would be quite disposed to go.

KALB: I know that that has been said before, but I was

wondering if that, since you feel that the time is so ripe for decisions, whether the Secretary feels a trip on his part there soon, say before March 7 --

SEC. SISCO: No, I don't believe so, and as I say the principal focus of discussion is under the auspices of Ambassador Jarring. The United States is not running the negotiations -- Ambassador Jarring is.

TREWHITT: Mr. Secretary, would you address yourself to the changing military situation, just briefly. Everyone, I think, assumes that the situation is more stable than it was just a few moments ago. Do you think there is a military standoff in the area?

SEC. SISCO: I believe that the situation, militarily speaking, is such that both sides do not want to resume the fighting, and I think that both sides do not want to resume the fighting because there is a recognition that such a resumption is very likely to be costly to both sides and not be decisive, if it were to occur.

KALB: When you talk about the Middle East being the most dangerous part of the world, what do you have in mind -- a war between Russia and the United States over this area?

SEC. SISCO: I have in mind that there is a large Soviet presence in the area.

KALB: How large? Could you tell us that too?

SEC. SISCO: Well, I again don't want to get into specifics, but I think you can assume that there is a very substantial Soviet presence in the UAR. And by virtue of that presence, if there were an outbreak of hostilities, between the Arabs and the Israelis again,

that there is a greater -- that there would be a greater risk of confrontation than in the past. We have vital interests in this area, political, economic, and strategic. So has the Soviet Union. And the object of diplomacy is to try to create conditions where the inherent risks of confrontation are diminished. I think I know a little bit about the feeling of the American people in this respect, and I think that the overriding objective is to try to help establish a peace, because confrontation and the possibility of confrontation is a serious risk if this can't be achieved.

HERMAN: As you know, Congress is chronically unhappy with the lack of consultation -- their lack of consultation with the State Department over Southeast Asian affairs. How is consultation between your office and Congress on Middle Eastern affairs? Are they well informed of what you're doing in Israel and --

SEC. SISCO: Well, first let me say that I don't accept the view that there hasn't been ample consultation, both on the question of Indochina and certainly on the Middle East as well. We are in constant touch, and I might add that I don't believe the Middle Eastern issue is a partisan issue. I was struck with the fact that Senator Muskie, just several weeks ago, visited the area, and said quite clearly that he thought that the policy of the Nixon Administration was sound. I was equally struck that Senator Birch Bayh just returned from the area and made a statement of a very similar character. I think that there is a bipartisan approach to the Middle East because all Americans want to avoid a war over this area. We are anguishing in Viet Nam; the President is engaged, I think, on a very solid policy of disengagement; he is trying to turn

over the responsibilities to the Vietnamese, and I think that how that situation in Indochina comes out is very relevant to the Middle East.

If we had adopted a cut and run policy in Viet Nam, one would have wondered as to what the other side would have thought, as to whether we would have given the signal that we see what our vital interests are and are ready to protect those vital interests. So I think that there is a direct relationship between the outcome in Southeast Asia and the situation in the Middle East, and I happen to think that the President is on the right track.

HERMAN: We have about 30 seconds left. Do you think that continuing this policy of withdrawal from South Viet Nam is going to be all right with the balance of factors that you have mentioned in the Middle East?

SEC. SISCO: Well, I think that the policy of disengagement --

HERMAN: We are withdrawing.

SEC. SISCO: Yes, we are, and I think that the American people are withholding final judgment, and I think that we will know in a year or a year and a half whether this is really successful or not.

HERMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Sisco, for being with us here on Face the Nation, and we'll have a word about next week's guest in a moment.

ANNOUNCER: Today, on FACE THE NATION, Joseph Sisco, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, was interviewed by CBS News Diplomatic Correspondent Marvin Kalb, Henry Trewhitt, Diplomatic Correspondent for Newsweek Magazine, and CBS

News Correspondent George Herman. Next week, following President Nixon's presentation to Congress of his plan for comprehensive medical insurance, Elliot Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, will FACE THE NATION.

Unofficial translation

African Malagasy and Mauritian
Common Organization

Fort Lamy - 29 January 1971

Sir,

The Conference of Heads of State of the African Malagasy and Mauritian Common Organization (OCAM) has been much impressed by the message which you sent to it through the intermediary of Mr. Issoufou Seydou Djermakoye, Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations.

The Conference is deeply grateful for this gesture which demonstrates, once again, your concern for the problems confronting the countries of Africa in general and particularly the members of OCAM.

It consequently adopted the attached motion which my fellow Heads of State and Government have requested me to transmit to you.

Accept, Mr. Secretary-General, the assurance of my highest consideration.

(signed) François TOMBALBAYE
President
OCAM

Recd from Mr. Djermakoye today.

Shan
21/2/71

MOTION

The Heads of State and Government of OCAM, meetin at Fort-Lamy on 28 January 1971, thank His Excellency U Thant for the message which he very kindly conveyed to them on the occasion of their meeting.

They congratulate him on his devotion to the cause of the United Nations and on his constant efforts to promote peace and justice in the world, and in particular his efforts on behalf of the less favoured countries.

They express the hope that His Excellency U Thant may remain in his post of Secretary-General of the United Nations in order that he may continue the work which he has undertaken.
