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UNCLASSIFIED

WEPZ NOV 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOSCO 01//
TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT
ZEM
UNCLAS WH52322

TOSCO 01

NOVEMBER 29, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: THE SITUATION ROOM
SUBJECT: MORNING NEWS SUMMARY

THE WASHINGTON POST

BERNARD D. NOSSITER WRITES THAT PORTUGAL'S MILITARY REGIME FIRED THE DIRECTORS AND SUSPENDED THE EDITORIAL BOARDS OF SIX STATE-OWNED PAPERS BASED IN LISBON, AND TWO OTHERS IN OPORTO. IT REFLECTS THEIR NEW-FOUND DETERMINATION TO PREVENT ANOTHER REBELLION LIKE THE ABORTIVE AFFAIR STAGED BY ULTRA-LEFT SOLDIERS TUESDAY. (A-1)

SPENCER RICH COVERS PRESIDENT FORD'S NOMINATION OF JOHN PAUL STEVENS TO THE SUPREME COURT. (A-1)

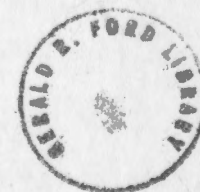
JULES WITCOVER REPORTS THAT FORD AIDES DOWNPLAY THE MEANING OF THE CHINA TRIP. (A-2)

UPI REPORTS THAT PUERTO RICAN RADICALS BACKED BY CUBAN PREMIER FIDEL CASTRO MAY LOOSE A WAVE OF TERRORISM IN THE U.S. NEXT YEAR TO DISRUPT THE BICENTENNIAL, ACCORDING TO TESTIMONY BEFORE A SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE. (A-6)

DAVID B. OTTAWAY REPORTS THAT SOUTH AFRICA AND ZAMBIA HAVE APPARENTLY AGREED ON A POLICY OF SUPPRESSING THE MILITANT SOUTHWEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (SWAPO), WHICH HAS BEEN THREATENING TO UPSET A SOUTH AFRICAN-BACKED CONSTITUTIONAL SOLUTION TO THE NAMIBIA DISPUTE. (A-10)

A SPECIAL TO THE POST COVERS CLARENCE MITCHELL'S ATTACK ON SOUTH AFRICA YESTERDAY AT THE UN IN WHICH HE CHARGED THAT "THE SOUTH AFRICAN SYSTEM OF DETENTION AND REPRESSION IS BUILT INTO THE LEGAL STRUCTURE ITSELF." (A-10)

ACCORDING TO BRUCE HANDLER, RELATIONS ARE STRAINED BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHILE'S ANTICOMMUNIST MILITARY JUNTA. THE U.S. IS EMBARRASSED BY CONTINUING REPORTS OF ILLEGAL ARRESTS -- AND SOMETIMES, THE TORTURE AND KILLING -- OF SUSPECTED LEFTISTS INSIDE CHILE. CHILEAN OFFICIALS CONTEND THAT THE U.S. IS BEING "TAKEN IN" BY WORLDWIDE COMMUNISM AND SHOULD BE GLAD TO HAVE SUCH STAUNCH ANTI-MARXIST



END OF PAGE 01

ALLIES AS THEMSELVES. (A-11)

CLAYTON FRITCHEY WRITES THAT AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN HAS IRRITATED SOME OF HIS COLLEAGUES BY WHAT THEY REGARD, RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, AS HIS SHOWBOATING, WHICH HAS INSPIRED CONSPICUOUS PERSONAL PUBLICITY. THE REACTION OF A NUMBER OF DELEGATES AT THE UN NO DOUBT SPRINGS TO SOME EXTENT FROM PIQUE AT THE PUBLIC ATTENTION MOYNIHAN IS ENJOYING, BUT, AS CAREER DIPLOMATS, IT IS ONLY FAIR TO NOTE THAT MOST OF THE NATO REPRESENTATIVES DO NOT CULTIVATE THE SOMEWHAT ROCOCO STYLE OF THE U.S. AMBASSADOR. MOYNIHAN HAS NOT HELPED HIS CASE BY LECTURING THE REST OF THE WORLD ON GOVERNMENT MORALITY. IT WAS HIS MISFORTUNE TO TAKE THIS SANCTIMONIOUS LINE JUST AT THE MOMENT A SENATE INVESTIGATION WAS PUBLICLY DISCLOSING THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS SECRETLY BEEN PLOTTING THE ASSASSINATION OF VARIOUS FOREIGN LEADERS AND PROMOTING COUPS D'ETAT TO OVERTHROW OTHER REGIMES. (A-15)

JACK ANDERSON AND LES WHITTEN WRITE THAT FORMER VICE PRESIDENT, AGNEW, SOUGHT TO BE IMPEACHED BY CONGRESS RATHER THAN INDICTED BY A GRAND JURY. BUT THAT PRESIDENT NIXON WORKED BEHIND THE SCENES ON CAPITOL HILL TO UNDERMINE AGNEW. "WHITE HOUSE LOBBYISTS HAD CUT THE GROUND OUT FROM UNDER THEIR OWN VICE PRESIDENT." (B-10)

THE WASHINGTON STAR

JEREMIAH O'LEARY WRITES THAT A SENIOR U.S. OFFICIAL SAID HE WOULDN'T BE SURPRISED IF THE U.S. AND CHINA COME TO PARALLEL CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA. IT APPEARS HOWEVER, THAT THE U.S. AND THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA WILL NOT PURSUE A COORDINATED COURSE ON THE ANGOLAN CONFLICT. (1)

THE LEAD EDITORIAL SPECULATES ON THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO PEKING. IT IS QUITE CLEAR THAT NO RESULTS OF MAJOR MOMENT ARE TO BE EXPECTED. THE SERIOUS ISSUES OF THE MEETING BOIL DOWN TO TWO: DETENTE AND TAIWAN, ON BOTH OF WHICH THE AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT ARE MORE CONSPICUOUS THAN THE AREAS OF UNDERSTANDING. AS LONG AS THIS REMAINS SO, THE SUBJECTS OF FRUITFUL CONVERSATION WITH THE RULERS IN PEKING WILL REMAIN CIRCUMSCRIBED AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF A REAL IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH CHINA SEVERELY LIMITED. (10)

THE WONDERS WHAT WILL COURIOUS CHINESE THINK OF THE PREPLEXING AMERICANS IN THE FORD VISIT? WILL WE BE COLD OR HOT -- OR TEPID? NO DOUBT STUDENTS OF THE U.S. IN RED CHINA ARE TRYING TO APPRAISE THE NEW REVELATIONS OF CIA AND FBI ACTIVITY, AS PRESIDENT FORD ARRIVES. IS THE "TIME OF HYSTERIC" OVER IN AMERICA, THEY ASK? THE CHINESE WON'T ASK MR. FORD ABOUT THESE THINGS, OF COURSE. THEY ARE TACTFUL -- AND THEY HAVE SKELETONS IN THEIR CLOSET,



TOO. (11)

JAMES J. KILPATRICK NOTES THAT THE SENATE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE'S INTERIM REPORT ON ASSASSINATIONS PROVIDES A RICH MEAL FOR AMERICA'S DETRACTORS TO FEED ON. BY REASON OF THIS PUBLICATION, THE CIA'S VITAL TASK WILL BE MADE MORE DIFFICULT; THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES OF FRIENDLY NATIONS WILL THINK TWICE ABOUT COOPERATING IN THE FUTURE. A MASS OF HIGHLY SENSITIVE MATERIAL HAS NOW BEEN COMPILED IN WRITTEN FORM; IT WILL BE A MIRACLE IF THIS MATERIAL IS NOT LEAKED OR STOLEN. IT IS A STRANGE EXERCISE IN NATIONAL MASOCHISM; THUS TO FLAGELLATE OURSELVES BEFORE THE WORLD. MR. KILPATRICK ASKS IF THERE IS NO CASE -- NO CASE WHATSOEVER -- IN WHICH TYRANNICIDE COULD BE JUSTIFIED. HIS OWN FEELING IS THAT IN THE DANGEROUS WORLD WE LIVE IN, OUR LEADERS MUST OCCASIONALLY THINK UNTHINKABLE THOUGHTS; AND IN THE OVERRIDING NECESSITY, MUST NOT FLINCH FROM DOING THE UNTHINKABLE DEED. (11)

THE BALTIMORE SUN

HENRY TREWHITT SAYS HENRY KISSINGER YESTERDAY AGAIN WARNED THE SOVIET UNION AGAINST CONTINUED INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA AS PRESIDENT FORD PREPARED TO LEAVE TODAY TO BUILD RELATIONS WITH CHINA. IN ISOLATION, THE CAUTIONARY NOTE SOUNDED AS IF THE U.S. WAS LEANING TOWARD PEKING AT THE EXPENSE OF DETENTE WITH MOSCOW. BUT MR. KISSINGER WENT ON TO PROPOSE COMPROMISE TO THE SOVIET UNION TO GET A NEW NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL TREATY. (A-1)

HAL PIPER REPORTS THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS CHEERING ON THE YUGOSLAV CAMPAIGN AGAINST POLITICAL SUBVERSION -- BLANDLY BLINKING AWAY YUGOSLAV CHARGES THAT IT IS THE SOVIET UNION THAT FOMENTS THE SUBVERSION. (A-4)

THE SUN COMMENTS ON PRIME MINISTER HAROLD WILSON'S PROPOSAL FOR REGIONAL PARLIAMENTS BY SAYING THAT HE HAS PROPOSED A SEMI-DILUTED STORMONT FOR SCOTLAND AND A FULLY DILUTED ONE FOR WALES. LONDON WOULD KEEP FULL POWER OVER BOTH. AS USUAL WITH MR. WILSON'S HANDLING OF GREAT ISSUES, THE EYE IS BEST KEPT ON HIS FOOTWORK. WHAT HE HAS PROPOSED IS AS LITTLE AND AS LATE AND AS TENTATIVE AS POSSIBLE. (A-14)

MARQUIS CHILDS DISCUSSES THE WORLD FOOD SUPPLY PROBLEM BY NOTING THAT THE BOUNTY OF THE AMERICAN EARTH IS HELPING TO FEED IN ONE DEGREE OR ANOTHER THREE-FOURTHS OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLES. WITH AT LEAST 100 NATIONS, MANY OF THEM NEWLY DEVELOPING NATIONS IN FOOD DEFICIT, THE U.S. AND CANADA ARE ALMOST THE SOLE SOURCES TO HOLD OFF HUNGER AND, WITH GROWING HUNGER, A TIDE OF DISEASE AND POLITICAL UNREST. THE SCARCITY OFFERED IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE SOARING RATES OF POPULATION INCREASE AND IT WILL GROW STEADILY MORE ACUTE, UNLESS THE RATE OF INCREASE IS BROUGHT DOWN.



THE PRESSURES ON FOOD PRICES HERE AT HOME ARE OBVIOUS, AS TAXES ON SUCH WHOPPING VALUES GO UP. SPECIALISTS SEE LITTLE OR NO POSSIBILITY THAT FOOD PRICES WILL DROP. THE TREND FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE IS IN THE OTHER DIRECTION. SO WHEN WE GET TO THE CHECKOUT COUNTER WE WILL KNOW THE COST OF HELPING TO FEED HALF THE WORLD. (A-15)

THE NEW YORK TIMES

MARVINE HOWE REPORTS THAT PORTUGAL'S MILITARY LEADERS HAVE STARTED WHAT APPEARS TO BE A WIDE-RANGING PURGE OF THE PRESS, OF EXTREME LEFT-WING POLITICIANS AND OF THE ARMED FORCES AFTER HIS WEEK'S ABORTIVE LEFTIST UPRISING. (1) HENRY GINIGER REPORTS THAT SOME 200 MEMBERS OF THE MADRID BAR ASSOCIATION YESTERDAY DECLARED "THEIR MOST ENERGETIC DISAGREEMENT" WITH KING JUAN CARLOS'S DECREE GRANTING AMNESTY TO A NUMBER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. THE LAWYERS SAID THAT THE DECREE IMPRACTICAL TERMS "EXCLUDES FROM THE BENEFITS OF THE PARDON ALMOST ALL THE POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DEFENDENTS IN SPAIN." (7)

ERIC PACE WRITES THAT ASAD'S HAND IS FIRM, AND HIS EAR ATTENTIVE. DURING HIS FIVE YEARS AS PRESIDENT, DAMASCUS, THIS ONCE-GRIM CITY, LONG PLAGUED BY COUPS, HAS BECOME MORE STABLE, MORE EASYGOING, MORE CHEERFULLY MATERIALISTIC DESPITE THE PRESENCE OF ISRAEL'S FRONT LINE ONLY 40 MILES AWAY. LIFE IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY HAS UNDERGONE SIMILAR CHANGES -- MOST MARKEDLY IN URBAN CENTERS, LESS SO IN COUNTRY VILLAGES. (10)

PAUL HOFMANN WRITES THAT SYRIA YESTERDAY ASKED FOR ASSURANCES THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD MEET IN JANUARY TO CONSIDER THE OVER-ALL MIDDLE EAST SITUATION AS A CONDITION FOR HER CONSENT TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF THE UN BUFFER FORCE IN THE GOLAN HEIGHTS FOR SIX MONTHS. (12)

AN EDITORIAL STATES THAT WHATEVER THEY SAY FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES AT HOME, THE LEADERS OF TURKEY AND THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY NOW KNOW THAT THEIR INTRANSIGENCE ON CYPRUS HAS ISOLATED THEM FROM MOST OF THE WORLD. THEY ALSO KNOW THAT, UNDER PROVISIONS OF THE ACT EASING THE AMERICAN AMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY, PRESIDENT FORD IS OBLIGATED EARLY NEXT MONTH TO REPORT TO CONGRESS ON THE "PROGRESS" OF NEGOTIATIONS LOOKING TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. IN LIGHT OF GREEK CYPRIOT CONCESSIONS, WHICH WERE TRANSMITTED IN SUBSIZANCE TO SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM AS LONG AGO AS LAST FEBRUARY, MR. DENKTASH OUGHT TO SUBMIT THE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS HE PROMISED AT THE CONCLUSION OF A NEGOTIATION ROUND IN VIENNA LAST SUMMER. IN THEIR OWN INTEREST AND TO END THEIR ISOLATION FROM THE WORLD COMMUNITY, THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE WELL-ADVISED TO SEE TO IT THAT HE DOES SO. (26)

JEROME ALAN COHEN WRITES THAT VOTEWISER, IT'S GOP TIME AGAIN



(GOOD OLD PEKING). REMEMBER THOSE 1972 ELECTION COMMERCIALS ON TELEVISION? THEY SHOWED RICHARD NIXON, THE ARCH COLD WARRIOR, IN PEKING, DESCENDING THE STEPS OF AIR FORCE ONE TO SHAKE HANDS WITH CHOU EN-LAI AS THE STAR-SPANGLED BAN

NER PROCLAIMED AN END TO SINO-AMERICAN ENMITY. GERALD FORD HOPES THAT CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG AND HIS COHORTS WILL GIVE HIM A SIMILAR BOOST IN THE 1976 CAMPAIGN. ONCE AGAIN, DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS UNDERLIE A PRESIDENT'S PEKING TRIP. OF COURSE, THE PRESIDENT IS NOT PUTTING ALL HIS POLITICAL EGGS IN CHINA'S BASKET. HE HAS ADDED TO THE ITINERARY BRIEF STOPOVERS IN INDONESIA AND THE PHILIPPINES, WHERE HE CAN BE GUARANTEED A POPULAR RECEPTION. STILL, THE GERALD FORD WHO USE TO CAMPAIGN AGAINST CHAIRMAN MAO IS NOW HOPING THAT THE CHAIRMAN'S FEEBLE HANDSHAKE WILL CERTIFY THE CREDENTIALS OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S NEWEST PUPIL. (27)

C. L. SULZBERGER WRITES THAT ON A VISIT TO SANTIAGO FOUR YEARS AGO FRENCH AMBASSADOR RENE ST. LEGER TOLD HIM THAT CHILE LAY "AT THE HEART OF THE SINO-SOVIET ARGUMENT." AL- THOUGH ST. LEGER HAD BEEN GENERAL DE GAULLE'S DIPLOMATIC COUNSELOR AND BOASTED A DISTINGUISHED REPUTATION, AT THE TIME SULZBERGER THOUGHT ST. LEGER WAS NUTS. NOW HE IS NOT SO SURE. PERHAPS. YET ONE SHOULD REMEMBER THAT IN ITS FURIOUS COMPETITION WITH MOSCOW, PEKING HAS BEEN BRUTALLY REALISTIC ON MANY ISSUES THAT WOULD SEEM BE- CLOUDED BY DOGMA. THUS IT COURTS WEST GERMANY AND VIG- OROUSLY URGES A STRONGER NATO. ONE WESTERN DIPLOMAT RUE- FULLY OBSERVES: "MAYBE CHINA RECKONS THERE MUST BE SOME- THING GOOD ABOUT ANY REGIME THAT IS AS VIOLENTLY ANTI- SOVIET AS THAT OF GENERAL PINOCHET." CHILE IS CERTAINLY NOT, IN ST. LEGER'S WORDS, "AT THE HEART" OF THE COLDEST WAR BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST BEHEMOTHS. BUT IT FIGURES.

(27)

2013

#6897



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O 291612Z NOV 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM// TOSCO 02//
TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT
ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ WH52324

TOSCO 02

TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: BILL HYLAND

EAGWBURGER ASKED THAT THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE BE PASSED TO THE SECRETARY.

BEGIN TEXT

NOVEMBER 29, 1975

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EAGLEBERGER
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH MRS. BILLY GRAHAM

1. PER YOUR INSTRUCTIONS I CALLED MRS. BILLY GRAHAM TODAY AND APOLOGIZED FOR YOUR INABILITY TO GET BACK TO HER BEFORE YOUR DEPARTURE. SHE SAID SHE COMPLETELY UNDERSTOOD AND THEN ASKED ME TO PASS ON THE FOLLOWING:
2. YOU WILL RECALL THAT WHEN YOU WENT TO CHINA IN ADVANCE OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT YOU NEGOTIATED THE RELEASE OF MRS. ANNA HSIAO, THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY WIFE OF A CHINESE CITIZEN, WHO HAD PVED IN CHINA FOR SOME FIFTY YEARS. HER HUSBAND, ACCORDING TO MRS. GRAHAM, COMMITTED SUICIDE DURING THE HEIGHT OF THE RED ARD TERROR.
3. MRS. GRAHAM NOW ASKS IF YOU COULD SEE WHETHER YOU COULD PERSUADE TY CHINESE TO PERMIT MRS. HSIAO'S THREE CHILDREN AND TWO GRANDCHILDREN TO LEAVE THE PRC. THE NAMES ARE AS FOLLOWS:

- A PAUL GEORGE HSIAO
- B. ANNIE GRACE HSIAO
- C. RY BESSIE HSIAO
- D. MARY BESSIE'S TWO CHILDREN (NAMES UNKNOWN).

! ACCORDING TO MRS. GRAHAM, DAVID BRUCE WAS AWARE OF THIS CASE AND WAS WORKING ON IT. SHE DOES NOT KNOW WHETHER AMBASSADOR

END OF PAGE 01

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1980 Release Authority: 2500 Dept. Collection
By 472 JMT/MSB 2/1/11



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BUSH HAS DONE ANYTHING ON THE CASE. MRS. ANNA HSIAO HAS WRITTEN PRESIDENT FORD SEVERAL TIMES REQUESTING HIS INTERVENTION BUT HAS RECEIVED NO REPLY FROM THE WHITE HOUSE.

5. MRS. GRAHAM SAYS THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN UNWILLING TO BE VERY ACTIVE IN THIS CASE BECAUSE PAUL GEORGE FAILED TO APPLY FOR U.S. CITIZENSHIP WHEN HE REACHED AGE 21 AND THEREFORE IS CONSIDERED BY THE USG TO BE A PRC CITIZEN. THIS, IF IT IS TRUE, REACHES A CERTAIN LEVEL OF ABSURDITY, SINCE WHEN PAUL GEORGE REACHED THE AGE OF 21 THERE WAS NO REPRESENTATION IN CHINA TO WHICH HE COULD APPLY FOR U.S. CITIZENSHIP.

6. MRS. GAHAM SUGGESTS THAT IF YOU ARE WILLING TO DO WHAT YOU CAN IN THIS CASE AN APPROACH WHICH SAVES CHINESE FACE MIGHT POSSIBLY SUCCEED. THE APPROACH SHE SUGGESTS RUNS AS FOLLOWS:

YOU FEL CERTAIN THAT MRS. ANNA HSIAO'S THREE CHILDREN AND TWO GRANDCHILDREN WOULD NOT BE WILLING TO LEAVE THEIR WONDERFUL HOMES AND HOMELAND, BUT OUT OF RESPECT FOR THEIR AGED MOTHER AND GRANDMOTHER YOU WONDER WHETHER THE PRC WOULD BE WILLING TO APPROACH THE CHILDREN TO EITHER ASK THEM OR SUGGEST TO THEM THAT THEY BE WILLING TO COME TO THE U.S. SO THAT MRS. ANNA HSIAO CAN BE WITH THEM DURING HER CLOSING YEARS.

7. I PROMISED MRS. GRAHAM THAT I WOULD PASS THE ABOVE ON TO YOU, BUT MADE NO GUARANTEES THAT YOU WOULD BE WILLING TO PURSUE THE MATTER WITH PRC OFFICIALS.

END OF TEXT

WAM REGARDS

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#6900

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OP IMMED
DE MTE #6900 3331641
O 291612Z NOV 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM// TOSCO 02//

TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ WH52324

TOSCO 02

TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: BILL HYLAND

EAGLEBURGER ASKED THAT THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE BE PASSED TO THE SECRETARY.

BEGIN TEXT

NOVEMBER 29, 1975

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EAGLEBERGER

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH MRS. BILLY GRAHAM

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3. MRS. GRAHAM NOW ASKS IF YOU COULD SEE WHETHER YOU COULD

***** *WHSR COMMENT*****

MCFARLANE, RODMAN, SEC FLE

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***** ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ ***** *S COPY



DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958 (Declassify) 5500.3
FRO: [unclear], [unclear], [unclear] Dept. Chairman
By HR [unclear] Date 2/1/11

PERSUADE THE CHINESE TO PERMIT MRS. HSIAO'S THREE CHILDREN AND TWO GRANDCHILDREN TO LEAVE THE PRC. THE NAMES ARE AS FOLLOWS:

- A. PAUL GEORGE HSIAO
- B. ANNIE GRACE HSIAO
- C. MARY BESSIE HSIAO
- D. MARY BESSIE'S TWO CHILDREN (NAMES UNKNOWN).

4. ACCORDING TO MRS. GRAHAM, DAVID BRUCE WAS AWARE OF THIS CASE AND WAS WORKING ON IT, SHE DOES NOT KNOW WHETHER AMBASSADOR BUSH HAS DONE ANYTHING ON THE CASE. MRS. ANNA HSIAO HAS WRITTEN PRESIDENT FORD SEVERAL TIMES REQUESTING HIS INTERVENTION BUT HAS RECEIVED NO REPLY FROM THE WHITE HOUSE.

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END OF TEXT

WARM REGARDS
0499



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~~TOP SECRET~~
~~SENSITIVE~~
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O 291700Z NOV 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOSCO 03//
TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT
ZEM

~~TOP SECRET~~ SENSITIVE CONTAINS CODEWORD EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY
WH52305

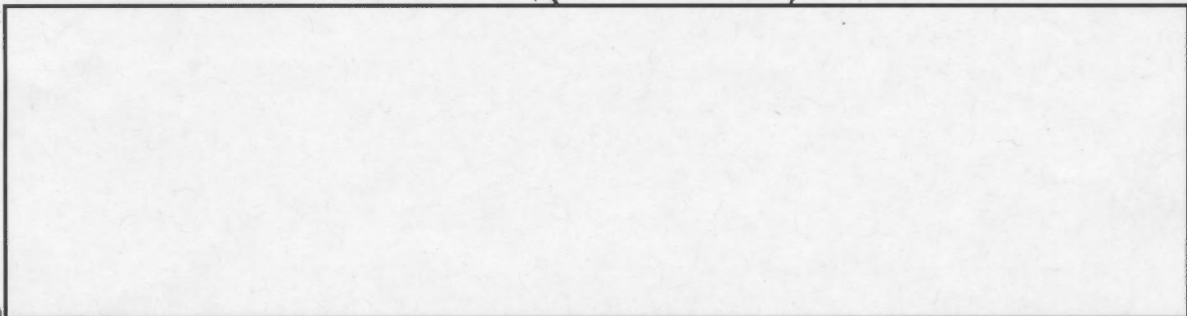
TOSCO 03

NOVEMBER 29, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: THE SITUATION ROOM

SUBJECT: NOON NOTES



FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER ATTEMPTED TO COMPLETE SALE NEGOTIATIONS DURING HIS VISIT TO PEKING.

FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES PLANNED TO ARRANGE FOR THE SALE OF A JET ENGINE PLANT, AN ELECTRONICS PLANT, AND A CHEMICAL COMPLEX TO THE CHINESE DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO PEKING. SAUVAGNARGUES HOPED TO COMPLETE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE SALE OF THESAND OTHER ITEMS WHICH HAD BEEN PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED BY FRENCH PRIME MINISTER JACQUES CHIRAC AND CHINESE VICE PREMIER TENG HSAIO-PING DURING TENG'S MAY 1975 VISIT TO FRANCE. THE OTHER ITEMS PROPOSED FOR SALE TO THE CHINESE WERE LARG FUCKS, TELEPHONE EQUIPMENT, AND THE CONCORDE AIRCRAFT. CERTAIN OF THESE OFFERS MAY ALSO HAVE INCLUDED COMPLEX MANUFACTURING PLANTS. THE FRENCH ALSO PLANNED TO OFFER ASSISTANCE IN BUILDING THE PEKING SUBWAY. FRENCH OFFICIALS HOPED THAT FORMAL SIGNING CEREMONIES FOR THESE CONTRACTS WOULD OCCUR DURING THE FORTHCOMING VISIT TO CHINA BY THE FRENCH PRESIDENT, WHICH IS SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE SOMETIME BETWEEN MARCH AND JUNE 1976. ACCORDING TO A STATE CABLE FROM PARIS ON NOVEMBER 24, SAUVAGNARGUES SAID THAT HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH CHINESE OFFICIALS HAD BEEN COURTEOUS BUT

DECLASSIFIED w/porions exempted

AUTHORITY RAC 116 CODEWORD-46-1-1-9 9/21/05
BY Wh NRC/Anthony/mjw
NARA DATE 5/3/10

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Presidential Library Review

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NGA Review completed.

~~TOP SECRET~~

WITHOUT ANY CONCRETE RESULTS, AND AS FOR COMMERCIAL RELATIONS, NO PROGRESS WAS MADE. THE CHINESE COMPLAINED THAT FRENCH PRICES WERE NOT COMPETITIVE.

AID FOR HANOI BUT NO BASE FOR MOSCOW: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MIKHAIL KAPITSA, HEAD OF THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTRY'S FIRST FAR EAST DIVISION, RECENTLY PROVIDED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SOME ADDITIONAL DETAILS ON THE RESULTS OF HANOI PARTY CHIEF LE DUAN'S RECENT VISIT TO MOSCOW. KAPITSA SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL GIVE VIETNAM "VERY CONSIDERABLE" ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR THE RESTORATION AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF ITS NATIONAL ECONOMY. AS USUAL, NEITHER SIDE HAS DIVULGED THE VALUE OF THE AID PACKAGE. KAPITSA ALSO SAID THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD INSTALL A METALLURGICAL CENTER AND A PETROLEUM REFINERY SHOULD PRELIMINARY EXPLORATIONS PROVE THAT ENOUGH OIL AND OIL EXIST TO MAKE THE PROJECTS WORTHWHILE. WESTERN COMPANIES DISCOVERED THREE OIL DEPOSITS OFFSHORE IN SOUTH VIETNAMESE WATERS LAST SPRING, BUT THEIR COMMERCIAL VALUE HAD NEVER DETERMINED. KAPITSA DENIED THAT THE SOVIETS ARE TRYING TO OBTAIN NAVAL BASES IN VIETNAM, BUT DID ACKNOWLEDGE THEY ARE INTERESTED IN THE OCCASIONAL USE OF VIETNAMESE PORTS FOR REFUELING AND REPAIR, PARTICULARLY OF "EXPLORATION" SHIPS. THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE THAT MOSCOW MAY HAVE BEEN PUSHING HANOI A BIT HARDER ON FACILITIES THAN KAPITSA LETS ON. LAST SUMMER, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE SOVIETS HAD ASKED FOR, AND HANOI HAD VETOED, THE STATIONING OF A "FEW" OF THEIR PEOPLE IN CAM RANH BAY TO AID IN THE SERVICING OF SOVIET SHIPS. IN TELLING THIS STORY, THE KGB MAN ALMOST CERTAINLY WAS TRYING TO IMPRESS THE INDONESIAN WITH MOSCOW'S CONCERN AND WILLINGNESS TO COUNTER THE CHINESE "THREAT" TO SOUTHEAST ASIA.

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#6901



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DE WTE #6909 3331732
O 291745Z NOV 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOSCO 04//
TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT
ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY WH52327

TOSCO 04

29 NOVEMBER 1975

FROM: THE SITUATION ROOM

TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: LATE NOON ITEM

LISBON GOVERNMENT CONSOLIDATES POSITION.

HOUSE-CLEANING OF THE PORTUGUESE MILITARY LEADERSHIP CONTINUED TODAY WHEN THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL ACCEPTED THE RESIGNATION OF ADMIRAL ROSA COUTINHO AND FIRED NAVY CHIEF OF STAFF ADMIJL FIGUEIRA SOARES. THEIR DEPARTURE LEAVES ONLY TWO COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS ON THE COUNCIL, AND MILITARY SOURCES PREDICTED THEY WILL ALSO BE DROPPED SHORTLY.

FORMER VICE PREMIER LT. COL. METELO, MEANWHILE, IS THE LATEST ERSTWHILE OFFICIAL TO BE ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE ABORTI PUTSCH. FORMER PRIME MINISTER GONCALVES, METELO'S MENTOR, HAS NOT BEEN CHARGED SO FAR WITH COMPLICITY, AND A PRESIDENTIAL SPOKESMAN SAID TODAY THAT HE IS WORKING "NORMALLY" AT HIS JOB.

PRIME MINISTER AZEVEDO'S TOUGH PUBLIC ADDRESS LAST NIGHT IN EFFECT RANG DOWN THE CURTAIN ON THE PUTSCH; RESTATED HIS DETERMINATION *DETERMINATION* ~~DETERMINATION~~ TO PURSUE HIS PROGRAM, AND WARNED ALL ELEMENTS TO ABIDE BY HIS RULES OR SUFFER THE CONSEQUENCES. *ALL ELEMENTS TO*

IN THE CONSERVATIVE NORTH, THE LEADER OF THE POPULAR DEMOCRATS CALLED FOR IMMEDIATE ELECTIONS FOR A LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND FOR A NEW PRESIDENT. HE SAID THAT HIS PARTY WILL NOT ACCEPT PARTICIPATION OF COMMUNISTS IN THE GOVERNMENT. THOUSANDS OF PORTO WORKERS, MEANWHILE, HAVE SIGNED PETITIONS CALLING FOR THE OUSTER OF FOREIGN MINISTER ANTUNES FOR HIS RECENT ADVOCACY OF CONTINUED SUCH PARTICIPATION. PORTO IS THE LOCALE WHERE THE GOVERNMENT'S 7-MAN COMMISSION IS BEGINNING ITS INQUIRY INTO THE PUTSCH. PRESS SOURCES REPORT A TOTAL OF 65 OFFICERS BEING HELD THERE AS PLOT SUSPECTS, WITH MORE TO COME. E-2 IMPDET.

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#6909



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2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

HR 2/1/11

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O 291939Z NOV 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOSCO 05//
TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT
ZEM

RECEIVED: FAIRBANKS COMM CENTER
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1988/11/11
HR 10/11/88 2/1/11

~~SECRET~~ EYES ONLY WH52328.

TOSCO 05

NOVEMBER 29, 1975

FROM: BILL HYLAND
TO: BRENT SCOWCROFT

1. I DISCUSSED THE DPQ SUBMISSION WITH JOHN WICKHAM. RUMSFELD ANFBROWN HAVE REVIEWED THE TEXT YOU SENT OVER AND PROPOSED ONLY MINOR CHANGES WHICH DO NOT AFFECT SUBSTANCE. OTHERWISE THE PENTAGON HAS CLEARED THE ESSENTIAL FEATURES AS DISCUSSED BY HAK AND RUMSFELD, I.E., REPLACEMENT OF 90 F-4'S WITH F-15'S; FOOTNOTE INDICATING US IS STUDYING MAKING F-15 NUCLEAR-CAPABLE; REPORTING TWO CARRIERS IN A-1 CATEGORY WITH FOOTNOTE EXPLAINING THAT ONE CVA WILL BE WITHDRAWN PERIODICALLY BUT ONLY IN EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES OR FOR TRAINING.

2. WICKHAM ALSO ASKED WHETHR YOU OR HAK SEE ANY PROBLEM WITH RUMSFELD AGREEING TO A COURTESY MEETING WITH PERES WHEN TH LATTER IS HERE ON A SPEAKING TOUR IN MID-DECEMBER.

3. YOU HAVE RECEIVED A MEMO FROM PHIL BUCHEN ASKING ONCE MORE FOR PERMISSION TO AUTHORIZE DOT TO MAKE AVAILABLE A COPY OF THE NIXON LETTER TO HEATH ON CONCORDE TO THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON AVIATION OF THE HOUSE PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE. BARNUM OF DOT MUST TESTIFY ON TUESDAY. YOU ARE CARRYING DAVE ELLIOTT'S RECOMMENDATION WITH YOU (NSC NO. 7891). IT TURNS OUT THAT THE HEATH LETTER IS NO LONGER COVERED BY THE NIXON FILES EMBARGO IN THAT IT WAS CABLED TO LONDON IN JANUARY 1973 AND BOTH THE NSC AND DOT HOLD COPIES OF THE CABLE. PLEASE ADVISE.

4. YOU ARE ALSO CARRYING AN OAKLEY PAPER (NSC NO. 7586X) CONTAINING ALTERNATE PD'S TO COVER TRAINING AND/OR C-130'S FOR EGYPT. THE EGYPTIANS HAVE NOW COME IN VIA OUR DAO SEEKING PERMISSION TO SEND TWO OFFICERS TO THE US TO CONSULT ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INSTITUTE OF MILITARY ADMINISTRATION. THEY HAVE ALSO ASKED FOR A STATUS REPORT ON THEIR PREVIOUS REQUEST FOR TRAINING SPACES IN CONUS SCHOOLS. PLEASE ADVISE.

5. OAKLEY TELLS ME THAT YOU ALSO HAVE A LIST OF CANDIDATES TO HEAD THE SINAI SUPPORT MISSION (IF YOU DON'T,



END OF PAGE 01

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SECRET EYES ONLY

JOE SISCO DOES). OAKLEY TELLS ME THAT MAURY WILLIAMS NOW LOOKS DOUBTFUL AS A RESULT OF OUR INABILITY TO OFFER JOB SECURITY FOLLOWING TERMINATION OF THE SINAI PROJECT. PLEASE LET ME KNOW IF YOU WANT ANYTHING DONE ON THIS BEFORE YOUR RETURN.

6. PETER IS CARRYING STATE'S DRAFT REPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT TO SEND TO THE CONGRESS DECEMBER 5 ON: (A) US INTENTIONS TOWARD PROVIDING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO GREECE; (B) THE STATUS OF EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS IN RESOLVING THE CYPRUS DISPUTE; (C) THE STATUS OF US EFFORTS TO RESTRAIN TURKISH POPPY CULTIVATION. DENIS VIFT HAS REVIEWED THE DRAFT AND BELIEVES IT IS WEAK IN SEVERAL RESPECTS. THUS, I WOULD NOT BOTHER READING IT. I WILL SEND YOU SOMETHING FURTHER ON THIS NEXT WEEK.

7. I BELIEVE WICKHAM CALLED YOU LAST NIGHT CONCERNING AN ASW EXERCISE OFF TAIWAN (SHARK HUNT) COMMENCING DECEMBER 18 ON TO WHICH DEFENSE WOULD LIKE TO PIGGYBACK AN AIR DEFENSE EXERCISE (BLUE SKY). STATE HAS OPPOSED ADDING THE AIR DEFENSE PHASE ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT COMES TOO CLOSE ON THE HEELS OF THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO THE PRC. TODAY WICKHAM SENT OVER A MEMO WHICH STRESSES THAT ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS EXIST TO PREVENT AN INCURSION INTO PRC AIR SPACE AND THAT IF THE EXERCISE ISN'T HELD NOW ASSETS WILL BE UNAVAILABLE TO HOLD IT UNTIL LATE JANUARY. PLEASE ADVISE.

8. LASTLY, STATE IS SENDING THE SECRETARY A DRAFT MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO ROB MULDOON, PRIME MINISTER-ELECT OF NEW ZEALAND. I ASSUME YOU WILL HANDLE IT FROM THERE.

9. MCFARLANE REPORTS THE SCORE AT HALFTIME: NAVY 20
- ARMY 0.

10. WARM REGARDS.
SITUATION ROOM NOTE: NAVY BEAT ARMY 30 TO 6.
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O 291939Z NOV 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOSCO 05//

TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT

~~SECRET~~ EYES ONLY WH52328

TOSCO 05

NOVEMBER 29, 1975

FROM: BILL HYLAND
TO: BRENT SCOWCROFT

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***** *WHSR COMMENT*****

MCFARLANE, RODMAN, SEC FLE

RECALLED
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EGYPT. THE EGYPTIANS HAVE NOW COME IN VIA OUR DAO SEEKING PERMISSION TO SEND TWO OFFICERS TO THE US TO CONSULT ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INSTITUTE OF MILITARY ADMINISTRATION. THEY HAVE ALSO ASKED FOR A STATUS REPORT ON THEIR PREVIOUS REQUEST FOR TRAINING SPACES IN CONUS SCHOOLS. PLEASE ADVISE.

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9. MCFARLANE REPORTS THE SCORE AT HALFTIME: NAVY 28
- ARMY 0.

10. WARM REGARDS.
SITUATION ROOM NOTE: NAVY BEAT ARMY 30 TO 6.
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RECALLED

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PAGE 02

OF 02

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TOGCO-07

~~TOP SECRET-SENSITIVE~~
CONTAINS CODEWORD

November 30, 1975

Presidential Library Review of
NSC Equities is Required

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT

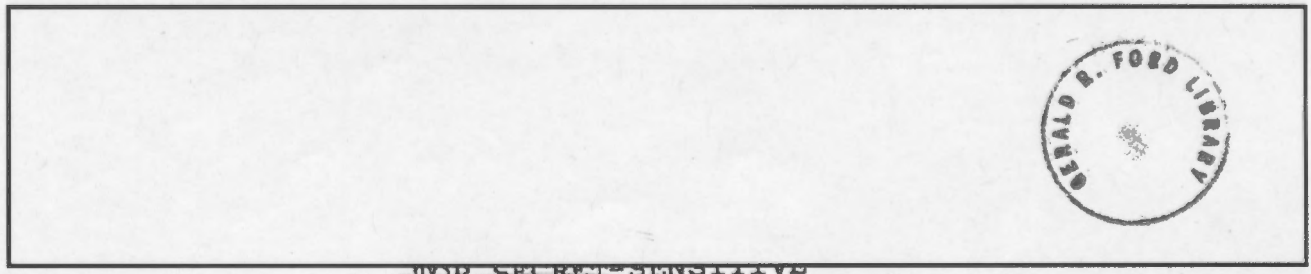
FROM: The Situation Room
SUBJECT: Sunday Cable Summary

DECLASSIFIED w/porions exempted
AUTHORITY RDx NLF-6 NEWOOD-46-1-2-8
NSC/State guidelines 4/24/07
BY Wm NARA, DATE 5/3/10

Moscow Denies Involvement in Yugoslav Affairs: Moscow has issued its first public denial of complicity in internal Yugoslav affairs since Belgrade's most recent anticommunist campaign began in mid-October. In an authoritative article under the pseudonym I. Alexandrov, Pravda claimed on November 27 that the Western media were seeking to cast aspersions about Yugoslav developments in such a way as to complicate Belgrade's relations with other socialist countries, particularly the USSR. As a precedent for this activity, Alexandrov recalled previous Western reports that Moscow had supported Ustashi separatists. He claimed that this charge was also unfounded and that the Ustashi and other groups seeking to break up Yugoslavia were actually tied to the West, which had also provided them with arms. The article concludes by asserting that Soviet-Yugoslav relations are in fact steadily improving and that the current campaign of slander is doomed to failure.

Soviets Agree to Deliver Crude Oil to Sweden: For the first time, the Soviets have agreed to deliver crude oil to Sweden. The agreement covers up to 500,000 tons of crude to be delivered in 1976. According to the Swedish firm, the Soviet petroleum exporter is to deliver the crude to the refinery at Nynashamn or for processing in the Baltic area.

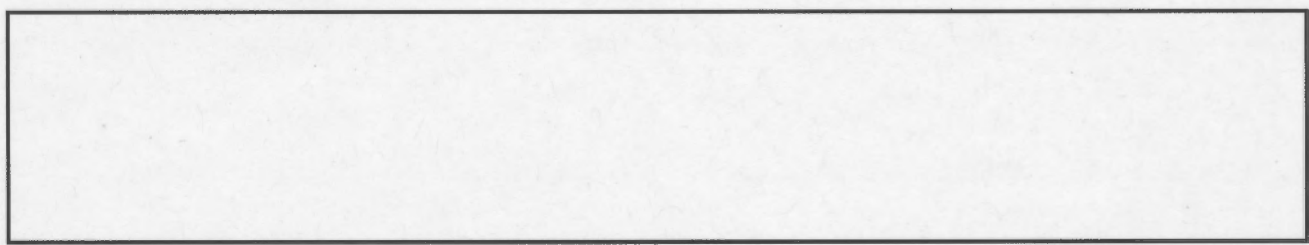
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CONTAINS CODEWORD

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CONTAINS CODEWORD



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Speculation About Government Changes in Madrid: Rumor mills in Madrid expect King Juan Carlos to shuffle the government with the week. The only firm fact is that Prime Minister Arias met with the king for over two hours on Friday afternoon. There was immediate speculation both that he handed in his resignation and that he will be one of three men nominated to preside over Parliament and the Council of the Realm. The expected shuffle will be an early test of Juan Carlos' intentions toward liberalization. Some sources feel the king will pick a conservative to head Parliament in order more easily to select a pro-reform prime minister. Other speculation foresees Arias staying on, but with several key cabinet changes, including new ministers of foreign affairs, interior, army, information, and finance and commerce. Meanwhile, some 250 prisoners covered by last week's amnesty decree have reportedly been released already. The government also has dropped charges against 23 protesters who were arrested during the demonstration Thursday at Carabancel Prison against the decree's allegedly limited coverage. Spanish radio reports Saturday that 500-600 prisoners will be released in Barcelona in a few days, and that a "clarification" of the murky decree will come "at any time."



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O 301548Z NOV 75
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TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT
ZEM

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ACTION

① Scowcroft
② File

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TOSCO 08

TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT
FROM: ROBERT HORMATS
BRENT,

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, 13527, 13528
2/1/11

IN VIEW OF UPCOMING TRADE MEETINGS IN EUROPE, LIKELY FRENCH INTRAN-
SIGENCE THEREIN, AND PROBABLE DOMESTIC CRITICISM IN THE US IF THIS
PROCEDURAL MATTER IS NOT RESOLVED GIVEN THE RAMBOUILLET DECLARATION,
I RECOMMEND THAT YOU SEND THE ATTACHED NOTE TO CLAUD PIERRE-BROSE-
LETTE. I HAVE CLEARED IT WITH DENT, SEIDMAN, ENDERS, AND HARTMAN.
(BEGIN TEXT

TO: CLAUDE PIERRE-BROSELETTE
ELYSEE PALACE, PARIS

DEAR CLAUDE,

A NUMBER OF OUR SENIOR OFFICIALS HAVE EXPRESSED SERIOUS CONCERN
THAT A CONTINUATION OF THE PRESENT PROCEDURAL IMPASSE WITH
RESPECT TO AGRICULTURE IN THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS
COULD BE SEEN AS DIMINISHING THE CREDIBILITY OF THE DECLARATION
OF RAMBOUILLET, WEAKENING ITS USEFULNESS AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR
RESISTING PROTECTIONIST MEASURES, AND RAISING QUESTIONS AS TO
THE VALUE OF THE RECENT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN OUR HEADS OF STATE.
THE OUTCOME OF THE NUMEROUS MEETINGS BEING HELD NEXT WEEK ON
TRADE ISSUES WILL BE USED TO JUDGE WHETHER THE WORDS AND SENTIMENTS
OF RAMBOUILLET HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT CONCRETE PROGRESS TOWARD
RESOLUTION OF DIFFERENCES IN THIS AREA, TOWARD ATTAINMENT OF THE
GOALS OF THE DECLARATION, AND TOWARD THE COMPLETION OF THE GENEVA
NEGOTIATIONS IN 1977.



AS PRESIDENT FORD SAID AT RAMBOUILLET, WE RECOGNIZE THAT AGRIC-
ULTURE IS A DELICATE POLITICAL PROBLEM IN A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES.
BECAUSE OF ITS SIGNIFICANCE, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE FIND A
MUTUALLY AGREEABLE BASIS FOR EXPANDING TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PROD-
UCTS. IN OUR VIEW, THE COMPROMISE REACHED BETWEEN NEGOTIATIONS OF
THE UNITED STATES AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN MID-OCTOBER PRO-
VIDES A MEANS OF BEGINNING AGRICULTURAL NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT

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COMPROMISING THE SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS OF EITHER SIDE AND WITHOUT PREJUDICING THE OUTCOME. WE BELIEVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS COMPROMISE CAN PROVIDE A BASIS FOR MOVING AHEAD WITH AGRICULTURAL NEGOTIATIONS, THUS FURTHERING THE OBJECTIVES AGREED TO AT RAMBOUILLET AND THE PROGRESS TOWARD AN IMPROVED WORLD ECONOMY TO WHICH THAT MEETING SO SUBSTANTIALLY CONTRIBUTED.

BECAUSE BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES HAVE STRONG CONVICTIONS RELATING TO THE SUBSTANCE OF THE AGRICULTURAL ISSUES, WHICH NEED TO BE ADDRESSED, ONCE THIS PROCEDURAL MATTER IS RESOLVED, CLOSER CONTACT BETWEEN US WITH RESPECT TO AGRICULTURE, AND ESPECIALLY GRAINS, WOULD BE HIGHLY USEFUL DURING THE COURSE OF THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS. WHILE THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO RESPECT FULLY THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN THIS AREA, WE BELIEVE THAT FROM TIME TO TIME DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN OFFICIALS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF OUR RESPECTIVE VIEWS.

(END TEXT)

WARM REGARDS.

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FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOSCO 08//

TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SENSITIVE EYES ONLY WH52331

TOSCO 08

TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: ROBERT HORMATS

BRENT,

IN VIEW OF UPCOMING TRADE MEETINGS IN EUROPE, LIKELY FRENCH INTRAN-
SIGENCE THEREIN, AND PROBABLE DOMESTIC CRITICISM IN THE US IF THIS
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LETTE. I HAVE CLEARED IT WITH DENT, SEIDMAN, ENDERS, AND HARTMAN.
(BEGIN TEXT

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COULD BE SEEN AS DIMINISHING THE CREDIBILITY OF THE DECLARATION
OF RAMBOUILLET, WEAKENING ITS USEFULNESS AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR
RESISTING PROTECTIONINST MEASURES, AND RAISING QUESTIONS AS TO
THE VALUE OF THE RECENT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN OUR HEADS OF STATE.
THE OUTCOME OF THE NUMEROUS MEETINGS BEING HELD NEXT WEEK ON
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OF RAMBOUILLET HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT CONCRETE PROGRESS TOWARD
RESOLUTION OF DIFFERENCES IN THIS AREA, TOWARD ATTAINMENT OF THE
GOALS OF THE DECLARATION, AND TOWARD THE COMPLETION OF THE GENEVA
NEGOTIATIONS IN 1977.



***** * * * * * WHSR COMMENT * * * * * *****

HYLAND, MCFARLANE, RODMAN, SEC FLE, SDO

RECALLED
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E.O. 12958 (as amended) GPO 0.9
NSA Memo, 08000, Class. Exp. Guidelines
By HR JUNA Date 2/1/11

AS PRESIDENT FORD SAID AT RAMBOUILLET, WE RECOGNIZE THAT AGRICULTURE IS A DELICATE POLITICAL PROBLEM IN A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES. BECAUSE OF ITS SIGNIFICANCE, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE FIND A MUTUALLY AGREEABLE BASIS FOR EXPANDING TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS. IN OUR VIEW, THE COMPROMISE REACHED BETWEEN NEGOTIATORS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN MID-OCTOBER PROVIDES A MEANS OF BEGINNING AGRICULTURAL NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT COMPROMISING THE SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS OF EITHER SIDE AND WITHOUT PREJUDICING THE OUTCOME. WE BELIEVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS COMPROMISE CAN PROVIDE A BASIS FOR MOVING AHEAD WITH AGRICULTURAL NEGOTIATIONS, THUS FURTHERING THE OBJECTIVES AGREED TO AT RAMBOUILLET AND THE PROGRESS TOWARD AN IMPROVED WORLD ECONOMY TO WHICH THAT MEETING SO SUBSTANTIALLY CONTRIBUTED.

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(END TEXT)

WARM REGARDS,

0508



RECALLED

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PAGE 02

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FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOSCO 09//
TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT
ZEM
UNCLAS WH52333

TOSCO 09

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

FOR: GENERAL SCOWCROFT ABOARD AF-1

NOW AND THEN: THE U.S. LION MUST STAND UP AND ROAR

MR. IVOR RICHARD, O.C., IS NOWADAYS THE TOAST OF THE PUSILLANIMOUS SET, WITHIN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND OUTSIDE IT, FOR HIS OH-SO-WORLDLY DENUNCIATION OF THE RECENT ACTIVITY OF HIS AMERICAN COUNTERPART IN THE UNITED NATIONS, DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN. MR. RICHARD IS THE AMBASSADOR FROM GREAT BRITAIN, AND HE IS LECTURING US NOW ON HOW TO BEHAVE IN THE U.N., HIS SPECIAL CREDENTIALS BEING ENGLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE CENTURY WHICH BRED TWO WARS, THE VERSAILLES PEACE TREATY, AND APPROXIMATELY AS MANY DICTATORSHIPS AS THERE WERE FORMER BRITISH COLONIES - WITH THE EXCEPTION OF RHODESIA, WHICH MR. RICHARD'S SUPERIORS REGULARLY DENOUNCE IN ACCENTS THAT WOULD EMBARRASS EVEN MR. MOYNIHAN.

WHAT IS IT THAT UPSETS MR. RICHARD? WELL, IT IS THE ZEAL WITH WHICH MR. MOYNIHAN HAS LATELY DENOUNCED THE POLICIES OF COL. AMIN, AND THE EIONIST RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. DON'T YOU UNDERSTAND, MR. RICHARD SAID IN HIS SPEECH TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE USA, THAT IN FACT THE VAUNTED ARAB-AFRICAN MAJORITY IS ACTUALLY "BREAKING DOWN"?

THAT IS THE GOOD NEWS, BUT FIVE MINUTES LATER MR. RICHARD ASKED HIS LISTENERS TO "REMEMBER" THAT THE NEW AND WEAK COUNTRIES FEEL "A DESIRE FOR UNITY BECAUSE - PRESUMABLY LIKE THE ARAB COUNTRIES - THEY ARE SO POOR AND WEAK.

WHAT REALLY CAUSES MR. RICHARD TO DESPAIR - SO MUCH SO THAT HE QUOTES KING LEAR, AND INVOKES THE MEMORY OF SAVONAROLA - IS MR. MOYNIHAN'S REACTION TO THE UN VOTE ON "PURELY IDEOLOGICAL AND EMOTIONAL ISSUES." HE WOULDN'T CATCH IVOR RICHARD DOING ANY SUCH THING. "I DO NOT SEE IT (THE U.N.) AS A FORUM IN WHICH TO ARGUE MY OWN PARTICULAR BRAND OF POLITICAL THEOLOGY." "CERTAINLY", HE WENT ON, IT IS NOT GEARED AS A "CONFRONTATIONAL ARENA IN WHICH TO "TAKE ON" THOSE COUNTRIES WHOSE POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND IDEOLOGY ARE DIFFERENT FROM MINE....WHATEVER ELSE THE PLACE IS, IT IS NOT THE OK CORRAL AND I AM HARDLY WYATT EARP."

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I DO NOT THINK THAT ANYONE WOULD CONFUSE IVOR RICHARD, Q.C., FOR WYATT EARP, BUT I DO THINK ENGLISH AMBASSADORS TO THE UNITED NATIONS SHOULD THUMB THROUGH THE CHARTER AND THE CONVENTIONS OF THAT BODY BEFORE COMING TO NEW YORK, THOUGH TO BE SURE TO READ ABOUT THE IDEALS OF THE UNITED NATIONS IS NOT THE BEST PREPARATION FOR TOLERATING IT.

YOU SEE, THE POINT OF MR. MOYNIHAN'S RECENT STATEMENTS ISN'T THAT ALL COUNTRIES SHOULD EMBRACE ANY PARTICULAR BRAND OF POLITICAL THEOLOGY. IF MR. IVOR RICHARD WERE TO STAND UP IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND DEMAND THAT EVERYONE IN THE ROOM SING "GOD SAVE THE QUEEN", HE WOULD MAKE HIMSELF EVEN MORE ABSURD THAN HE HAS NOW DONE. BUT MR. MOYNIHAN IS NOT ASKING THE UN TO ACCEPT THE HEGEMONY OF AMERICAN IDEALS. HE IS ASKING THE UN TO ACCEPT THE UN'S IDEALS. HE IS DEFENDING THE INSTITUTION AGAINST THE BRAZEN CORRUPTION OF IT BY THE INCUMBENT DELEGATES.

THERE MUST BE AS MANY ANTI-RACIST MANIFESTOS IN THE UNITED NATIONS AS THERE ARE SAINTS' DAYS IN COSTA RICA. ALONG COMES A CHARACTER FROM UGANDA WHO PRACTICES RACISM WITH SYSTEMATIC ZEAL, AND BEGINS TO ATTACK OTHER NATIONS, INCLUDING OUR OWN. AND A FEW WEEKS LATER, BY A SUBSTANTIAL MAJORITY, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY PRONOUNCES ZIONISM TO BE A FORM OF RACISM, AN EQUATION EVEN THE LANGUID MR. RICHARD KNOWS NOT TO BE THE CASE. SUPPOSE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAD ORDAINED THAT THE SQUARE ROOT OF 25 IS 3: WOULD MR. RICHARD HAVE BEEN AS TOLERANT? AS CONDESCENDING? BECAUSE THAT, REALLY, IS WHAT HE IS BEING. MOYNIHAN IS TAKING THE UNITED NATIONS SERIOUSLY. THAT IS TO SAY, HE IS ATTACHING IMPORTANCE TO ITS PRONOUNCEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES. ONLY BY DOING SO CAN HE INVEST IT WITH A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY.

MR. RICHARD COMES FROM THAT LONG LINE OF ENGLISH DIPLOMATIC WISE MEN WHO CONSIDERED HITLER AS "PURELY AN IDEOLOGICAL AND EMOTIONAL ISSUE". HE SHOULD REALIZE THAT THE UNITED STATES IN THESE DAYS IS DOING THE LION'S SHARE OF THE WORK IN KEEPING THE HITLERS OF THIS WORLD AT BAY, AND THAT UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES WE, UNIQUELY, MUST FROM TIME TO TIME, ROAR LIKE A LION; AND WHEN WE DO, WHICH IS NOT VERY OFTEN, POOR RICHARD OUGHT TO WRITE THAT DOWN IN HIS ALMANAC, INSTEAD OF STICKING OUT HIS TONGUE AT THE TEACHER.

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SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON ON THE UNDOF
MANDATE EXTENSION

1. EVRON CALLED EARLY SUNDAY AFTERNOON TO ASK THAT THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON BE PASSED TO THE SECRETARY BY THE QUICKEST POSSIBLE MEANS.

2. BEGIN TEXT. DEAR HENRY: THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS ABOUT TO PASS, WITHIN THE NEXT FEW HOURS, A RESOLUTION WHICH WILL HAVE A DECISIVE INFLUENCE ON DEVELOPMENTS IN OUR AREA. THE SYRIANS, WITH THE ACTIVE SUPPORT OF THE SOVIETS, ARE AIMING AT GETTING A RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL INTENDED TO DESTROY THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE. THEY WANT TO CONVERT THE SECURITY COUNCIL INTO A FORUM WHICH WILL BE A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AND BRING ABOUT A SITUATION WHEREBY THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL FORCE AN IMPOSED SETTLEMENT ON THE PARTIES, INSTEAD OF MAKING POSSIBLE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THEM WHICH, BY THEIR VERY NATURE, ARE THE BASIS OF ANY AGREEMENT. SUCH A RESOLUTION WOULD CONSTITUTE A GRAVE BLOW TO THE PRESIDENT OF EGYPT AND WOULD ENCOURAGE, TO A SERIOUS EXTENT, THE EXTREMISTS AND DESTRUCTIVE ELEMENTS IN THE ARAB WORLD. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE TO RAISE THE PRESTIGE AND INFLUENCE OF THE USSR IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND TO CAUSE A PARALLEL DECLINE FOR THE UNITED STATES.

3. THE SYRIANS WANT TO IMPOSE THE PLO AS A FACTOR EQUAL IN STATUS TO THE STATES OF THE REGION, AND IN THIS WAY TO BEGIN A PROCESS INTENDED TO AFFECT ISRAEL'S VERY EXISTENCE.

4. THE GOI IS GRATEFUL TO THE USG FOR ITS STAND UP TILL NOW IN THE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS NOW TAKING PLACE IN THIS REGARD IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THERE IS A SUGGESTION TO INCLUDE IN THE COUNCIL'S RESOLUTION, FURTHER TO THE PARAGRAPHS EXTENDING THE MANDATE OF UNDOF, AN ADDITIONAL PARAGRAPH DETERMINING THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD CONVENE AGAIN IN JANUARY IN ORDER TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST. I HAVE ALSO BEEN INFORMED THAT THERE IS A TENDENCY AMON CERTAIN

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QUARTERS TO INCLUDE IN THIS PARAGRAPH THE WORDS "INCLUDING THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM" AND ALSO THE WORDS "ALL THE RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS."

5. IT IS OUR CONVICTION THAT ANY DEPARTURE FROM THE ACCEPTED TEXT FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE UNDOF MANDATE (SEE RESOLUTION 369) WILL HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES, AND THE GOI WILL NOT BE ABLE TO AGREE TO IT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES. THIS ATTITUDE APPLIES ALSO TO A STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL AND WE UTTERLY REJECT ANY INCLUSION OF THE ABOVE-QUOTED EXPRESSIONS.

6. WE ARE FACING DIFFICULT DECISIONS AND I MUST TELL YOU IN ALL RESPONSIBILITY AND FRIENDSHIP THAT ANY CHANGE IN THE STAND OF THE UNITED STATES AT THIS TIME MAY HAVE THE GRAVEST CONSEQUENCES AND WILL BE INTERPRETED AS SUBMISSION TO BLACKMAIL. IF THERE IS ANY DEPARTURE FROM THE POSITION THAT AMBASSADOR DINITZ GAVE YOU ON MY BEHALF ON NOVEMBER 28, 1975 ON THIS SUBJECT, AND OF WHICH YOU APPROVED, SUCH A RESOLUTION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL NOT BIND THE GOI AND WE SHALL HAVE TO ACT AT OUR OWN DISCRETION IN ORDER TO SAFEGUARD OUR VITAL INTERESTS.

7. I HAVE TODAY INFORMED OUR REPRESENTATIVE AT THE UN THAT IF THERE SHOULD BE ANY SUCH DEPARTURE, WHETHER IN THE FRAMEWORK OF A RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OR WHETHER IN A STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL, BEYOND THE SIMPLE CALL ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO DISCUSS THE MIDDLE EAST AND NOTHING MORE, THE GOI WILL EXPECT OF THE US THAT IT WILL EXERCISE ITS VETO ON THE ENTIRE RESOLUTION ON THE EXTENSION OF THE MANDATE WITH ALL THE CONSEQUENCES IMPLIED HEREBY.

8. THE US AND ISRAEL HAVE COME A LONG WAY TOGETHER, AND WITH OUR COMBINED EFFORTS WE HAVE BEGUN A PROCESS INTENDED TO BRING PEACE TO OUR AREA. I AM THEREFORE APPROACHING YOU AGAIN WITH THE URGENT REQUEST THAT THE US REJECT THE SYRIAN-SOVIET BLACKMAIL AND CAST ITS VETO IF THERE IS ANY NEY TO THE PEOPLES RE-
PUBLIC OF CHINA, WITH ALL HOPE THAT THIS JOURNEY WILL CONSTITUTE A FURTHER TIER IN THE BUILDING OF PEACE IN THE WORLD, WHICH THE PRESIDENT AND YOURSELF ARE WORKING SO HARD FOR AND FOR WHICH WE ALL HOPE AND PRAY. CORDIALLY YOURS, YIGAL. END TEXT.

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U.S. - CHINA RELATIONS: VIEW FROM EACH SIDE
PEKING IS DUBIOUS ABOUT SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENTS
BY FOX BUTTERFIELD

HONG KONG: NOV 29 - WHEN PRESIDENT FORD ARRIVES IN PEKING MONDAY HE WILL ENCOUNTER A CHINESE LEADERSHIP THAT IS MORE DUBIOUS ABOUT, IF NOT DISAPPOINTED WITH, ITS RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE PRESIDENT NIXON'S EPOCHAL VISIT THREE YEARS AGO.

THE CHINESE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS THAT MR. FORD'S ALREADY-SHORT-ENED FOUR-DAY TRIP WILL LEAD TO SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENTS.

UNLIKE MR. NIXON, WHO DEALT WITH THE URBANE, SOPHISTICATED PRIME MINISTER, CHOU EN-LAI, MR. FORD WILL FIND A NEW NEGOTIATING PARTNER, TENG HSIAOPING, THE BLUNT, TOUGH SENIOR DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER.

IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS, WITH MR. CHOU SERIOUSLY ILL AND CHAIRMAN MAO 13E-TUNG IN QUESTIONABLE HEALTH, MR. TENG HAS EMERGED AS THE FUNCTIONING LEADER. MOVING RAPIDLY, HE HAS INSTALLED A SURPRISINGLY LARGE NUMBER OF HIS LONG-TIME SUPPORTERS IN KEY POSTS, MANY OF THEM, LIKE HIMSELF, REHABILITATED AND, WITH THE APPARENT BLESSING OF MR. MAO AND MR. CHOU, HAS GUIDED CHINA INTO A PREOCCUPATION WITH THE MODERATE, PRAGMATIC GOALS OF STABILITY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH, RELEGATING IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGNS TO MINOR STATUS. AT A RECENT NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AGRICULTURE, AT WHICH THE NEXT FIVE YEAR PLAN, TO BEGIN IN 1976, WAS DISCUSSED, CHINESE LEADERS HEADED BY MR. TENG INDICATED THAT IT WOULD STRESS SUCH MUNDANE MATTERS AS GREATER FARM MECHANIZATION, INCREASED OUTPUT AND MORE PARTY CONTROL.

"THE EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR HAVE ALMOMST BEEN A REPUDIATION OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION," SAID AN ANALYST HERE IN LOOKING OVER MR. TENG'S HANDIWORK.



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WHETHER MR. TENG'S MORE DIRECT STYLE AND HIS RELATIVE LACK OF EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH WESTERNERS WILL AFFECT MR. FORD'S VISIT IS UNCLEAR. IN ANY EVENT PEKING HAS INDICATED A CERTAIN UNHAPPINESS WITH WASHINGTON IN TWO KEY POLICY AREAS. FOR ONE THING, DESPITE MR. NIXON'S PLEDGE, MADE IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE ENDING HIS VISIT IN FEBRUARY 1972, TO MOVE TOWARD AN EVENTUAL UNITED STATES WITHDRAWAL FROM TAIWAN THERE IS STILL AN EMBASSY IN TAIPEI. THERE ARE STILL 2,800 UNITED STATES TROOPS ON TAIWAN, MOSTLY COMMUNICATIONS AND INTELLIGENCE PERSONNEL.

LESS VALUE AS BUFFER

EQUALLY IMPORTANT, THE VALUE OF THE UNITED STATES AS A BUFFER AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION, OF WHICH THE CHINESE HARBOR AN ALMOST DIABOLIC FEAR, HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY LESSENED IN CHINESE EYES BY THE HUMILIATING AMERICAN DEFEAT IN INDOCHINA LAST SPRING. MR. FORD'S EFFORTS TO PURSUE DETENTE WITH THE RUSSIANS AND HIS UNCEREMONIOUS DISMISSAL OF JAMES R. SCHLESINGER A MAN WHOM THE CHINESE CAME TO REGARD HIGHLY FOR HIS TOUGH ANTI-SOVIET LINE, HAVE ONLY ADDED TO PEKING'S DOUBTS. THEY HAVE BEGUN TO CREEP INTO THE OFFICIAL DIALOGUE.

IN AN UNUSUALLY FROSTY TOAST AT A BANQUET MARKING SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER'S VISIT TO CHINA IN OCTOBER, FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUANHUA WARNED HIM: "THE STARK REALITY IS NOT THAT DETENTE HAS DEVELOPED TO A NEW STAGE BUT THAT THE DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR IS MOUNTING."

THIS WEEK, PERHAPS IN PREPARATION FOR PRESIDENT FORD'S ARRIVAL, THE CHINESE PRESS CARRIED SEVERAL PESSIMISTIC ANALYSES OF THE UNITED STATES ECONOMY AND A LONG COMMENTARY ON SOVIET AMBITIONS.

"IN THE VOCABULARY OF THE NEW CZARS, THE TERM DETENTE HAS A PECULIAR MEANING," THE CHINESE PRESS AGENCY, HSINHUA SAID, "IT MEANS THAT THE WEST SHOULD WILLINGLY PROVIDE THEM WITH MONEY, TECHNOLOGY AND GRAIN TO AUGMENT THEIR CAPABILITY IN THEIR QUEST FOR WORLD DOMINATION."

OPEN COMPLAINTS UNLIKELY

THE CHINESE ARE PROBABLY TOO FAR ALONG IN THEIR DISPUTE WITH THE RUSSIANS, AND ARE TOO SOPHISTICATED, TO COMPLAIN OPENLY TO PRESIDENT FORD ABOUT WHAT THEY SEE AS AMERICAN SHORTCOMINGS. BUT MR. FORD MAY BE IN FOR A PRIVATE LECTURE SINCE THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS, ESPECIALLY CHAIRMAN MAO, OFTEN SEE THEMSELVES, IN THE CHINESE TRADITION, AS TEACHERS.

ON MR. KISSINGER'S VISIT IN OCTOBER THE CHAIRMAN TALKED WITH HIM FOR NEARLY TWO HOURS, MUCH OF IT REPORTEDLY ABOUT THE



SOVIET DANGER. THE ANALYSTS HERE BELIEVE PEKING'S STRESS ON THE IMMINENCE OF ANOTHER WORLD WAR IS PURE CHAIRMAN MAO AND SHOWS THAT HE STILL SETS THE BROAD SWEEP OF CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY DESPITE HIS AGE, 81 AND AN EVIDENT SPEECH PROBLEM.

BECAUSE OF IT HE REPORTEDLY NEEDS TWO INTERPRETERS, ONE, HIS NIECE WANG HAI-JUNG, TO PUT HIS WORDS INTO COHERENT SOUNDS, AND A SECOND TO TRANSLATE THEM INTO ENGLISH

SIGNIFICANTLY, MR. TENG WAS PRESENT AT THE TALK WITH MR. KISSINGER, AS HE HAS BEEN AT ALMOST ALL OF MR. MAO'S MEETINGS WITH FOREIGNERS OVER THE PAST YEAR. TO THE ANALYSTS THAT IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE THE CHAIRMAN BITTERLY DENOUNCED MR. TENG DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND GUIDED HIS FALL INTO DISGRACE.

A DOUR MAN UNUSUALLY SHORT IN STATURE, MR. TENG DID NOT REAPPEAR UNTIL APRIL 1973 AFTER MR. NIXON'S VISIT. HIS REISE SINCE THEN HAS BEEN RAPID - DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY AND CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ARMED FORCES.

IT HAS BEEN WIDELY ASSUMED THAT THE ARCHITECT OF HIS ASCENDANCY WAS MR. CHOU, WHO IS SAID TO HAVE DISCERTED IN HIM AN ABILITY TO MASTER CHINA'S ENORMOUS BUREAUCRACY DURING THE TRANSITION AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF MR. MAO AND MR. CHOU. IF SO MR. CHOU ALSO HELPED PROMOTE ANOTHER KEY FIGURE WHOM PRESIDENT FORD IS LIKELY TO MEET, CHANG CHUN-CHIAO, SECOND DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, WHO WAS ONCE THROUGHT TO BE A RADICAL LEADER FROM SHANGHAI.

WHETHER BY MR. TENG'S DESIGN OR NOT, MOST OF THE OTHER PROMINENT RADICALS WHO ONCE LABELED HIM A FREAK HAVE BEEN IN ECLIPSE.

ANOTHER ACTIVIST ECLIPSED

CHIANG CHING, CHAIRMAN MAO'S CONTROVERSIAL WIFE, HAS REPORTEDLY COME UNDER CRITICISM FOR DISCLOSING PARY SECRETS TO AN AMERICAN SCHOLAR AND HAS MADE FEW PUBLIC APPEARANCES THIS YEAR. WANG HUNG-WEN, A YOUTHFUL ACTIVIST WHOM CHAIRMAN MAO MADE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY TWO YEARS AGO, HAS APPARENTLY BEEN RESTRICTED TO SHANGHAI.

IN THEIR ABSENCE MR. TENG HAS NAMED FOUR PROVINCIAL PARTY FIRST SECRETARIES THIS FALL - IN LIAONING, SHANSI, KWANGTUNG AND YUNNAN - WHO EITHER ARE VETERANS CLOSE TO HIM OR SUFFERED FATES SIMILAR TO HIS IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, CHAIRMAN MAO'S EFFORT TO PURGE AND REVITALIZE THE PARTY, WHICH DISRUPTED THE COUNTRY. MR. TENG HAS ALSO HELPED PLACE HALF A DOZEN OTHER SUCH MEN IN THE CRITICAL POST OF POLITICAL COMMISSAR



IN THE LARGE MILITARY REGIONS.

"EVERYONE WHO HAS SEEN HIM RECENTLY NOTES HIS CONFIDENCE, LIKE THE MAN IN CHARGE," A WESTERN DIPLOMAT SAID OF MR TENG.

MR. TENG'S VIEWS ON RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES ARE NOT APPARENT, BUT THEY ARE LIKELY TO BE CANDID. WHEN THE UNITED STATES FREIGHTER THE MAYAGUEZ WAS SEIZED BY CAMBODIANS LAST MAY AND PRESIDENT FORD ORDERED ITS RECOVERY BY FORCE, MR. TENG HAPPENED TO BE IN PARIS. ANSWERING A NEWSMAN'S QUESTION ABOUT WHAT HE WOULD DO IN RESPONSE HE SAID: "THERE IS NOTHING WE CAN DO."

AMERICAN DIPLOMATS SOMETIMES SEEM TO BE LESS FRANK ABOUT UNITED STATES-CHINESE TIES. A PREVALENT VIEW AMONG THESE DIPLOMATS, WHO HAVE BEEN INSISTING THAT THERE IS NOTHING WRONG, IS THAT MR. TENG WILL NOT PRESS MR. FORD ON THE TAIWAN QUESTION BECAUSE, AS ONE PUT IT, THE CHINESE ALREADY KNOW THE ANSWER.

IN THEIR VIEW THE CHINESE HAVING A STRONG SENSE OF HISTORY, ARE WILLING TO WAIT FOR THE UNITED STATES TO BREAK ITS TIES. PEKING IS THOUGHT TO UNDERSTAND MR. FORD'S PROBLEM WITH THE REPUBLICAN RIGHT WING AND PERHAPS CAN EVEN IGNORE THE APPOINTMENT LAST YEAR OF LEONARD UNGER, A CONSERVATIVE SENIOR DIPLOMAT, TO BE THE AMBASSADOR, AND, EQUALLY, AMERICAN MILITARY CREDITS TO HELP THE NATIONALISTS BEGIN PRODUCING THEIR OWN UP-TO-DATE JET FIGHTERS AND HELICOPTERS.

PUSHED RUTHER, THE DIPLOMATS MAINTAIN THAT PEKING HAS NO CHOICE SINCE IT WILL NEVER GO BACK TO THE RUSSIANS. THE CHINESE DID HINT TO THAILAND AND THE PHILIPPINES AFTER THE END OF THE INDOCHINA WAR THAT THEY DID NOT OPPOSE THE CONTINUATION OF UNITED STATES BASES IN THE TWO COUNTRIES-FOR CHINA FEARS SOVIET EXPANSION IN SOUTH ASIA., PERHAPS ABETTED BY NORTH VIETNAM.

THIS AMERICAN ASSESSMENT IGNORES EVIDENCE THAT PEKING HAS NOT BEEN HAPPY. THERE WAS THE COOL RECEPTION FOR MR. KISSINGER ON HIS VISIT IN 1974 AND THE LECTURING ON HIS LATEST TRIP. PRIME MINISTER CHOU, IN HIS LAST PUBLIC COMMENT ON THE SUBJECT, AT THE NATIONAL PEOPLES' CONGRESS IN JANUARY, SAID THAT RELATIONS WOULD IMPROVE IF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE WERE "CARRIED OUT IN EARNEST."

A CHINESE REPRESENTATIVE IN HONG KONG WHO IS SCRUPULOUSLY CAUTIOUS IN HIS COMMENTS SAID CHINA WAS NOT EXACTLY DESAPPOINTED WITH THE UNITED STATES.

"WE AREN'T DISAPPOINTED," HE SAID: "BECAUSE WE NEVER HAD

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ANY ILLUSIONS IN THE FIRST PLACE."

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CONTINUED SUNDAY MORNING NEWS SUMMARY

THE NATIONAL PARTY OUSTED THE GOVERNING LABOR PARTY IN AN UPSET VICTORY IN YESTERDAY'S GENERAL ELECTION. THE RIGHT-OF-CENTER NATIONALISTS, WHO WENT INTO THE ELECTION WITH 32 SEATS IN THE 87-SEAT HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WERE ASSOJED OF 53 SEATS WHEN VOTE COUNTING STOPPED LAST NIGHT. ROBERT D. MULDOON, LEADER OF THE NATIONAL PARTY, WILL BECOME PRIME MINISTER, AND HE'S EXPECTED TO NAME HIS CABINET NEXT WEEK.

MARVIN HOWE REPORTS THAT THE CRISIS IN PORTUGAL IS SPLITTING THAT COUNTRY INTO TWO POLITICAL REGIONS: NORTH AND SOUTH. THIS WEEK'S ABORTIVE REBELLION IN THE LISBON REGION HAS CONS-
ECRATED THE DIVISION.

ACCORDING TO DAVID A. ANDELMAN THERE ARE STILL 50,000 POLITICAL PRISONERS IN INDONESIA, MOST OF WHOM HAVE BEEN HELD FOR 10 YEARS OR MORE.

THE GOVER RXET OF VALERY GISCARD D'ESTAING, ACCUSING THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF TRYING TO WEAKEN DISCHQLINE IN THE ARMED FORCES, HAS BEGUN A FORMAL INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGED ATTEMPTS TO SUBVERT NATIONAL SECURITY THROUGH THE CREATION OF LABOR UNIONS IN MILITARY UNITS.

HENRY GINIGER REPORTS THAT SWEEPING CHANGES IN THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT ARE EXPECTED TO BE MADE BY KING JUAN CARLOS IN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS BUT THE INSTITUTIONS OF FRANCISCO FRANCO ARE CARRYING ON AS IF NOTHING HAD HAPPENED.

THE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT WANTS THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS IN THE COMMON MARKET TO START SETTING BUDGET PRIORITIES FOR THE ORGAN-
IZATION DIRECTING FUTURE SPENDING TO PROJECTS THAT REALLY FURTHER EUROPEAN UNITY.

THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT FEARS THAT IF THIS IS NOT DONE, QUARRELS WILL ARISE AMONG THE NINE MEMBERS OF THE COMMON MARKET IN ALLOT-
TING LIMITED FUNDS FOR NEW PROGRAMS STRONGLY FAVORED BY INDIVIDUAL NATIONS.



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JUAN DE ONIS REPORTS THAT THE ARGENTINE ARMED FORCES HAVE CANCELLED SUMMER VACATIONS FOR ALL OFFICERS AS A NATIONWIDE DRIVE AGAINST LEFT-WING SUBVERSION GATHERED MOMENTUM. MILITARY COMMANDERS ARE MAKING IT CLEAR THAT THIS YEAR AND INTO EARLY 1976, THE ARMED FORCES ARE NOT GOING TO TAKE A BREAK FROM WHAT THEY NOW CALL AN ALL-OUT WAR AGAINST GUERRILLAS, TERRORISTS, AND LABOR AGITATORS.

PAUL HOFMANN NOTES THAT UNITED NATIONS OFFICIALS SAID YESTERDAY IT MIGHT TAKE THE SECURITY COUNCIL UNTIL JUST BEFORE THE DEADLINE TONIGHT TO AGREE ON A FORMULA FOR RENEWAL OF THE BUFFER FORCE'S MANDATE. IF NO CONSENSUS IS REACHED BY MIDNIGHT TONIGHT THE SECURITY COUNCIL MAY STOP THE CLOCK IN A NIGHT MEETING AIMED AT FINDING A LAST-MINUTE COMPROMISE.

WHEN PRESIDENT FORD ARRIVES NEXT WEEK-
END, HE WILL FIND PHILIPPINE OFFICIALS EAGER TO DISCUSS SENSITIVE ISSUES INVOLVING THE ECONOMIC AND SECURITY AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PHILIPPINES. THERE ARE HOPES THAT THE VISIT WILL SPEED NEGOTIATIONS ON A NEW ECONOMIC AGREEMENT TO REPLACE THE OLD ONE THAT WAS DRAFTED SHORTLY AFTER THE PHILIPPINES GAINED INDEPENDENCE FROM THE UNITED STATES IN 1946.

THOMAS E. MULLANEY OBSERVES THAT THE SNAPBACK OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THE LONGEST AND DEEPEST RECESSION IN THREE DECADES HAS BEEN THE CENTER OF ATTENTION, ENVY AND HOPE EVERYWHERE ON THE CONTINENT. AND, SOMEWHAT SURPRISINGLY, THERE WAS LITTLE EXPRESSED DESIRE, IN EITHER POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC CIRCLES THERE, FOR A FASTER REFLATIONARY EFFORT IN THE UNITED STATES FOR THE MUTUAL BENEFIT OF ITS ALLIES.

BY CONTRAST, IT WAS ALSO OBVIOUS THAT THE SEVERITY OF EUROPE'S ECONOMIC MALAISE HAS BEEN MUCH MORE PRONOUNCED THAN GENERALLY REALIZED ON THE WESTERN SIDE OF THE OCEAN, AND THAT THE ROAD BACK TO RECOVERY AND STABILITY OVER THERE IS STILL MARRED BY AN ABUNDANCE OF POTHoles.

ALLEN S. WHITING FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN OBSERVES THAT PRESIDENT FORD'S RECEPTION IN PEKING THIS WEEK WILL BE HANDLED ACCORDING TO THE METICULOUS STANDARDS OF CHINESE PROTOCOL. HOWEVER, PROPRIETY CANNOT OVERCOME THE CHILL IN SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS SIGNALLED BY CHINESE STATEMENTS AND THE TREATMENT GIVEN TO SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER'S ADVANCE TRIP IN OCTOBER. WHAT BEGAN, IN THE PLANNING A YEAR AGO, AS A JOURNEY TO FURTHER PRESIDENT NIXON'S INAUGURATION OF SINO-AMERICAN DETENTE HAS DETERIORATED INTO AN EXERCISE IN POLITICAL ATMOSPHERICS.

JUAN DE ONIS WRITES THAT THE REPRESSIVE POLICE METHODS EMPLOYED BY THE RIGHTWING DICTATORSHIPS IN BRAZIL, CHILE AND URUGUAY



PRODUCING ENERGETIC PROTESTS FROM THE STRONGEST RELIGIOUS CONGREGATION IN THOSE COUNTRIES; THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. THE ROLE OF "WITNESS OF CONSCIENCE" AND OF PUBLIC CRITICISM OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ADOPTED BY PROMINENT CATHOLIC AUTHORITIES PLACES THE CHURCH IN A CONTROVERSIAL POSITION IN RELATION TO THE MILITARY RULERS.

OVER THE PAST YEAR, THE PICTURE OF HONDURAS AS A BANANA REPUBLIC HAS BEEN ALTERED BY THE EMERGENCE OF PERHAPS THE ONLY INDEPENDENT PEASANT MOVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA. THE MOVEMENT HAS NEITHER ACHIEVED ITS OBJECTIVE OF FUNDAMENTAL LAND REFORM NOR RESORTED TO VIOLENT REVOLUTION, BUT ITS AWAKENING AND MOBILIZATION OF THE PEASANTRY IS THE MOST IMPORTANT SOCIAL PHENOMENON IN HONDURAS SINCE INDEPENDENCE FROM SPAIN IN 1821.

LESLIE H. GELB NOTES THAT FOR 25 YEARS THE FOREIGN AID BILL HAS BEEN THE VEHICLE FOR HISTORIC STRUGGLES BETWEEN CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT OVER ISSUES SUCH AS THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE AND VIETNAM. THIS YEAR'S ADMINISTRATION REQUEST FOR \$4.7 BILLION IN SECURITY-RELATED AID EXPOSES THE ROOTS OF ALL THOSE PAST STRUGGLES: IDEALISM VERSUS REALISM IN THE CONDUCT OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY.

AN EDITORIAL SUGGESTS THAT ONE OF THE MOST DRAMATIC AND SIGNIFICANT EPISODES IN THE CEREMONIES ATTENDING THE ACCESSION OF JUAN CARLOS DE BORBON AS KING OF SPAIN WAS THE WARNING BY THE CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF MADRID THAT THE CHURCH "WILL PREACH AND SHOUT, IF NECESSARY," IN DEFENSE OF JUSTICE, HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY.

THE SERMON THUS CONSTITUTED A TIMELY REMINDER OF ALL SPANIARDS-BUT PARTICULARLY TO THE UNRECONSTRUCTED FALANGIST FOLLOWERS OF FRANCISCO FRANCO - THAT THE CHURCH WILL NEVER AGAIN BE PASSIVELY SUPPORTIVE OF TYRANNY AND REPRESSION; AND WILL GIVE THE YOUNG MONARCH ITS BLESSING ONLY AS HE MOVES THE COUNTRY AWAY FROM HARSHER PRACTICES OF THE LATE CAUDILLO.

JAMES RESTON NOTES THAT THERE IS AN AIR OF CONFUSION AND EVEN INCOHERENCE IN OUR PRESENT NATIONAL POLITICAL DEBATE. OTHER CHANGES AND RESIGNATIONS MAY BE IN ORDER. THE PIKE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE HAS EVEN CITED SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER FOR CONTEMPT, ON THE EVE OF HIS MISSIONS TO CHINA, MOSCOW, AND NEXT MONTH'S NATO MEETING IN EUROPE, AND IF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SUPPORTS MR. PIKE, OR EVEN COMES CLOSE TO DOING SO, SECRETARY KISSINGER WILL UNDOUBTEDLY RESIGN, AND WE WILL HAVE A NEW SECRETARY OF STATE, EITHER ELLIOT RICHARDSON OR MELVIN LAIRD, OR, IF THE PRESIDENT WANTS TO GET HIM OUT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE OF 1976, EVEN JOHN CONNALLY OF TEXAS.

C.L. SULEBERGER WRITES THAT CHILEAN GENERAL PINOCHET



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ASSURED SULZBERGER THAT HE NEVER HAD ANY KIND OF CONTACT WITH ANYONE FROM THE CIA OR WITH ANY AMBASSADOR, US OR OTHERWISE.

WHILE GENERAL PINOCHET HAS AN IMPRESSIVE CREDIBILITY GAP, THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THIS PARTICULAR ASSERTION. HE REVEALED DETAILS OF HIS COUP NEVER BEFORE DISCLOSED. THESE SHOW THAT HE PREPARED HIS PUTSCH VIRTUALLY ALONE OVER A LONG PERIOD, TAKING HARDLY ANYONE INTO HIS CONFIDENCE. "ANYONE", INCLUDES THE CIA WHOSE PRINCIPAL FUNCTION IN ALLENDE'S DAY SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN TRYING TO HELP MODERATE DEMOCRATIC FORCES STAY ALIVE. (THE AGENCY DID OPPOSE ALLENDE AT THE VERY START OF HIS PRESIDENCY AND WAS INDIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE KILLING OF GEN. RENE SCHNEIDER IN A MYSTERIOUS CONSPIRACY JUST AFTERWARD. BUT IT WAS NOT INVOLVED IN THE PINOCHET COUP THREE DAYS LATER.)

BALTIMORE SUN

CHARLES W. CORDDRY WRITES THAT A "VICTORY" BY SOVIET-BACKED FORCES IN ANGOLA, NOW LIKELY AS RUSSIAN ARMS TURN THE TIDE, WOULD LEAVE MOSCOW WITH A HARVEST OF SHORT-TERM PROBLEMS, ANALYSTS SAY. BUT ULTIMATELY THE RUSSIANS COULD GAIN AN AFRICAN FOOTHOLD DOMINATING TRADE ROUTES AROUND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE AND JEOPARDIZING THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA.

AN EDITORIAL REPORTS THAT VILLAGERS IN THAILAND'S NONG KHAI PROVINCE, WHERE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES CROSSED THE MEKONG RIVER DURING THE THREE DECADES OF THE INDOCHINA WAR, SAW ANOTHER YOUNG LAOTIAN EMERGE FROM THE WATER LAST WEEK. HE IS PRINCE PANYA, THE 32-YEAR OLD, HARVARD-EDUCATED SECOND SON OF PRINCE SOUVANNA PHOUMA.

THAI PREMIER KUKRIT PRAMOJ UNDERScoreD THE PRINCE'S POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE BY REMARKING THAT BANGKOK EXPECTS MORE LAOTIANS TO SEEK ASYLUM. THE DAY BANGKOK NEWSPAPERS REPORTED THE PRINCE'S SWIM THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED PLANS TO EXPEL IN TAM, PREMIER OF CAMBODIA'S DEFEATED LON NOL GOVERNMENT. THE DIVERGENT TREATMENT OF THE TWO REFUGEES REFLECTS THAI EXPERIENCE WITH NEWLY COMMUNIST NEIGHBORS. THAILAND'S ADROIT "BEND-WITH-THE-WIND" DIPLOMACY NO LONGER BENDS EXCLUSIVELY TOWARD WASHINGTON, BUT IT WILL NOT SOON BE CLEAR WHICH IF ANY OF THE NEIGHBORING COMMUNIST CAPITALS CAN NOW GENERATE A PREVAILING BREEZE.

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COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. TRIP CABLES
OF BRENT SCOWCROFT

BOX NUMBER 1

FOLDER TITLE November-December 1975 - People's
Republic of China - TOSCO (1)

DATE WITHDRAWN 03/11/2011

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TOSCO 19

ACCORDING TO A ASSOCIATED PRESS REPORT, THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTED A RESOLUTION TONIGHT EXTENDING THE MANDATE OF THE U.N. BUFFER FORCE BETWEEN ISRAELI AND SYRIAN TROOPS ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS FOR ANOTHER SIX MONTHS AND SCHEDULING A MIDDLE EAST DEBATE JAN. 12.

THE RESOLUTION WAS A COMPROMISE PROPOSED BY FOUR NONALIGNED SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS.

AFTER THE PASSAGE, COUNCIL PRESIDENT SOVIET AMBASSADOR JACOB MALIK READ A PREVIOUSLY NEGOTIATED STATEMENT THAT IT WAS THE UNDERSTANDING OF A MAJORITY OF THE COUNCIL THAT THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION WOULD BE INVITED TO JOIN IN THE JANUARY DEBATE.

THE COUNCIL ACTED LESS THAN SIX HOURS BEFORE THE MIDNIGHT EXPIRATION OF THE U.N. FORCES' MANDATE.

THE RESOLUTION WENT THROUGH ON A VOTE OF 13-0 WITH CHINA AND IRAQ NOT PARTICIPATING, IN LINE WITH THEIR USUAL PRACTICE ON MIDEAST PEACE-KEEPING DECISIONS.

THE UNITED STATES VOTED FOR THE RESOLUTION THANKS TO A COMPROMISE WORKED OUT WITH SYRIA ONLY HOURS BEFORE ON THE WORDING OF BOTH THE RESOLUTION AND PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT.

THE MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK HAD BEEN THE THORNY PROBLEM OF THE PLO PARTICIPATION IN THE DEBATE. SYRIA AT FIRST HAD DEMANDED THAT THE RESOLUTION CALL FOR SUCH PARTICIPATION, WHICH THE UNITED STATES OPPOSED.

THE PLO WAS NOT MENTIONED IN THE COMPROMISE RESOLUTION, ONLY IN THE MALIK STATEMENT.

U.S. AMBASSADOR DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN HAD EARLIER ASKED THE COUNCIL FOR ENOUGH TIME TO GET A REPLY FROM PRESIDENT

SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER.

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Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

A Chill in the Washington-Peking Connection

The chill that started cooling President Ford's trip to China long before he left Washington raised the prospect of outright postponement during Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's preparatory visit to Peking last month.

Although he specifically did not recommend postponement or cancellation, Kissinger did advise Mr. Ford that he had that option. In fact, the option was immediately discarded. Such a move would have been read by the Chinese as an obeisance to the Soviets.

Stunned by the lack of warmth that greeted him when he arrived in Peking Oct. 19, Kissinger recommended in a secret cable to the White House that Mr. Ford sharply curtail the original plan for the trip. That plan had projected a week-long stay in China with ceremonial trappings, putting the Ford trip roughly on a par with the historic 1972 visit of former President Nixon.

But the chill that descended on Kissinger the moment he arrived in Peking in October demanded abrupt change. Kissinger recommended that the Ford visit be radically downgraded by cutting it to four days, eliminating frivolous ceremony and adding a couple of other stops on the Asian tour. The recom-

mendation was carried out.

The chill in the Washington-Peking connection comes at a time when Mr. Ford could not even begin to do what the Chinese Communists want: speed the divorce between the U.S. and Nationalist China. With Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party's right wing breathing down Mr. Ford's neck, final repudiation of Taipei would be presidential suicide.

Likewise, the President seems totally unable to deal with other major concerns in Peking: the slow unraveling of the U.S.-dominated North Atlantic Treaty Organization; continuing glaring publicity over excesses of American espionage, particularly foreign assassinations; what the Chinese perceive as general unsteadiness in the American government.

All this deeply troubles Peking, where the U.S. connection is given only one value: a brake on Soviet expansionism. Washington's instability, the last three years, however, deeply worries Chinese leaders.

That explains the chill over events leading up to Mr. Ford's visit, a climate which top presidential aides doubt the President will be able to warm up.

Thus, only one limited objective is in sight: Convince Peking that the U.S. wants

to continue the new relationship at the same level—the top—as with the Soviet Union. Beyond that, no matter how much Mr. Ford talks in Peking, it will take action, not words, to prove to the Chinese that the U.S. can still conduct itself as a great power.

President Ford's political operatives may escalate bitterness in the Ford-Reagan showdown in New Hampshire's presidential primary Feb. 24 by dispatching a "truth squad" of Republican legislators from sunny California to snowy New Hampshire to pick apart Reagan's eight-year record as governor.

Stu Spencer, the tough Los Angeles political consultant who is now running the Ford national campaign, asked prominent state legislators to hound Reagan on his 15-day speaking schedule in New Hampshire. With Reagan devoting a major part of his speeches to claims of fiscal and welfare reforms, the pro-Ford legislators would contend that he actually pushed up spending and taxes while governor.

However, Spencer was turned down by the legislator who would have been the most prestigious truth squad member: state assembly minority leader Robert Beverly, who may run for Congress next

year and is staying neutral in the Ford-Reagan race, at least for the present. Balking at any Reagan-roasting operation, Beverly refused both to serve on the squad or recruit members for it.

But another well-regarded state legislator, assemblyman Jerry Lewis, has agreed to go to New Hampshire with two or three other legislators to critique Reagan's record.

The ploy was used by Spencer in managing Nelson Rockefeller's unsuccessful campaign in the 1964 California primary when liberal state legislators dogged Barry Goldwater's steps. It seemed to work well then with local politicians criticizing an outsider, but there is doubt how well sun-tanned Californians will go over in wintry upper New England hashing over bygone days in Sacramento.

Moreover, the Ford truth squad would violate the unctuous "11th commandment"—"thou shalt not speak"—of another Republican—instituted by the California Republican Party in 1965 to end suicidal strife. Although Reagan vows he will not violate the 11th commandment, it is inconceivable he would not retaliate against the truth squadders.

Field Enterprises



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Joseph Kraft

The Price of Sino-American Rapport:

PEKING—En Route through Hawaii and Tokyo for President Ford's visit here in Peking, I asked a wide range of interested parties their view of Sino-American relations. From American admirals to Japanese diplomats in Tokyo, all agree that there has been a distinct cooling-off.

The Chinese, most believe, are disappointed with American performance in standing up to Moscow. So the issue implicit in President Ford's visit is what price, if any, he should pay to stimulate Sino-American rapport.

The signs of the cooling-off are apparent in little gestures on both sides. The Chinese delayed announcement of the exact time of the Ford visit, and held up dispatch of the American team coming over in advance to make preparations. On the American side, President Ford cut his visit from a week to four days, and added the Philippines and Indonesia to the itinerary—thus converting what had been a China visit to an Asian trip.

Some American diplomats trace the Chinese pique to internal leadership problems. They claim that Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai were

strong enough to show a pro-American bias overtly. According to this theory, the transition team under first Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping is too vulnerable to attack from the Chinese left to be openly associated with Washington.

Virtually everybody agrees that the Chinese are also genuinely concerned that Washington is not standing up to Moscow as expected. Not only are the Chinese heavily outgunned by the Russians on their northern frontier, but they apparently have a thing about the Soviet Union. They believe the Russians want to mix in Chinese internal affairs. To promote that end the Russians, Peking claims, have embarked upon a policy of encircling China by penetration in the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia.

Apparently the Chinese had expected the United States to tie up Russia all over the world, from Europe through Latin America and Africa to Asia. Instead, they perceive, or claim to perceive, an American in retreat.

Watergate and the ouster of their great friend President Nixon was a first blow. One American diplomat thinks the Chinese made the rare agreement to exchange

liaison offices with Washington even though the U.S. maintained an embassy in Taiwan chiefly to establish a watch on the confusing condition of American leadership.

Then came the pull-out from Vietnam. Then the Helsinki declaration, signed by President Ford, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev and more than 30 other leaders, but anathema to the Chinese because it legitimized Soviet territorial gains. Finally, there have been the wheat and oil deals and the projected strategic arms limitation agreements, which according to Peking only strengthen Russia.

The majority of American officials believe the Chinese are being unreasonable in their vision of Russian power and U.S. weakness. One even told me that China was now behaving as of old when it was the middle kingdom and everybody else was supposed to kowtow to China. On that reasoning, evidently Secretary of State Kissinger and President Ford have tended to downplay the Chinese visit.

A minority view, which I share, is that Communist China is the best thing the United States has going for it in the world

arena. Peking divides the Communist bloc and confounds the Russians. Despite the rhetoric, she acts to strengthen the American presence in South Korea, Japan, the Philippines and Thailand. She restrains North Korea and North Vietnam. She helps from time to time at the United Nations—and the real case against U.N. Ambassador Daniel Moynihan is that, in his preoccupation with rhetoric, he apparently failed to act in timely fashion on a Chinese suggestion which could have postponed an embarrassing issue until next year.

So my feeling is that the United States should pay a price to improve rapport with Peking. The price shouldn't of course be to let American foreign policy be made in Peking. It should center around American determination to resist Russian penetration. It might include a thinning of the relation with Taiwan.

For, as the Japanese constantly point out, the cost of alienating China could be very high. It could be, at this time of leadership transition, an easing of tension between Moscow and Peking—which is one of the last things the United States wants.

Field Enterprises



Moynihan Socks It to 'Em at the U.N.

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Washington

We can be thankful that the brouhaha over Daniel P. Moynihan's near-resignation as ambassador to the United Nations is over for the moment. Although everyone is thoroughly miffed with everybody else, it may not be for long.

Mr. Moynihan is miffed because he thought his "give-'em-hell" type of diplomacy was exactly what the administration had in mind when he was appointed.

Henry A. Kissinger is miffed because Mr. Moynihan failed to understand that the Secretary of State was merely exercising his prerogative of having it both ways: That is, he was glad to have Mr. Moynihan castigating the third-world nations, but the secretary felt he had the right to be cool when the act played to less than burrabs in the Peoria of international diplomatic opinion.

President Ford is miffed because he hates "tension" and because Mr. Moynihan's threat to quit put Mr. Ford in even hotter water with New York city, where Jewish voters loved every flaming word Mr. Moynihan said about the anti-Zionist resolution that passed the General Assembly.

The English may be the most miffed of all. They are outraged at the suggestion—made by columnist William Safire—that the British ambassador to the U.N., Ivor Richard, was put up to roasting Mr. Moynihan (although not by name) by an Anglo-American cabal.

Mr. Moynihan is pretty miffed at the British, too. Although Irish, he is a fervent Anglophile, which can be the

most rabid sort, because it goes against the grain of national grievance. He who attended the London School of Economics and has his suits made in Seville How did not relish being compared to Wyatt Earp and Savonarola by a representative of Her Majesty's Government.

The British angrily disavow the plot theory about the speech because, they insist, Mr. Richard said the same thing to a group of American congressmen two days before. Two who were present didn't quite hear it that way—a misunderstanding perhaps caused by British understatement—and thought that all Ambassador Richard was advocating was "gentle diplomacy" with the third world.

And "gentle diplomacy" is indeed what this rich mix of personalities and plots boils down to. The British say they were on the point of splitting the third-world Africans from their Arab allies and could have sunk the anti-Zionist resolution without a ripple had Mr. Moynihan not burst out with his teeth-rattling assault on President Idi Amin of Uganda as a "racist murderer."

Averell Harriman, the old diplomat who was Mr. Moynihan's first political patron, said he did not think it was "very wise" for Mr. Moynihan to take on Marshal Amin, because he is "the man that all the Africans are ashamed of" and would prefer to abuse themselves, if they dared.

Mr. Moynihan's subsequent labeling of the anti-Zionist resolution as "obscene" and his claim that "the decent countries" had voted with him heated up the situation still

further and promoted speculation that he was using the glass house as a sound truck for a campaign for a New York Senate seat.

Mr. Moynihan could claim that he was simply doing his job. After all, he made no secret of his belief that the "sock-it-to-them" technique is the only way to housebreak the rambunctious emerging nations. He said as much in an article in the March issue of *Commentary*, which supposedly led directly to his appointment to the United Nations.

Mr. Ford and Mr. Kissinger, faced with certain defeat in Vietnam last spring, were looking for someone who shared their belief that the small nations of the world are picking on us. This is an extension of the "pitiful helpless giant" view of us first proposed by Mr. Moynihan's for-

mer employer, Richard M. Nixon.

All Mr. Moynihan was doing in words was what Mr. Ford had done with bombs at the Mayaguez affair—teaching a little country how great a country we still are.

The British, who know the third-world countries well, having run a number of them for several centuries, are inclined to inculge them a bit and let them strut and fret on the world stage. But Mr. Moynihan wants to treat them the way the British used to; that is, put them in their place.

The differences between us and our closest allies were not diminished by Mr. Moynihan's subsequent introduction, without consultation with the British, of a resolution—aimed again at showing American moral superiority—of amnesty for political prisoners. It was at once seized upon by advocates of Vietnam amnesty.

It is just as well the amnesty resolution was withdrawn. A debate on the subject of political prisoners coming close on the heels of the Senate intelligence committee's revelations about the way we sometimes handle third-world countries could have been even more agitating and embarrassing than what has just transpired.





How It Looks to an Old China Hand

As President Ford prepared to go to Peking, John Stewart Service, who was once hounded out of the State Department for having accurately foreseen the fall of Chiang Kai-shek, was interviewed by staff members of this page. He visited China for three months last spring.

Is there likely to be a role for foreign policy as an issue as China approaches its transition?

I don't think that there's any real debate about foreign policy now. As far as I can see from talking to people in China, everyone is agreed that the Soviet Union is the principal enemy, the principal contradiction, the real bugaboo that everyone's worried about. This is not a personal thing. Mao's dying, or Chou En-lai's dying, is not going to change that. There was an issue of course about foreign policy in the extent to which they have sort of opened up to the United States. But I think that's been pretty well settled. I don't think that that's going to crop up again. Of course we would perhaps play a constructive role in this whole situation in China if we were a little more yielding on Taiwan.

Could you give us a prognosis for future relations between Taiwan and the Mainland, and possibly what their scenario is for reintegrating them?

Well, they won't talk about their scenario, of course, so you just have to sort of guess from little threads. I think they expect it's going to take a long time. They certainly



Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping

don't want to have to go to war with Taiwan. . . . They anticipate that if they could persuade the United States to break relations with Taiwan—they want us to follow the Japan formula—that Taiwan will become isolated. Taiwan is fairly vulnerable to economic pressure. . . .

Would you suggest that American policy be designed to force Taiwan into China?

No. I don't think we should force it. Our policy should be hands off. It's not hands off when we recognize Taiwan as the Republic of China and have a defense treaty with them. Therefore, all I'm saying is normalize relations, recognize China as China, and then the Chinese work it out. . . .

Where do China-U.S. relations go if the United States stands on what amounts now to a successful two-Chinas policy?

Well, China needs us, really, and they're very anxious to maintain contact with the United States, so that our relations will sort of hobble along, in a sort of halfway manner. They're not going to become very close. Probably trade will diminish. It already is diminishing, of course. . . . But they're not going to apparently break off relations with the United States simply because everything is subordinated to their fear and animosity toward the Soviet Union. But we'll find China more difficult to deal with in various areas in

which we're both concerned, the Far East. I'm not sure that necessarily they'd become easy to deal with if we had good relations with them, because in some areas they just won't yield, you know, on principle. They'll go on backing North Korea, and we're not going to get a settlement in Korea until we can work out some settlement in conjunction with China.

If the United States were to lean on China to restrain North Korea, and the United States were to withdraw from South Korea, could or would China want to help in achieving that?

This is really crystal-balling. It's very hard to get any Chinese to talk about this problem except . . . "We have no Chinese forces, and there should be no American forces," and that's all. It was obvious when Kim Il Sung visited Peking in the spring that the Chinese were a little nervous about him and were really doing their best to get that word "peaceful reunification," which kept coming up all the time in the papers and articles. I think Kim Il Sung makes them a little nervous. Also, the Russian element's in there, and my impression was that the last thing they wanted was another Korean War. Whether or not they'd be willing to sort of lean on Kim Il Sung depends partly on what we do about other things. If the Taiwan situation is settled, if their relations with the United States seem to have been productive and worthwhile, then you might have some sort of willingness. . . . But that's very much an outsider's view.

What's the Chinese role going to be in the next few years in Southeast Asia and Laos and Cambodia and Vietnam? How active are they going to be in assistance?

Well, I think pretty active in terms of Laos and Cambodia. They're going to be very concerned if they feel the Russians are getting a foothold in Vietnam. This would really get their backs up if the Russians established any bases, or a facility in Cam Ranh Bay or anything like that. . . . The whole Cambodian business has sort of changed since I left town. Apparently Sihanouk didn't get much of a reception down in Cambodia, so he's back, and I don't know what this does to the Chinese influence in Cambodia, because they were really counting on their long nurturing of Sihanouk, I think, to solidify their relationship to Cambodia. Sihanouk must be turning into a headache now. I see they've turned him out of the old French embassy that he used to live in for a long time. . . . Apparently his usefulness has diminished.

Why are the leaders so convinced that the dispute with the Soviet Union is inexorable?

. . . There's been a split in the party, and they regard the Soviet party as having become revisionist, creating a new elite. So Russia has become the horrible example of what policies China should not follow. This of course is regarded in a dim light by Russia as a sort of heresy, and the break you might say was formalized in a way by the Brezhnev Doctrine which was applied in Czechoslovakia. If they could march into Czechoslovakia on the grounds of desertion of the ideals of socialism as seen in the Soviet Union, why they assumed that the Russians will try to apply it to China.

This is one of the things that we can really depend on, then, that's going to be there for the foreseeable future?

I think so. I think they would like to have some sort of agreement with the Soviet Union on the border, and this may well come about after Mao goes. They seem to be hung up on what seem to the outsider to be rather minor things. . . . This sort of thing may change if Mao goes. They may get some sort

of a settlement on the border, but the issues along the border are not very great.

What about the State Department now? Do you think diverse and intelligent viewpoints about China are having a hearing?

. . . I'm a little skeptical about it myself. I think it's rather hard to penetrate the higher, top reaches there. . . . But I don't know enough of the China people in the State Department to know what their thinking is. My feeling is that some of them would like to move a little faster on Taiwan. I suppose the issue at the top is first of all a political one. The Ford administration has been worried about the right wing, so they don't want to lay themselves open to another renewal of China Lobby type criticism. But also I think that the Secretary of State probably regards action on Taiwan as a card to be played. The Chinese don't look at it that way. But you see we don't get any progress on things like most-favored-nation treatment or settlement of the frozen assets, and I think they want the Chinese to make a fuss about this, because if they argue strongly, unfreeze the assets and claims, then we have something to bargain with. But the Chinese say, "Look, you know, there's no reason why we should make a fuss about this. Your people are going to benefit more than our people."

What are we losing from this kind of policy?

It's pretty hard to come up with anything in any solid, concrete terms, immediately. In the longer run, I think, there would be some advantages in having better relations with China. And I think that we're prolonging a sort of dangerous situation in the Taiwan independence situation that can be a problem in the future. If the Russians for instance establish relations with Taiwan, or Taiwan develops its own atomic bomb, which they certainly are capable of doing with all the power plants we're building for them, we could



President Ford

have tough problems there. And we may have repercussions within China that we could avoid by moving a little bit on Taiwan, but it's pretty hard to say that there are great advantages to be reached by better relations with China. . . . The Chinese are willing to accept our presence in Japan, accept the American nuclear umbrella for Japan. They apparently are willing to accept continuance of American bases in the Philippines. They never want to say this, of course, but they obviously are not trying to get the United States to pull completely out of Asia. They find it a little comforting to have the United States not too far away.

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FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOSCO 20//
TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT
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~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE EYES ONLY CONTAINS CODEWORD~~ WH52344
TOSCO 20

DECEMBER 1, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: THE SITUATION ROOM

SUBJECT: INFORMATION ITEMS

USSR INCREASING MILITARY PRESENCE IN TANZANIA: ACCORDING TO DIA, MOSCOW IS REPORTEDLY ESTABLISHING A MILITARY ADVISORY MISSION IN TANZANIA. THE MISSION WILL BE PRIMARILY ENGAGED IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM, AND 50 SOVIET ADVISERS ARE EXPECTED TO ARRIVE IN DAR ES SALAAM WITHIN 90 DAYS. THEY WILL REMAIN THERE FOR ABOUT 18 MONTHS. ESTABLISHMENT OF THIS MISSION COINCIDES WITH THE RETURN HOME OF SOME 55 TANZANIA PEOPLE'S DEFENSE FORCE OFFICERS SENT TO THE USSR IN OCTOBER 1974 FOR RADIO AND AIR DEFENSE RADAR TRAINING. DELIVERIES TO TANZANIA OF SOVIET AIR DEFENSE RADAR EQUIPMENT HAVE ALSO BEGUN. THE AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM IS APPARENTLY PART OF A MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM AGREED UPON BETWEEN MOSCOW AND DAR ES SALAAM A YEAR AGO. AT THAT TIME, THE USSR REPORTEDLY AGREED TO PROVIDE TANZANIA WITH \$40 MILLION OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT, INCLUDING SAMS, ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS, AND ARTILLERY WEAPONS. AN AGREEMENT SIGNED EARLIER IN 1974 AND VALUED AT \$34 MILLION CALLED FOR SUPPLYING MIG-21S, SUPPORT EQUIPMENT, AND TRAINING. MOSCOW IS NO DOUBT PLEASED WITH ITS OPPORTUNITY TO COMPETE SIGNIFICANTLY WITH PEKING IN TANZANIA. THE USSR'S PRESENCE THERE MAY ALSO REFLECT ITS GROWING INTEREST IN EAST AFRICA AS WELL AS THE SOVIET'S DESIRE TO STRENGTHEN ITS POSITION AMONG THE INDIAN OCEAN LITTORAL COUNTRIES.

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AUTHORITY NSA-CODEWORD-46-1-6-4
NSA/State/Intelligence
BY WMA NARA, DATE 5/3/12
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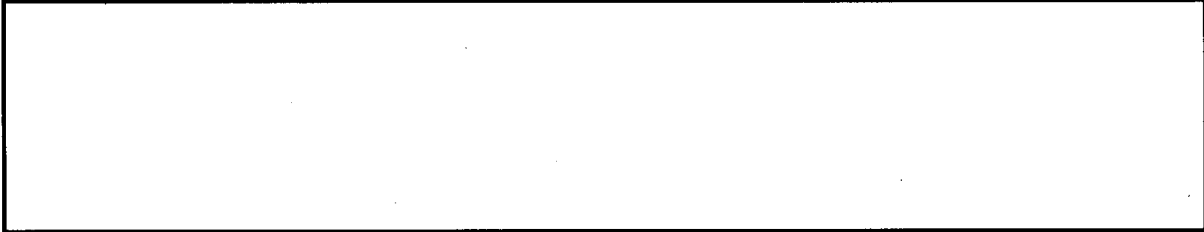
JORDANIAN IRRITATION WITH ISRAELI OVERFLIGHTS: THE JORDANIANS ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY IRRITATED AT ISRAELI OVERFLIGHTS AND HAVE COMPLAINED TO THE U.S. ABOUT THEM. JORDAN'S AIR FORCE COMMANDER RECENTLY TOLD OUR DEFENSE ATTACHE IN AMMAN THAT HE HAD COME UNDER PRESSURE FROM KING HUSAYN TO INTERCEPT THE ISRAELIS. THE COMMANDER SAID THE OVERFLIGHTS HAD BECOME INSULTING TO THE KING AND WERE CAUS-

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ING MORALE PROBLEMS AMONG JORDANIAN PILOTS. HE SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT WANT TO LOSE AIRCRAFT IN A CONFRONTATION WITH ISRAEL OR TO INVITE ISRAELI RETALIATION, HE HAD CONSIDERED SETTING A TRAP FOR THE ISRAELIS THAT COULD RESULT IN A SHOOT-DOWN. HE SAW LITTLE CHANCE OF SUCCESS IN SUCH A VENTURE. ACCORDING TO THE JORDANIANS, THE ISRAELIS HAVE RECENTLY INCREASED THE NUMBER OF THEIR PENETRATIONS OF JORDAN'S AIR SPACE AND ARE NOW OVERFLYING JORDAN ONCE OR



THE JORDANIAN AIR FORCE WOULD BE NO MATCH FOR THE ISRAELIS, CONTINUED OVERFLIGHTS BY ISRAELI AIRCRAFT COULD FORCE AMMAN TO TAKE ACTION. THE JORDANIANS REPORTEDLY DECIDED TO INTERCEPT AN ISRAELI RECONNAISSANCE MISSION SEVERAL MONTHS AGO, BUT CONCEALED THEIR PLANS WHEN ISRAELI FIGHTERS FLYING ESCORT REACTED TO THE PRESENCE OF JORDANIAN AIRCRAFT.

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 1, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: The Situation Room
SUBJECT: Morning News Summary



The Washington Post

The Security Council Sunday night renewed the six-month mandate of the UN peacekeeping force on the Golan Heights, paying Syria the political price of agreeing to participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in a full-scale Middle East debate in January. (A-1)

According to Bernard D. Nossiter, the suppression of last week's coup has wiped out nearly every senior leftist commander in Portugal's armed forces, sources close to President Francisco da Costa Gomes disclosed. As of Sunday, all units in the army, navy, and air force are thought to be loyal, but the purge of procommunist and ultra-left colonels, commanders, and majors will continue. (A-1)

Miguel Acoca reports that a communist leader released from prison under a general royal pardon warned Spain's King Juan Carlos that the anti-regime clandestine labor movement does not recognize his monarchy because it was imposed by the late dictator Francisco Franco. The king was also under attack from the extreme right. Speaking at a Civil War veterans' gathering in Avila, Jose Antonio Giron, a leader of the Falange, Spain's fascist party, warned against any sort of political "evolution" under the monarchy leading to the "cancellation of the regime." (A-6)

Former French Prime Minister Maurice Couve de Murville ended a ten-day mediation mission Sunday by noting "very real progress" by Lebanese political leaders in efforts to end the civil war. He left Beirut for Damascus and talks with Syrian President Assad, which he described as warranted because Syria "is directly concerned" with the Lebanese crisis. He is expected to tell the Syrians that they must bring pressure to bear on their Palestinian commando and Lebanese leftist allies to stop the fighting. He is scheduled to fly back to Paris Tuesday. (A-7)

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi dropped two senior ministers from her Cabinet in the first major shakeup of her govern-

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ment since a national emergency was proclaimed in June. Defense Minister Swaran Singh, 68, and Shipping and Transport Minister Uma Shanker Dikshit, 74, both veterans of the independence campaign against the former British colonial rulers, submitted their resignations. There was no official explanation for dropping the two ministers, although it appeared that the prime minister was trying to bring younger party members into the government. (A-11)

The full text of Joseph Krait's article entitled "The Price of Sino-American Rapport" will be forwarded. (A-15)

The full text of the Roland Evans and Robert Novak article entitled "A Chill in the Washington-Peking Connection" will be forwarded. (A-15)

The Pathet Lao, already in effective control of Laos, have called a national conference with the apparent objective of doing away with the country's monarchy and the governmental institutions formed during the days of the coalition of communists, rightists, and neutralists. (A-16)

The New York Times

Eric Pace reports that after two years of negotiations, Iran gave its final agreement yesterday to build a 1,000-mile natural gas pipeline to the Soviet Union and to provide more than \$400 million worth of gas a year to Europe. (1)

Henry Giniger says that a noted leftist labor leader freed early yesterday morning under an amnesty decree by King Juan Carlos I said that he would not recognize the legitimacy of the monarchy until the Spanish people had been freely consulted and given their consent. Mr. Camacho appeared at a news conference with two other men, all of whom, demanded full amnesty and said they would help promote a "nonviolent" campaign in the streets, factories, and schools to achieve it. (1)

A special to the Times from Lisbon quotes Mario Soares, leader of the Socialists, as declaring, "The failure of last week's rebellion is a major defeat for Alvaro Cunhal and the Communist Party's hard line, which aimed to repeat the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Portugal. Mr. Soares said that the Communists were "precipitated" into the coup attempt by over-estimating their own strength and believing their own propaganda. "The Communist Party's objective was to discredit the government, disorganize the administration, subvert the military so that it was no longer operational,





undermine the economy, and thereby destroy the state," he said. "But they moved too soon." (3)

A special to the Times from Mexico City divulges that less than a month after open hostilities were threatened between Britain and Guatemala, the two governments have agreed to resume negotiations on the future status of the disputed Central American colony of Belize. After visits to Belize and Guatemala by Britain's minister of state at the foreign office, it was agreed that "wide-ranging" negotiations would resume next February. (11)

A Times editorial contends that the consequences of one of the least noted aspects of former President Nixon's visit to Moscow three years ago are beginning to emerge -- with credit to both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The Joint Committee on Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection, which was formed on that occasion, recently has been modest rather than grandiose, its contributions may be seen as real rather than rhetorical. The world's environmental future may not have been assured in these few years, but as a result of the cooperative program, some highly creditable projects are in progress. Only the naive will imagine that power politics is about to give way to a concern for world environment. But only the cynical will imagine that there is no developing connection between such a concern and an enlightened national self-interest. (30)

Anthony Lewis asks why there is little pressure in Congress and in the press to have Secretary Kissinger and the CIA officials testify in open sessions before congressional committees on covert operations in Chile and reaches the following conclusions: One reason is a natural respect for secrecy in the nation's intelligence services, though in fact plots to murder foreign leaders or overthrow their governments are not "intelligence." But there is also a personal reason. Henry Kissinger is a genius at softening up legislators and journalists -- at coopting them. One person on Capitol Hill said: "Every time we get close to a nerve, we find that it leads to Kissinger. And then, soon, we get the pressure to protect him." (31)

The complete text of an article by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn appearing on the op-ed page will be sent separately. (31)

The Baltimore Sun

Bruce Winters writes that Ronald Reagan yesterday stopped short of criticizing President Ford's China trip outright,



but suggested it was time Chinese leaders visited the U.S. for a change. Interviewed on ABC's Issues and Answers Mr. Reagan also sharply limited President Ford's negotiating room by insisting that improvement in relations with Peking should not be contingent upon American abandonment of the late Chiang Kai-shek's government in exile on Taiwan. Mr. Ford does not appear close to any such move, but Mr. Reagan's declaration of support for Taiwan could freeze any more meaningful rapprochement with Peking for the duration of the 1976 presidential campaign. (A-1)

The largest increase in Canada's defense budget since the Korean war has been approved by the Cabinet, committing the country to \$1.5 billion worth of new arms within the next five years. Canadian and U.S. aviation companies will benefit; so will West German tank manufacturers, in all likelihood, as Canada beefs up its North Atlantic Treaty Organization force in Europe, and its domestic defense capabilities. (A-4)

A Sun editorial says that all parties now acknowledge that the Peking visit President Ford opens today will do little more than affirm that both sides want some relationship to survive the 1976 presidential election. The trip is so drained of purpose that the Chinese have leaked word that they go through these motions because they couldn't refuse the President's self-invitation. Secretary Kissinger says the Chinese sought the trip to show Moscow the relationship is healthy. If neither side admits it wanted the trip, it is fair to ask why it proceeds. For the Americans, one mandatory place to run for President of the U.S. is overseas. If candidate Ford lacks an image in world affairs, what better cure than a few overseas campaign trips by President Ford? The trip's value to the Chinese is harder to see. China-U.S. relations will sort of hobble along even without normal relations because Peking and Washington have some coinciding interests. But workaday diplomacy can keep relations hobbling at a pace easily as favorable as any expected from the President's trip. (A-8)

Mary McGrory article on Ambassador Moynihan is being sent in full text. (A-9)

An interview with John Stewart Service will be sent separately.

Clouds Over Kissinger

His conduct of foreign policy is being sniped at from all sides. His aura in the White House has faded. He has been cited for contempt by one Congressional committee and a second one has raised embarrassing questions about his role in U.S. covert operations in Chile. In public, Henry Kissinger suffers these slings and arrows with modest stoicism. "I received perhaps excessive praise at one stage—I may receive excessive criticism now," he remarked last week. But in private, Kissinger is brooding gloomily on the future. "Every time

storms by pulling some diplomatic rabbit out of the hat. This time, his adversaries sense that Kissinger is more vulnerable than ever before.

Since giving up his second job as head of the National Security Council, Kissinger has moved out of the White House and no longer rates a private, hour-long meeting with the President each day. Ford himself is acting more like his own man on foreign policy. "The President still respects Kissinger," says a White House aide, "but he doesn't lionize him any more." Kissinger's relations with the

Presidential staff, never serene, have taken a new turn for the worse. According to one White House source, the Secretary ordered the NSC last week to withhold copies of the briefing books for Ford's China tour from one of his adversaries, press secretary Ron Nessen. After waiting several days for his books, Nessen complained angrily to Ford's chief of staff, Richard Cheney, who instructed the NSC to hand them over. Cheney added curtly that if such a thing happened again, Nessen was authorized to point out that "Henry Kissinger no longer runs the NSC."

Alvares: The Secretary of State plainly is in the bad graces of Ford's political mentors, including a former Secretary of Defense and the present one. "Melvin Laird and Donald Rumsfeld are the two most influential advisers to Ford right now," says one source. "Both would be a lot more comfortable if Henry were out of the picture."

At times, Kissinger seems almost obsessed with his diminished personal standing. During a recent visit with a European dignitary, he cracked, "What are you reporting about my de-

mise?" Then, ignoring Europe's problems, he spent the entire meeting talking about his difficulties with Congress. Deeply wounded by the contempt citation, Kissinger sent an aide out to button-hole reporters with the argument that he was being treated unfairly. He seemed to take criticism of his own performance as an attack on the nation; the contempt citation, he told reporters, raised "serious questions all over the world [about] what this country is doing to itself, and what the necessity is to torment ourselves like this month after month." Assessing his own role, he sometimes finds himself close to indispensable. More than once he has

interrupted conversations by staring into space and asking: "Is there anybody around who can do this better than I'm doing?"

On one key front, the Secretary is doing poorly with his critics. The respected, hard-line magazine *American Week* charged last week that Russia



Kissinger dons Alaskan mukluks en route to China

Henry and I talk," confides one of his friends, "he asks me whether he should resign."

Such talk on Kissinger's part is nothing new. He has used the threat of resignation as an effective shock tactic in the past, most notably at a news conference in Salzburg last year. When the subject came up again at Gerald Ford's news conference last week, the President replied that Kissinger enjoyed his "full and complete support." Nevertheless, so many things have gone sour for Kissinger that Washington is asking once again how much longer Henry will last. In the past, Kissinger has hidden out political

Moynihan (right) leaves White House

violated the first strategic arms limitation agreement, that Kissinger had lied up the cheating and that SA had allowed the Russians to gain out militarily. Kissinger denied that SA had been cheating—U.S. intelligence agencies backed him up—contended that Russia's gains were to heavy spending, not SALT.

Even his admirers concede the singer lost additional face last week when President Ford proclaimed

"complete confidence" in Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the controversial U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Moynihan's flamboyant rhetoric and confrontation tactics had raised hackles at the U.N. and the State Department. Kissinger himself chewed Moynihan out and would have been willing to fire the ambassador. Complaining that he was being undercut by his own people, Moynihan had threatened to resign, only to be dissuaded at the last moment by the White House.

Moynihan flew down to Washington early last week for a friendly, 40-minute chat with the President, and Kissinger was included only for the last ten minutes. The result was an assurance that Ford wanted Moynihan to stay on. Kissinger had to eat crow by issuing his own statement in support of Moynihan.

Another major concern for Kissinger is the House and Senate investigations of U.S. intelligence activities. The committee headed by Sen. Frank Church has already implicated Kissinger in attempts to undercut the late President Salvador Allende of Chile and has raised questions about Kissinger's testimony on his role in that affair. Further embarrassing evidence may be forthcoming from the Church committee, which is negotiating for testimony from former President Richard Nixon.

Contempt: The House committee, chaired by New York Rep. Otis Pike, has cited Kissinger for contempt for refusing to hand over subpoenaed State Department documents. There was certainly an element of unseemly grandstanding in the citation: Ford had ordered Kissinger to withhold the papers, and the contempt motion was not expected to pass the full House. As one congressman insisted: "We don't want Kissinger to go, we just want to keep him honest."

In the past, Kissinger's fortunes rose or fell in direct relation to his own diplomatic achievements, and doubtless some new stroke would help restore his standing. Ford's China trip might produce some favorable window-dressing. And Kissinger is planning a visit to Moscow this month to search for a partial "breakthrough" on SALT that would enable him to salvage a summit meeting between Ford and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.

The Secretary's hectic travel schedule also calls for a trip late this month to the Middle East, where his campaign for a peace settlement is stalled. The outlook is not rosy. Last week, efforts by other diplomats to arrange a renewal of the U.N. peace-keeping force's mandate on the Golan Heights hit a last-minute snag. Syria agreed to the renewal but demanded in return that the Security Council discuss the over-all Mideast situation next month, allowing the Palestine Liberation Organization to take part. Israel

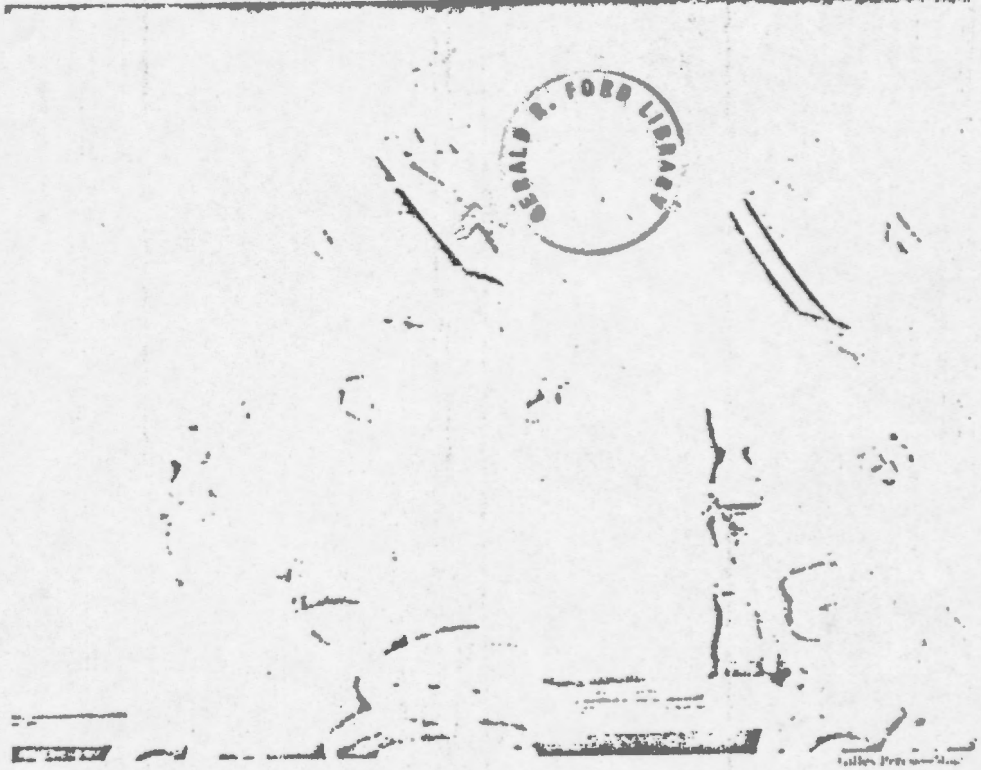
opposed any dealings with the PLO, and at the weekend the U.S. was trying to work out a compromise that would permit renewal of the mandate.

Even if none of these foreign areas yields a new Kissinger triumph, it would be foolhardy to count him out of office. Ford seems to have no intention of easing him out, and he retains his popularity with the public. But Congress, the White House and the press are questioning him as never before, and there is no one in Washington more sensitive to his status than the Secretary of State. Henry Kissinger's superhuman image is clearly showing signs of wear, and when image crumbles in Washington, power tends to crumble with it.

—ANGUS DEMING with BRUCE van VOORST and THOMAS M. DEFRANK in Washington and bureau reports

their three children sat solemnly to the left of the altar. Vicente Cardinal Enrique y Tarancón celebrated a thanksgiving mass to inaugurate the 37-year-old monarch's new reign.

Juan Carlos had actually been sworn in as King a week earlier before the Spanish Cortes (Parliament), but the ceremony at San Jerónimo was meant to dramatize the fact that the 36-year-long dictatorship of the late Francisco Franco was finally over. Yet for all the talk of a new era, Juan Carlos may not have been fully prepared for Cardinal Tarancón's sermon. The 70-year-old cleric, a leader of the Franco forces in the Roman Catholic Church, startled his audience by mandating that the new government "protect and promote the exercise of complete freedom for all" and warning



Juan Carlos reviews his troops: Treading a cautious path between left and right

SPAIN:

Changing the Guard

Spain had a thanksgiving day of its own last week. To honor Juan Carlos I, Spain's first King in 41 years, the streets of Madrid were festooned with flags, and the church of San Jerónimo was ablaze with candles and klieg lights. Among the 1,000 worshippers in uniforms, cutaways and brightly colored dresses were the representatives of 68 countries, including President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France, President Walter Scheel of West Germany, Prince Philip of Great Britain and Vice President Nelson Rockefeller of the United States. The strains of Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus" reverberated through the cathedral. Then, as Juan Carlos, Queen Sophia and

"the Church will preach and will show necessary" to obtain the desired reform.

Juan Carlos took a cautious step in that direction last week by announcing a limited pardon for most of Spain's 150,000 prisoners. But in deference to Franco friends on the right, he excluded political prisoners. That led to a stoppage by 2,000 leftists outside Madrid's Carabanchel Prison; the demonstration was organized in part by the Communist Party in its most effective show of strength since the end of the civil war in 1939. More pressure was applied on Socialist leader Felipe González and the King's own father, Don Juan, both of whom urged him to work for the consolidation of a true pluralist democracy.

Juan Carlos was trying to thread his way through the maze of Spanish politics without fatally alienating the left or the

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TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

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1975 DEC 1 16 28

TOSCO

FROM: WILLIAM G. HYLAND

SUBJECT: Foreign Policy Conference in Washington



You should be aware that a three-day conference on various foreign policy national security issues will open at the Sheraton Park tomorrow December 2. It is entitled Pacem In Terris IV and is sponsored by the Fund for Peace and the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions/The Fund for the Republic. The first session on Tuesday morning will be "Detente in Practice". It will be chaired by Ambassador Moynihan and Senator Kennedy and include on the panel Dick Barnet, Senator Javits, George Kennan, Hans Morgenthau, Fred Warner Neal, and Bob Osgood.

Tuesday afternoon will be on "National Security and the Domestic Economy", chaired by Secretary Simon and Mayor Thomas Bradley. Wednesday morning, "The Global Condition: the Economic Dimension of Foreign Policy, chaired by Robert Anderson. Of special interest is the Wednesday afternoon session entitled "The Global Condition: Our Military Posture and Detente". The featured speakers will be Les Aspin and Jim Schlesinger, with a panel composed of Joseph Clark, Gene LaRocque, Herbert York, Admiral Zumwalt and Blair Clark as moderator. Other

Other sessions are on the UN, featuring Congressman Brademas and Charlie Yost; on National Security and the Democratic Process, featuring Senator Church and Bill Colby, with Ray Cline and Morton Halperin on the panel. And the final session is "Key Foreign Policy Issues in the 1976 Campaign", with a panel of Congressmen Anderson and Fraser, Senators Howard Baker and Mike Mansfield, and former Senator Eugene McCarthy.

As you can see from this line-up the Administration is scarcely represented and given the views of the various participants, we can expect to be bombarded from both the left and right. Hal Sonnenfeldt is in touch with Moynihan to review his remarks on detente and we will send them out for you and HAK. I will send you a gist of the more interesting sessions. Note that Schlesinger's appearance will be Wednesday afternoon Washington time, with news stories that evening and the following morning.

In addition, Admiral Zumwalt is scheduled to appear this week before the Pike Committee on SALT compliance.



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TOSCO 28

DECEMBER 2, 1975
THE PRESIDENT
BRENT SCOWCROFT
INFORMATION ITEMS

MEMORANDUM FOR:
FROM:
SUBJECT:

CHINESE MILITARY'S INTERNAL SECURITY ROLE: ACCORDING TO DIA, RECENT REPORTS OF POLITICAL UNREST IN THE PRC HAVE FOCUSED ATTENTION ON A LITTLE-PUBLICIZED MISSION OF CHINA'S PEOPLES LIBERATION ARMY (PLA) -- THAT OF ENFORCING INTERNAL SECURITY. MOST NOTABLE HAVE BEEN THE EVENTS OCCURRING IN THE COASTAL PROVINCE OF CHEKIANG, WHERE PROLONGED AND ESCALATING CIVIL UNREST -- PRIMARILY A RESULT OF FACTIONAL POLITICAL STRIFE -- HAS ENSUED THROUGHOUT 1974 AND 1975. THE DETERIORATING SITUATION THERE WAS PROBABLY BEHIND PEKING'S DECISION TO TRANSFER TROOPS FROM OUTSIDE THE AREA TO CHEKIANG TO SUPPORT LOCAL CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES, ENFORCE PARTY DISCIPLINE, AND RESTORE ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY. SIMILAR POLITICAL UNREST HAS SURFACED ELSEWHERE IN CHINA DURING THIS PERIOD; HOWEVER, THE LARGE-SCALE EMPLOYMENT OF TROOPS HAS BEEN REQUIRED TO RESTORE ORDER ONLY IN CHEKIANG. USE OF THE PLA IN SUCH A ROLE MARKEDLY CONTRASTS WITH ATTEMPTS OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP IN RECENT YEARS TO EXTRICATE THE MILITARY FROM AN ABNORMALLY EXTENSIVE INVOLVEMENT IN CIVILIAN AFFAIRS, INCLUDING PUBLIC SECURITY, WHICH IT ASSUMED DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. THE DECISION TO USE TROOPS FROM OTHER AREAS TO RESTORE ORDER DEMONSTRATED THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE CHEKIANG SITUATION AND REFLECTED ALSO THE EXTENT TO WHICH UNITS STATIONED THERE HAD BECOME ENTANGLED IN THE LOCAL POLITICAL INFIGHTING, THEREBY LIMITING THEIR RESPONSIVENESS TO THE DEMANDS OF THE CENTRAL LEADERSHIP. IT ALSO UNDERLINED THE MESSAGE TO OTHER PROBLEM AREAS IN CHINA THAT SIMILAR DISORDERS WILL NOT BE TOLERATED.

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