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TOHAK 10

OCTOBER 19, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER
FROM: THE SITUATION ROOM
SUBJECT: SUNDAY CABLE SUMMARY

ALGERIA-USSR-LIBYA ARMS AGREEMENT: THE SOVIET UNION HAS ARRANGED FOR SOVIET ARMS AND MUNITIONS IN LIBYA TO BE TRANSFERRED TO ALGERIA.

THE ARMS AND AMMUNITION TAKEN BY THE ALGERIANS WILL BE REPLACED LATER BY THE SOVIETS. THE ACTION WAS REPORTEDLY TAKEN BECAUSE OF MOSCOW'S INABILITY TO PROVIDE ARMS AND AMMUNITION TO ALGERIA AS RAPIDLY AS ALGERIA DESIRES. IN EARLY OCTOBER, TWO ALGERIAN SHIPS LOADED AMMUNITION IN BENGHAZI AND AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF T-62 TANKS AND ARMORED VEHICLES IN TRIPOLI.

PANAMANIAN NATIONAL GUARD VISIT TO CUBA: THE VISIT TO CUBA BY A HIGH-LEVEL PANAMANIAN NATIONAL GUARD DELEGATION, PURPORTEDLY TO EXAMINE CUBAN ARMS AND EQUIPMENT, IS PROBABLY AIMED MAINLY AT CATCHING THE U.S. EYE IN CONNECTION WITH CANAL TREATY NEGOTIATIONS. THE CHIEF OF THE DELEGATION HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE CUBAN EMBASSY THAT HIS GROUP PLANNED TO MEET PRIME MINISTER CASTRO AND TO INSPECT MILITARY ARMAMENT. THE PANAMANIAN PRESS HAS SO FAR CAST THE VISIT IN TERMS OF AN EXCHANGE OF REVOLUTIONARY RAPPORT AND AS A WAY TO IMPROVE THE NATIONAL GUARD'S DEFENSE CAPABILITIES TO ENABLE IT TO ASSUME A LARGER ROLE IN CANAL



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

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DEFENSE. WHILE THE PANAMANIAN CONTINGENT MAY INVESTIGATE THE POSSIBILITY OF PURCHASING SOVIET ARMS AND EQUIPMENT, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT PANAMA WILL SERIOUSLY PURSUE SUCH A DEAL. THE PANAMANIAN GOVERNMENT IS AWARE OF THE POLITICAL PITFALLS INVOLVED IN A DEAL WITH CUBA OR THE USSR. GENERAL TORREJOS IS AWARE OF THE NEGATIVE IMPACT SUCH AN ARMS DEAL WOULD HAVE ON HIS CHANCES OF GETTING A FUTURE CANAL TREATY RATIFIED BY THE U.S. CONGRESS. TORREJOS COULD BE HOPING, HOWEVER, THAT THE REVIEW OF CUBAN WEAPONS WILL CAUSE THE U.S. TO CHANGE WHAT HE VIEWS AS ITS RELUCTANCE TO SELL PANAMA ARMS.

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SYRIA--RAISING THE PRESSURE: A LOCAL NEWS SERVICE STRINGER IN DAMASCUS TOLD AN OFFICER OF THE U.S. EMBASSY ON OCTOBER 7 THAT ISRAELI ALLEGATIONS THAT SYRIA IS EVACUATING CIVILIANS FROM THE GOLAN HEIGHTS ARE ACCURATE. THE LOCAL CORRESPONDENT CLAIMS TO HAVE LEARNED THAT SYRIA INTENDS TO CONDUCT A 48-HOUR OPERATION INTO THE GOLAN TO OCCUPY A FURTHER PIECE OF ISRAELI-CONTROLLED TERRITORY. YOU WOULD THEN BE OBLIGED TO RETURN TO SYRIA AND NEGOTIATE A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT. ANOTHER LOCAL NEWS SERVICE STRINGER TOLD AN EMBASSY OFFICER THAT SYRIA WAS ENGAGED IN AN ATTEMPT TO BUILD UP POLITICAL-MILITARY PRESSURE IN THE PERIOD LEADING TO THE NOVEMBER 30 UNDOF MANDATE RENEWAL DEADLINE. THIS REPORTER



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STATED, "IF ANYTHING HAPPENS, IT WILL BE A QUICK TWO-DAY ACTION AFTER WHICH SYRIA WOULD STOP OPERATIONS AND THE U.S. WOULD CONTROL ISRAEL (TO PREVENT IT FROM UNDERTAKING A SERIOUS RESPONSE), AMBASSADOR MURPHY COMMENTS THAT WHILE THE SCENARIO OF A QUICK THRUST INTO THE GOLAN WITH AN ASSIGNED ROLE FOR THE U.S. IN THE AFTER MATH MAY NOT REPRESENT SYRIAN OPERATIONAL STRATEGY, THE TWO CORRESPONDENTS MAY HAVE TURNED UP AN OPTION UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT.

CHINA'S NEW ANTI-SOVIET TWIST: A JOINT EDITORIAL WHICH WILL APPEAR IN THE PEOPLE'S DAILY AND THE LIBERATION ARMY DAILY TODAY SEEMS TO TAKE A SLAP AT CERTAIN ELEMENTS WITHIN THE MILITARY WHO ARE SUSPECTED OF SEEKING SOME MEASURE OF ACCOMMODATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE EDITORIAL COMMEMORATES THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LONG MARCH AND DISCUSSES AT SOME LENGTH "CAPITULATIONIST" AND "REVISIONIST" FACTIONS WITHIN THE MILITARY DURING THE MARCH. IT GOES ON TO ARGUE THAT THE LONG MARCH WAS SUCCESSFUL ONLY BECAUSE THESE FACTIONS WERE DEFEATED BY MAO'S REVOLUTIONARY LINE AND URGES PERSISTENT OPPOSITION TO CAPITULATIONISTS TODAY. THIS HAS BEEN A MAJOR THEME IN THE RECENT CAMPAIGN TO STUDY THE NOVEL 'WATER MARGIN'. AT THE SAME TIME THE JOINT EDITORIAL CONTINUES TO STRESS THE FAMILIAR THEMES OF UNITY AND STABILITY IN THE INTEREST OF ECONOMIC GROWTH.

25X1

THE CHINESE OFFICIAL SAID THAT PEKING WILL INITIATE A MAJOR PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN TO "OPPOSE REVISIONISM" DURING YOUR VISIT TO CHINA. HE ALSO SAID THAT THE NEW CAMPAIGN WOULD FOCUS ON THE LONG MARCH AND BE ON THE SCALE OF LAST YEAR'S ANTI-CONFUCIUS CAMPAIGN. WHILE CHINA'S ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA, IN ITS VARIOUS FORMS, HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY SHRILL DURING THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS, THIS LATEST TWIST WILL PROBABLY FALL FAR SHORT OF THE ANTI-CONFUCIUS CAMPAIGN. MORE LIKELY, PEKING HAS DECIDED THAT THE LONG MARCH ANNIVERSARY PROVIDES A CONVENIENT OPPORTUNITY TO UNDERSCORE A THEME ALREADY CURRENT IN THE CHINESE PRESS. IN ANY EVENT, SUCH PROPAGANDA DEVELOPMENTS SHOULD NOT AFFECT YOUR VISIT.

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TOHAK 11

THE WASHINGTON STAR

HEADLINED ON PAGE ONE IS A STORY BY HENRY S. BRADSHER ENTITLED "HANOI MISLED US ON PULLOUT IN VIET TRUCE." BRADSHER CITES OFFICIAL SOURCES IN ASSERTING THAT THE US EMBASSY IN SAIGON CHOSE TO BELIEVE COMMUNIST ASSURANCES THAT A TRUCE WOULD BE ARRANGED LAST APRIL RATHER THAN ITS OWN INTELLIGENCE REPORTS THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE INTENDED TO CAPTURE THE CITY. THIS ACCEPTANCE OF WHAT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN A DELIBERATE COMMUNIST DECEPTION WAS A MAJOR ELEMENT IN THE EMBASSY'S FAILURE TO MAKE ADEQUATE PREPARATIONS FOR THE EVACUATION. SINCE THE EVENTS OF LAST SPRING, THERE HAS BEEN A STRONG OFFICIAL DESIRE TO FORGET ABOUT THE WHOLE MESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION IS STILL TRYING TO FIGURE OUT WHAT TO DO WITH AMBASSADOR MARTIN. THERE IS A STRONG SUSPICION AMONG MANY OFFICIALS THAT YOU DELIBERATELY DISPERSED DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS WHO HAD BEEN IN SAIGON IN ORDER TO PREVENT TOO MUCH MUTTERING ABOUT THE WA THINGS WERE HANDLED.

NANCY KISSINGER IS PICTURED ON PAGE A-4 LIGHTING A CIGARETTE "IN A DANGEROUS SPOT" AT AN ALASKAN AIR BASE AS SHE IS STANDING BEHIND A JET FUEL TRUCK.

JEREMIAH O'LEARY REPORTS THAT THE WHITE HOUSE INTENDS TO NOMINATE TURNER SHELTON AS AMBASSADOR TO THE GAHAMAS. THE MOVE IS APPARENTLY A RESULT OF A WHITE HOUSE POLITICAL DECISION AS BOTH YOU AND THE CAREER FOREIGN SERVICE ARE NOT IN FAVOR OF THE NOMINATION. THE NOMINATION IS EXPECTED TO SET OFF FIREWORKS IN AT LEAST TWO CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES, THE HOUSE GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE AND THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, AS SHELTONS PERFORMANCE IN NICARAGUA IS INVESTIGATED. (A-5)



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AN EXCERPT FROM ANDREI D. SAKHAROV'S LATEST BOOK "MY COUNTRY AND THE WORLD" APPEARS IN THE EDITORIAL SECTION. SAKHAROV POINTS TO "LEFTIST-LIBERAL PADDISHNESS" AS A DISTURBING CHARACTERISTIC HE FINDS IN MANY WESTERN INTELLECTUALS. A LACK OF INFORMATION OR THE OPPORTUNITY TO ANALYZE IT CRITICALLY, A LACK OF IMAGINATION WHERE THE FACTOR OF DISTANCE IS INVOLVED AND AN INADEQUATE NOTION OF THE TRAGIC COMPLEXITY OF REAL LIFE -- ALL THESE THINGS ARE LEADING TO DANGEROUS MISTAKES IN EVALUATING THE DIFFICULT QUESTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. THE WESTERN INTELLIGENTSIA CAN MORE VIGOROUSLY DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOCIALIST NATIONS INSTEAD OF TOO TRUSTINGLY ACCEPTING THE DOGMA OF THE ADVANTAGES OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM. STRONG HIGH-LEVEL PRESSURE IS THE KIND TO WHICH SOVIET AUTHORITIES ARE MOST VULNERABLE. (G-1)

AN EDITORIAL IN THE STAR COMMENTS THAT THE HOPED FOR DIALOGUE BETWEEN OIL-CONSUMING AND OIL-EXPORTING NATIONS HAS PRACTICALLY DISAPPEARED IN THE PLANS FOR THE WIDE-RANGING WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE TO START IN DECEMBER. THE OIL DISCUSSION WILL BE BURIED IN THE BROADER "NORTH-SOUTH" DIALOGUE. THIS DEVELOPMENT IS A REFLECTION BOTH OF DISUNITY AMONG THE WESTERN CONSUMING NATIONS AND THE PUZZLINGLY SUCCESSFUL TACTICS OF OPEC. EVEN WHILE THE US TRIED TO BUILD A FIRM FRONT OF CONSUMING NATIONS ITS OWN POSITION ON OIL PRICES HAS BEEN AMBIGUOUS. WHILE CRITICIZING OPEC "GREED", THE ADMINISTRATION SUPPORTS THE CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONAL FLOOR PRICES FOR OIL. (G-2)

CROSBY S. NOYES WRITES THAT MUCH LIBERAL THINKING ABOUT MATTERS OF NATIONAL SECURITY IN THIS POST WATERGATE-VIETNAM ERA LEADS TO THE SAME, EXQUISITELY LOGICAL CONCLUSION--NATIONAL SECURITY MUST GO. MR. NOYES POINTS OUT, TONGUE IN CHEEK, THAT THE ONLY WAY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS IS TO DISMANTLE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE THOSE INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT WHICH MAKE IT THEIR BUSINESS TO PROMOTE NATIONAL SECURITY AND TO CONVINCED OURSELVES THAT SECURITY IS SOUGHT ONLY BY THE DEPRAVED AND IMMORAL PEOPLE OF THIS WORLD. (G-3)

THE WASHINGTON POST

H.D.S. GREENWAY WRITES THAT PEKING THAT HAS BECOME OPENLY DUBIOUS ABOUT THE STATE OF SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND HOSTILE TO WASHINGTON'S PURSUIT OF DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. NEITHER THE CHINESE NOR WESTERN EXPERTS EXPECT MUCH OF GREAT CONSEQUENCE TO EMERGE FROM PRESIDENT FORD'S FORTHCOMING VISIT. YET, THE CHINESE APPEAR TO WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO SEE AND TALK WITH MR. FORD DESPITE RESERVATIONS EXPRESSED BY SOME DIPLOMATS AND EXPERTS OF CHINESE AFFAIRS ABOUT THE WISDOM OF THE WHOLE JOURNEY.



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EGYPT HAS WITHDRAWN ITS AIR FORCE UNITS STATIONED IN SYRIA FOLLOWING CRITICISM OF EGYPTIAN POLICY AND LEADERSHIP BY THE SYRIAN AIR FORCE COMMANDER, MAJ. GEN. NADJI JAMIL. THE MOVE ANNOUNCED FRIDAY NIGHT IN CAIRO POINTED UP THE WIDENING RIFT BETWEEN THE TWO ARAB POWERS.

SYRIAN PRESIDENT HAFEZ ASSAD MEANWHILE, CONFIRMED SPECULATION THAT SYRIA WILL GET NEW WEAPONRY FROM THE SOVIET UNION. HE SAID HIS RECENT TALKS WITH SOVIET LEADERS IN MOSCOW PRODUCED IDENTICAL VIEWS ON REJECTING THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI SINAI DISENGAGEMENT ACCORD. OBSERVERS IN CAIRO SAID RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES HAD REACHED THEIR LOWEST THREE YEAR-OLD MERGER BETWEEN SYRIA AND EGYPT COLLAPSED.

MORTON MINTZ WRITES THAT A NEW EFFORT TO BREAK UP MAJOR OIL COMPANIES WILL BE LAUNCHED IN THE SENATE MONDAY AND MAY BE VOTED ON TUESDAY. THE PROPOSAL WOULD FORCE THE 15 TOP PRODUCERS OF DOMESTIC CRUDE TO DIVEST THEIR TRANSPORTATION, MARKETING AND REFINING OPERATIONS WITHIN FIVE YEARS.

JIM HOAGLAND SAYS SPAIN, LABELING MORROCCO'S PROPOSED MARCH BY 350,000 PERSONS INTO THE SPANISH SAHARA "A THREAT TO SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE, CALLED SATURDAY FOR AN EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. SPANISH PRIME MINISTER CARLOS ARIAS NAVARRO MET FRIDAY NIGHT WITH MORROCCAN AMBASSADOR ABDELLATIF FILALI SHORTLY AFTER FILALI'S RETURN FROM CONSULATIONS IN RABAT. FILALI TOLD REPORTERS SATURDAY THAT THE MARCH HAS NOT YET STARTED. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WOULD PUT AN END TO THE MARCH. IN MARRAKECH, MORROCCO NEWS AGENCIES REPORTED THAT PREPERATIONS CONTINUED FOR THE MARCH OF 350,000 THE OFFICIAL MORROCCAN NEWS AGENCY SAID IN RABAT THAT 130,000 PERSONS SIGNED UP ON THE FIRST DAY OF A DRIVE TO RECRUIT VOLUNTEERS. (A-8)

ACCORDING TO MICHEAL GENTLER, WARSAW SPECILAIISTS IN EAST EUROPEAN AFFAIRS ARE WATCHING TWO DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND THESE DAYS WITH PARTICULAR INTEREST. ONE IS THE LENGTHENING LINES AT LOCAL SHOPS, ESPECIALLY MEAT MARKETS, WHICH REFLECT SOME POTENTIALLY VOLATILE POLITIACAL PROBLEMS FOR COMMUNIST LEADERS. THE OTHER IS WARSAW'S STEADILY IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST EAST GERMANY, A DEVELOPMENT THAT SOME OBSREVERS BELEIVE CARRIES AT LEAST THE HINT OF BECOMING A SO-CALLED INSURANCE POLICY FOR POLAND AGAINST TOO MUCH SOVIET INVOLEMENT IN POLISH DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. AT THE MOMENT, THESE TWO OBSERVATIONS ARE NOT NECESSARILY RELATED, BUT THEY COULD BECOME SO IF, FOR EXAMPLE, POLAND'S WORSENING ECONOMIC SITUATION SHOULD BRING CIVIL UNREST, POSING A PROBLEM FOR THE KREMLIN AND LEADING POLAND TO LOOK FOR FRIENDS TO HELP PERSUDAE THE RUSSIANS TO KEEP THEIR HANDS OFF MATTERS HERE.



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PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES SET AN EIGHT-DAY DEADLINE SATURDAY FOR PORTUGUESE TO SURRENDER ILLEGALLY HELD GUNS IN AN EFFORT TO DISARM PRIVATE MILITIAS THAT COULD SPARK A CIVIL WAR.

DAVID AND JULIE NIXON EISENHOWER WILL VISIT CHINA FOR SEVERAL WEEKS, PROBABLY IN LATE DECEMBER, ON A PRIVATE TRIP INITIATED TWO WEEKS AGO BY FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON. THE TRIP GREW OUT OF AN INVITATION EXTENDED TO THE NIXON DAUGHTERS AND THEIR HUSBANDS BY CHINESE PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI DURING NIXON'S HISTORIC VISIT TO CHINA IN 1972.

JOSEPH KRAFT REPORTS THAT THE CHARGE THAT YOU ARE PROMOTING A ONE-WAY DETENTE FAVORABLE TO RUSSIA FINDS A GOOD TEST IN THE PROPOSED GRAIN-FOR-OIL DEAL. SUPERFICIALLY IT LOOKS AS THOUGH THE RUSSIANS ARE GOING TO GET IN ABUNDANCE WHAT THEY ALWAYS WANTED AND WHAT THE FORD ADMINISTRATION ALWAYS WANTED THEM TO HAVE-TONS OF WHEAT AND GRAIN. SUPERFICIALLY IT LOOKS AS THOUGH BECAUSE OF SOME ADMINISTRATION TRICKERY, THE UNITED STATES IS ONLY GOING TO GET IN DRIBBLETS THE OIL ANTIADMINISTRATION FORCES SOUGHT AS A COUNTERWEIGHT TO THE WHEAT. IN FACT, THE APPEARANCES ARE DECEPTIVE AND WHAT HAS HAPPENED IS ONLY A DEMONSTRATION THAT DETENTE CANNOT BE AN EXACTLY EVEN TRADE.

TO CRITICS OF DETENTE AS MANAGED BY YOU, ALL THAT WAS ONLY NATURAL. IN ORDER TO INGRATIATE YOURSELF WITH THE RUSSIANS AND HELP THE PRESIDENT WITH THE AMERICAN FARMER, YOU ARRANGED FOR THE DEAL TO GO THROUGH. BUT YOU DID NOT WANT TO QUEER YOUR STANDING IN MOSCOW BY BEING TOUGH ON OIL. SO THERE OCCURED THE LEAKS WHICH MADE IT EASY FOR THE RUSSIANS TO DUCK THE OIL DEAL. THE TROUBLE WITH ALL THIS, OF COURSE IS THAT THERE REALLY IS NO SYMMETRY BETWEEN AMERICAN WHEAT AND RUSSIAN OIL. WE HAVE MILLIONS OF TONS OF FOOD AVAILABLE FOR EXPORT. THEY HAVE ONLY A MARGINAL AMMOUNT OF OIL--AND THE WHEAT OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD NEVER WANT TO BECOME DEPENDANT ON IT. WHILE THE WHEAT DEAL IS OF IMMEDIATE NEED TO MOSCOW, PARTS OF THE AGREEMENT THAT ARE FAVORABLE TO US. FOR EXAMPLE, PRICES AND DEMAND WILL BE RELATIVELY STEADY, THUS MAKING IT MUCH EASIER TO MAKE PLANS FOR STOCKPILING AGAINST AN EMERGENCY.

THE MORAL IS THAT DETENTE CANNOT BE JUDGED AS A SIMPLE HORSE TRADE. DELICATE AND COMPLICATED INTERESTS HAVE TO BE WEIGHED AND MEASURED. WHILE WE ARE BOUND TO DISAGREE, IT DOES SEEM CLEAR THAT A LITTLE LESS SLEIGHT-OF-HAND BY THE ADMINISTRATION MIGHT YEILD A LITTLE LESS SUSPICION AMONG IT'S CRITICS

NEW YORK TIMES



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LESLIE H. GELB SAYS REPORTERS ABOARD YOUR PLANE HEADED TOWARD PEKING WERE GIVEN THE IMPRESSION THAT SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS WOULD BE HIGH ON THE AGENDA FOR YOUR FOUR DAYS OF MEETINGS WITH DEPUTY PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING OF CHINA.

THE IMPRESSION CONVEYED TO THE NEWSMEN WAS THAT RELATIONS AMONG PEKING, MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON WERE ENTERING A NEW PHASE AND THAT THE KEY TO THIS NEW PHASE WAS RELATIONS BETWEEN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON. CHINESE LEADERS, SO NEWSMEN WERE TOLD, ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE ABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES TO MAINTAIN A BALANCE OF POWER.

RICHARD D. LYONS WRITES THAT THE EMERGENCE OF THE UNITED STATES AS MUNITIONS KING OF THE WORLD AND ALMOST DAILY REPORTS OF NEW ARMS DEALS WITH FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS ARE GENERATING A FRESH SENSE OF UNEASINESS AMONG POLICY MAKERS AND CONGRESSMEN OVER THE IMPACT OF THE WEAPONS ON GLOBAL AFFAIRS.

ACCORDING TO PAUL HOFMANN A HIGH OFFICIAL AT THE AMERICAN MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS CHARGED TODAY THAT CHILE HAD VOTED FOR A DRAFT RESOLUTION LINKING ZIONISM WITH RACISM IN A COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD BODY LAST NIGHT TO BUY ARAB SUPPORT AGAINST CHARGES THAT CHILEAN AUTHORITIES WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR TORTURE AND OTHER VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

ALAN RIIDING STATES THAT A MOOD OF NERVOUS HOSTILITY IS SPREADING AMONG MANY LONG-TIME UNITED STATES RESIDENTS OF THE CANAL ZONE, CONCERNED THAT THEIR JOBS, PRIVILEGES AND SECURITY MAY BE BARGAINED AWAY IN NEGOTIATIONS FOR A NEW PANAMA CANAL TREATY.

"THE MAIN PROBLEM IS THE LACK OF INFORMATION," SAID DOUGLAS C. SCHMIDT, A PANAMA CANAL COMPANY EXECUTIVE WHO ACTS AS UNOFFICIAL SPOKESMAN FOR MANY ZONE RESIDENTS. "WE HAVE LOST FAITH IN THE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE THERE IS A TOTAL LACK OF INFORMATION FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

HENRY TANNER SAYS PRESIDENT ANWAR EL-SADAT, IN HIS LAST MAJOR SPEECH BEFORE LEAVING FOR A VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES AT THE END OF NEXT WEEK, EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN OVER AND OPPOSITION TO WHAT HE CALLED THE ESCALATION OF AMERICAN ARMS DELIVERIES TO ISRAEL.

"THIS POLICY DOES NOT FIT THE NEW AMERICAN ROLE IN THE MID-EAST," HE SAID. "ESCALATION BY THE OTHER SIDE WILL BE MET BY ESCALATION FROM OUR SIDE, AND THE CONSEQUENCE OF THIS MUST BE OBVIOUS TO ALL.

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MALCOLM W. BROWNE REPORTS THAT DURING THE LAST FEW MONTHS THE COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES OF POLAND HAVE QUIETLY CARRIED OUT A FAR-REACHING ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION, ELIMINATING THE ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT ROUGHLY CORRESPONDING TO THE AMERICAN COUNTY, ALONG WITH ALL THE JOBS ASSOCIATED WITH IT. UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER, EDWARD GIEREK, THE CHANGE HAS UNDER CUT THE CUMBERSOME RURAL BUREAUCRACY OF BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY. IT ALSO APPEARS TO HAVE STRENGTHENED MR. GIEREK IN HIS POSITION AS FIRST SECRETARY.

JOHN W. FINNEY SAYS DEFENSE SECRETARY JAMES R. SCHLESINGER IS PROMOTING A NEW, NON-NUCLEAR ROLE FOR THE CRUISE MISSILE, A PROJECTED WEAPON THAT IN ITS NUCLEAR ROLE HAS BECOME A CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE IN THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. MR. SCHLESINGER IS SUGGESTING, STILL ONLY PRIVATELY THUS FAR, THAT THE LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILE, USED AS A REPLACEMENT FOR THE MANNED FIGHTER BOMBER, IS POTENTIALLY THE MOST INTERESTING, EXCITING WEAPONS ADVANCE OF THE DECADE.

FOX BUTTERFIELD SAYS WHEN YOU ARRIVE IN PEKING TOMORROW FOR YOUR EIGHTH VISIT TO CHINA, YOU WILL ENCOUNTER A CHINESE LEADERSHIP THAT APPEARS DISAPPOINTED BUT STILL PATIENT WITH THE SLOW PROGRESS OF RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

RICHARD HALLORAN REPORTS JAPAN'S PARLIAMENT RESUMED DELIBERATIONS TODAY FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THREE WEEKS AS THE OPPOSITION PARTIES INTENSIFIED A CONFRONTATION WITH THE GOVERNING PARTY THAT HAS NEARLY CRIPPLED THE NATIONAL LEGISLATURE. THE FOUR OPPOSITION PARTIES THE SOCIALISTS, DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS, COMMUNISTS AND THE KOMEITO PARTY SWITCHED FROM DELAYING TACTICS TO A BLISTERING ATTACK ON PREMIER TAKEO MIKI'S POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES IN A CLEAR EFFORT TO DRIVE HIM TO DISSOLVE THE LOWER HOUSE AND CALL GENERAL ELECTIONS.

DAVID A. ANDELMAN SAYS A GROWING BODY OF EVIDENCE SEEMS TO BE ACCUMULATING THAT INDICATES SOME RESISTANCE BY MILITARY UNITS OF THE FORMER ANTI-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IS PERSISTING IN SCATTERED AREAS OF SOUTH VIETNAM.

NICHOLAS M. HORROCK WRITES THAT THE FORD ADMINISTRATION WILL STANCHLY

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RESIST A CONGRESSIONAL EFFORT TO BAR THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FROM UNDERTAKING COVERT INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS OR TO INTRUDE UPON THE PRESIDENT'S PEROGATIVE TO ORDER SUCH OPERATIONS, INTERVIEWS WITH HIGH ADMINISTRATION SOURCES DISCLOSED. THIS DECISION IS ONE OF SEVERAL REACHED RECENTLY AS THE FORD ADMINISTRATION AND THE LEADERS OF THE INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES DREW UP WHAT ONE KEY OFFICIAL CALLED THE "ORDER" OF BATTLE" FOR AN EXPECTED CONFRONTATION WITH CONGRESS ON CONTROL OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.

THE TIMES WRITES THAT YOU HAVE OFFERED TO COMPROMISE YOUR DIFFERENCES WITH THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE BY PROVIDING THE COMMITTEE WITH SUMMARIES OF POLICY MEMORANDUMS WRITTEN BY JUNIOR AND MIDDLE LEVEL STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS. BUT MR. KISSINGER REFUSES TO SUPPLY THE DOCUMENTS THEMSELVES OR THE NAMES OF THEIR AUTHORS. WHETHER THE COMMITTEE WILL ACCEPT HIS OFFER IS NOT YET KNOWN.

AN EARLY RESOLUTION OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION OVER A NEW AGREEMENT LIMITING STRATEGIC ARMS IS NOW DOUBTED BY SOME OFFICIALS IN THE FORD ADMINISTRATION DESPITE CONTRARY ASSESSMENT BY AN OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE DENIALS THAT THE PACT IS IN TROUBLE.

THE PESSIMISTIC OFFICIALS WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THREE IMPORTANT UNRESOLVED ISSUES: THE SOVIET BOMBER CALLED THE BACKFIRE, AND AIR-BREATHING AMERICAN CRUISE MISSILE AND THE DEFINITION OF HEAVY MISSILE. SECRETARY OF DEFENSE JAMES R. SCHLESINGER HAS URGED THE SENATE TO PASS A DEFENSE BUDGET \$2.6 BILLION HIGHER THAT THE \$90.2-BILLION MEASURE ALREADY APPROVED BY THE HOUSE. HIS REQUEST CREATES THE POSSIBILITY OF A MAJOR TEST OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE NEW SENATE BUDGET COMMITTEE.

LESLIE H. GELB SAYS A SENATE COMMITTEE ANNOUNCED LAST MONTH THAT THE PENTAGON HAD CHANGED ITS ESTIMATE OF HOW MANY AMERICANS WOULD BE KILLED IF THE SOVIETS UNION LAUNCHED A LIMITED NUCLEAR ATTACK AGAINST THE UNITED STATES NUCLEAR MISSILE- FROM A MINIMUM OF THREE MILLION TO A MAXIMUM OF 22 MILLION. THESE CALCULATIONS COULD BE DISMISSED AS SIMPLY ANOTHER EXERCISE IN THE MACABRE AND THE FANATISTIC, BUT THIS TIME, THE NUMBERS MEAN SOMETHING.

" THEY HAVE TO DO WITH DEFENSE SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S BELIEF THAT A LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR IS NOT ONLY THINKABLE, BUT THAT THE UNITED



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STATES NEEDS THE CAPABILITY TO FIGHT ONE.

THE BALTIMORE SUN

PRESIDENT GISCARD FLEW INTO PARIS YESTERDAY TO FIND HIS SUPPORTERS' FEATHERS BADLY RUFFLED AFTER HIS FIVE-DAY VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION. CONFUSION AND DISSENSION, SPREAD BY CONFLICTING RUMORS OF THE ILL HEALTH OF BREZHNEV, OR DISPLEASURE OVER GISCARD'S COMMENTS, HAVE BADLY SHAKEN THE INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN CAMP IN HIS ABSENCE. ALTHOUGH THE GISCARD-BREZHNEV VISIT ENDED WITH THE TWO LEADERS SIGNING AGREEMENTS ON FRANCO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION, AND WITH OTHER MINISTERS SIGNING PRELIMINARY AGREEMENTS ON ENERGY, AERONAUTICS AND TOURISM, EVEN MR. GISCARD'S ADMIRERS WERE FAR FROM SURE WHETHER THE TRIP HAD ADVANCED FRANCE-SOVIET DETENTE. THERE WAS LITTLE DOUBT THAT GISCARD HAD FAILED IN HIS OBJECTIVE OF CONSOLIDATING THE UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED AT THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE IN HELSINKI AT THE END OF JULY (A-2)

A SENIOR UNITED STATES DIPLOMAT HAS CHARGED THAT CHILE VOTED IN THE UNITED NATIONS TO CONDEMN ZIONISM IN EXCHANGE FOR ARAB PLEDGES NOT TO PRESS ALLEGATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN CHILE, IT WAS REVEALED YESTERDAY, U.S. SOURCES CONFIRMED THAT THE CHARGE WAS MADE PRIVATELY TO AMERICAN JOURNALISTS FOLLOWING FRIDAY NIGHT'S U.N. DEBATE ON THE ZIONISM ISSUE. (A-4)

PORTUGAL'S ARMED FORCES WERE UNDER ORDERS YESTERDAY TO HUNT DOWN 20,000 WAR WEAPONS, OPENING FIRE IF NEED BE TO RECOVER THEM FROM VOLATILE POLITICAL FACTIONS WHOSE DIFFERENCES THREATEN CIVIL WAR. GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATING COMMISSIONS ALSO WERE DISPATCHED TO THE AZORES AND MADEIRA, ISLANDS ON WHICH SEPARATISTS AND TROOPS HAVE CLASHED VIOLENTLY IN THE LAST TWO DAYS. (A-5)

ACCORDING TO HENRY TREWHITT, ONE HAS TO BE ARBITRARY IN CHOOSING DATES TO MAKE A POINT REGARDING SPAIN. IN IMMEDIATE TERMS, THE KEYDATE IS SEPTEMBER 27. THAT WAS THE DAY FRANCO'S GOVERNMENT EXECUTED FIVE BASQUE SEPARATISTS-- TERRORIST COP-KILLERS, BY THE OFFICIAL ACCOUNT-- AFTER SPARING THE LIVES OF A LARGER GROUP. WESTERN EUROPE WENT UP IN A CLOUD OF RHETORICAL SMOKE. SPANISH EMBASSIES WERE ATTACKED. MORE THAN A DOZEN GOVERNMENTS RECALLED THEIR AMBASSADORS FOR COSMETICS CONSULTATIONS OR TOLD THEM TO EXTEND THEIR VACATIONS. STUDENTS WHO HAD LACKED A RECENT COMPELLING CAUSE TOOK TO THE STREETS. COMMUNISTS PARTIES REFOCUSSED THEIR RAGE FROM PORTUGAL TO THE LARGER PORTION OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA. THEN SUDDENLY, AS SUCH THINGS ARE JUDGED, THE PROTEST LOST MOMENTUM. IT HAS NOT DIED BY ANY MEANS, BUT THERE IS A GROWING AWARENESS THAT THE REACTION HAS HAD ANYTHING BUT THE DESIRED RESULT.- THE AMBASSADORS ARE



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TRICKLING BACK. (K-1)

THOMAS PEPPER WRITES THAT AS THE LEAVES CHANGE COLOR ON THE TREES, AND TIME BEGINS TO RUN OUT ON THE TWO CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES INVESTIGATING UNITED STATES INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES, IT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY APPARENT THAT NORMAL STANDARDS OF GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE ARE NOT GOING TO BRING GREAT AND MEANINGFUL CHANGE TO THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY. OF PAST PRECEDENT IS ANY GUIDE, IT WILL TAKE AN EXTRAORDINARY AND CONCERTED EFFORT- ON THE PART OF THE WHITE HOUSE, CONGRESS, THAN REPEAT THE USUAL WASHINGTON CYCLE OF DISCLOSURE, ALARM, AND INERTIA. INDEED, WITHOUT SUCH AN EFFORT- OF A SORT MORE SYSTEMATIC, FOR EXAMPLE, THAN THE CURRENT ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE REGULATORY POLICY- ONE COULD HAZARD A GUESS THAT THE VARIOUS INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES WOULD RIDE OUT THEIR CURRENT TROUBLES, AND BE BACK IN BUSINESS, ROUGHLY AS BEFORE, BY MID-1977. THE ARTICLE CONCLUDES BY SAYING THAT THIS IS WHY THE NATURE OF ANY REORGANIZATION THAT TAKE PLACE OVER THE NEXT 18 MONTHS IS SO IMPORTANT. IF ALL THE DISCLOSURES OF THE PAST TWO YEARS LEAD ONLY TO A PURGE OF A FEW TOP OFFICIALS, AND TO THE INSTITUTION OF A NEW BUT STILL POLITICIZED WHITE HOUSE MONITORING GROUP AND NEW BUT CUSTOMARY CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT, THE INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES COULD EASILY REVERT TO THEIR OLD HABITS-- AND UNDERSTANDABLY SO. (K-2)

ACCORDING TO THE SUN'S LEAD EDITORIAL, THE WORD IS BEING PASSED AUTHORITATIVELY IN WASHINGTON THAT SALT II IS IN TROUBLE, AND WITH IT THE CREAKY YET VITAL DIPLOMATIC UNDERTAKING KNOWN AS DETENTE. WHETHER THE CURRENT GLOOM IS MERELY A NEGOTIATING TACTIC OR A ACCURATE ASSESSMENT OF POLITICAL REALITIES IS A MATTER OF CONJECTURE. INDEED THEY MAY EXIST IN TANDEM, THUS FURTHER COMPLICATING WHAT MUST SURELY BE SOME OF THE MOST DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS EVER ATTEMPTED. THE NATURAL TEMPTATION IS TO DESPAIR, KNOWING THAT EACH LAP OF THE ARMS RACE INCREASES THE DANGER OF BIG-POWER HOLOCAUST AND ENCOURAGES OTHER NATIONS TO GO NUCLEAR. BUT THE BETTER, COOLER COURSE IS TO SAFEGUARD WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED, DISCOUNT POLITICAL EXPEDIENCIES AND ENCOURAGE FURTHER ACCOMMODATION. SHOULD SALT II BE DELAYED, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION HAD BETTER FACE UP TO THE FACT THAT THIS COULD INCREASE THE DANGERS OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. MORE COUNTRIES ARE ACQUIRING THE KNOWLEDGE AND MATERIALS TO MAKE THE JUMP FROM PEACEFUL TO MILITARY EXPLOITATION OF ATOMIC POWER. IF THEY ARE TO HAVE ANY INCENTIVE TO STAY OUT OF THE NUCLEAR CLUB, SALT II WILL HAVE TO DO MORE THAN RAISE THE AMERICAN- SOVIET CEILINGS ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO EQUAL LIMITS NOT YET ATTAINED. IT WILL HAVE TO CONTAIN A TRIGGERING MECHANISM FOR A QUICK, DRASTIC, CONVINCING ARMS CUTBACK THAT WILL ECOURAGE OTHER NATIONS TO AVOID THE NUCLEAR OPTION. (K-4)



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ACCORDING TO LATE PRESS REPORTS, THE WORLD SERIES GAME FOR SUNDAY HAS BEEN CANCELLED DUE TO RAIN. THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT MONDAY'S GAME WILL ALSO BE CANCELLED. "HOLD ON PETER"

A NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIAL SAYS THE TIMING OF COMMUNIST CHINA'S VIOLENT PUBLIC CRITICISM OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FOR "CONNIVING AT AND SUPPORTING ACTIVITIES OF TIBETAN REBELS IN THE UNITED STATES" SUGGESTS LOW EXPECTATIONS FROM YOUR EIGHTH VISIT TO CHINA, STARTING TODAY, TO PREPARE PRESIDENT FORD'S FIRST PEKING TRIP NEXT MONTH.

PEKING HAS MADE "NORMALIZATION" --THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FULL DIPOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES--CONTIGENT ON WITHDRAWAL OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY AND TROOPS FROM TAIWAN AND ABOGATION OF THE UNITED STATES SECURITY TREATY WITH TAIWAN. YOU HAVE CONFIRMED THAT THE CONCLUSION OF THIS PROCESS OF "NORMALIZATION" --WHICH THE UNITED STATES INSISTS MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY PEKING'S RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AGAINST TAIWAN--CANNOT BE EXPECTED DURING PRESIDENT FORD'S VISIT

A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE CHINESE ATTITUDE TOWARD DETENTE, NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL AND SETTLEMENT OF PRIVATE CLAIMS AND FROZEN ASSETS MIGHT BE ACHIEVED IN RETURN FOR A TRADE AGREEMENT LIFTING AMERICAN TARIFF DISCRIMINATION.

STABILIZATION OF THE KOREAN SITUATION IS THE MOST VITAL NEED. IN RETURN, AMERICAN TECHNOLOGY COULD SPEED DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA'S HUGE OIL POTENTIAL. NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS LIES ALONG THAT ROUTE, RATHER THAN IN PROPAGANDA ABOUT TAIWAN, TIBET OR EXCHANGE OF EMBASSIES.

ANOTHER EDITORIAL SAYS YOUR REFUSAL, DESPITE A SUBPOENA, TO HAND THE HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE A MIDDLE-LEVEL STATE DEPARTMENT MEMORANDUM DISSENTING FROM ADMINISTRATION POLICY IN THE 1974 CYPRUS CRISIS CAN ONLY BE EVALUATED IN TERMS OF WHAT YOU HAVE OFFERED THE COMMITTEE. IN VIEW OF THE FACTS, THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE'S INSISTENCE THAT IT HAS THE RIGHT TO REACH INTO THE INTERIOR OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO SUBPOENA THE DISSENTING MEMORANDA OF JUNIOR AND MIDDLE-RANK OFFICIALS -- AND TO SUMMON THEM TO TESTIFY ON POLICY ISSUES -- IS CLEARLY CONTRARY TO THE NATIONAL INTEREST. THAT PROCEDURE WOULD DESTROY THE FREE EXPRESSION OF VIEW WITHIN THE STATE DEPARTMENT--THE BEST ASSURANCE OF SOUND POLICY-MAKING --BY TELLING EVERY JUNIOR AND MIDDLE-LEVEL OFFICIAL THAT HIS REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ARE SUBJECT TO CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION AFTERWARD.

THE PRINCIPLE YOU ARE INVOKING IS THE CENTRAL PRINCIPLE OF RESPONSIBLE, REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT. IT IS THAT THE RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS, TO WHOM POLICY-MAKING IS DELEGATED-- OFFICIALS APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT AND CONFIRMED BY CONGRESS --BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THEIR DECISIONS, BT NOT THE LOWER-



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LEVEL ASSISTANTS WHO ANALYZE THE FACTS AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS.

C. L. SALZBERGER WRITES THAT THE MAIN FACT IS THAT SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIPS STILL CENTER ON THE NEED BY BOTH COUNTRIES TO COOPERATE TACITLY ON A NUMBER OF FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS AND ON SHARING SIMILAR PERCEPTIONS ON ISSUES BOTH CONSIDER IMPORTANT ALL OF WHICH CAN BE SHORTENED INTO ONE WORD -- RUSSIA. WHEN MESSRS. KISSINGER AND NIXON FIRST BROKE THE ICE IN CHINA THEY WERE, IN EFFECT, USING THAT COUNTRY AS A BACKDOOR TO MOSCOW WHERE ARMS REDUCTION AND DETENTE WERE BEING SOUGHT. THE LATTER KIND OF APPROACH MUST ALWAYS BE FULLY EXPLAINED IN PEKING WHOSE UNDERSTANDING AND CONFIDENCE IS NEEDED BY WASHINGTON. DESPITE THE WIDE IDEOLOGICAL GAP BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES AND DESPITE POLITICAL DIFFERENCES AND GLOBAL AIMS, THE TWO POWERS SHARE MUTUAL CONCERN ABOUT RUSSIA. AND THAT IS WHAT PRESENT TALKS AND JOURNEYS ARE ABOUT. BOTH PARTIES AGREE ON THE NEED TO UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER ON THE RULES OF COOPERATION WITH RESPECT TO MOSCOW. NOTHING DRAMATIC SHOULD BE ANTICIPATED AS A RESULT OF THE NEWEST ROUND OF CONVERSATIONS.

TOM WICKER WRITES THAT AS THE SOVIETS SEE THE EAST-WEST COMPETITION ONLY THE EAST CAN BE ALLOWED TO COMPETE. AS THE LONDON TIMES PUT IT IN A NOTABLE LEADER THIS WEEK: "PART OF THE TROUBLE IS THAT THE SOVIET UNION WANTS IT BOTH WAYS. IT INSISTS THAT IN CONDITIONS OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE MUST CONTINUE OR EVEN BE INTENSIFIED. AT THE SAME TIME, IT ASSERTS THAT ANY ATTEMPTS BY WESTERN COUNTRIES TO PROPAGATE THEIR OWN IDEAS OR TO SCRUTINIZE SOVIET ABUSES OF HUMAN RIGHTS ARE SOMEHOW CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. AFTER ALL, MARXISM IN PRACTICE IS A CONSIDERABLE FAILURE EVERYWHERE, RESULTING IN BUREAUCRATIC DICTATORSHIPS MISHANAGING PALLID ECONOMIES, WHILE PLAYING BIG BROTHER TO THEIR INDOMITABLE DR. SAKHAROV. IF DEMOCRACY HAS ITS FAULTS, AS IT CERTAINLY HAS--PRIMA- RILY THE FAILURE TO PROVIDE ECONOMIC JUSTICE--IT YET HAS BY COMPARISON AN ENVIABLE RECORD OF APPROACHING THAT FREEDOM AND DIGNITY WHICH ARE UNIVERSAL HUMAN GOALS.

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NR

8/3/10

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE VIA BLACK PATCH

TOHAK _____

October 19, 1975

TO: BUD MCFARLANE
FROM: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

B



1. In response to your query in HAKTO 6, I can add virtually nothing to what HAK already knows. Virtually all of the President's conversations about China took place with him present.

2. I think that the President's attitude, based on the one extensive conversation he and HAK had on the subject, is that he cannot hope to duplicate the Nixon TV extravaganza of 1972 and should not attempt to do so. I think he is therefore looking for something different -- some "gimmick" which would have some appeal both to the networks in terms of inducing them to cover it and to the American people who would watch it. That almost has to take the form of the President's trips outside Peking, Everything in Peking and its environs was covered during the Nixon trip. The President should not, then, go to places that Nixon visited, although it may not be possible to avoid Shanghai. The ideal would be some place of great visual attractiveness -- perhaps like Sian, the ancient capitol where much archaeological work is going on -- in order to attract TV coverage.

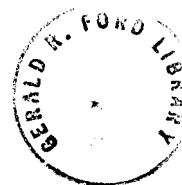
3. The only element of which HAK was unaware I reported ~~into~~ⁱⁿ ~~HAKTO~~ 9, that is, the President's hope that there will be something of

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE

some significance to announce as the outcome of his trip. The one other thing which I think is of some concern to him, although he has not articulated it in so many words, is the possibility that both Mao and Chou will be too sick to meet with him and he would be relegated to dealing exclusively with Teng.

4. To me, what this all adds up to is concern on the part of the President that his trip appear significant and therefore worthwhile. If he merely repeated the Nixon travels, this time without any TV coverage, had nothing to announce as having been achieved by his trip, and having met only with a Vice Premier, I think he feels he would come under serious criticism here for having made the trip at all. This, of course, ignores completely the substantive reasons for the trip ^{as distinct from} ~~aside from~~ the optics. But those reasons, especially in terms of Soviet-Chinese-US relationships, are difficult to articulate to the general public.

5. I hope this may be of some use to you. I do not believe it contains anything which HAK does not already know, at least intuitively, but you may use ^{this} ~~it~~ with him any way you wish. Should you wish me to pursue it further, let me know. Warm regards.



OP IMMED
DE WTE #5926 2921844
O 191800Z OCT 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOHAK12//

TO BREMER/BARBAN/RODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY

~~SECRET~~ SENSITIVE VIA BLACK PATCH DELIVER AT OPENING OF BUSINESS

WH51978

TOHAK12

OCTOBER 19, 1975

TO: BUD MCFARLANE
FROM: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

1. IN RESPONSE TO YOUR QUERY IN HAKTO 6, I CAN ADD VIRTUALLY NOTHING TO WHAT HAK ALREADY KNOWS. VIRTUALLY ALL OF THE PRESIDENT'S CONVERSATIONS ABOUT CHINA TOOK PLACE WITH HIM PRESENT.

2. I THINK THAT THE PRESIDENT'S ATTITUDE, BASED ON THE ONE EXTENSIVE CONVERSATION HE AND HAK HAD ON THE SUBJECT, IS THAT HE CANNOT HOPE TO DUPLICATE THE NIXON TV EXTRAVAGANZA OF 1972 AND SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO DO SO. I THINK HE IS THEREFORE LOOKING FOR SOMETHING DIFFERENT--SOME "GIMMICK" WHICH WOULD HAVE SOME APPEAL BOTH TO THE NETWORKS IN TERMS OF INDUCING THEM TO COVER IT AND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHO WOULD WATCH IT. THAT ALMOST HAS TO TAKE THE FORM OF THE PRESIDENT'S TRIPS OUTSIDE PEKING. EVERYTHING IN PEKING AND ITS ENVIRONS WAS COVERED DURING THE NIXON TRIP. THE PRESIDENT SHOULD NOT, THEN, GO TO PLACES THAT NIXON VISITED, ALTHOUGH IT MAY BE NOT POSSIBLE TO AVOID SHANGHAI. THE IDEAL WOULD BE SOME PLACE OF GREAT VISUAL ATTRACTIVENESS--PERHAPS LIKE SIAN, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL WHERE MUCH ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK IS GOING ON -- IN ORDER TO ATTRACT TV COVERAGE.

3. THE ONLY ELEMENT OF WHICH HAK WAS UNAWARE I REPORTED IN TOHAK 9, THAT IS, THE PRESIDENT'S HOPE THAT THERE WILL BE SOMETHING OF SOME SIGNIFICANCE TO ANNOUNCE AS THE OUTCOME OF HIS TRIP. THE ONE OTHER THING WHICH I THINK IS OF SOME CONCERN TO HIM,

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

SDO, SEC FLE

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***** ~~SECRET~~ *****S COPY



DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

NSC Memo, 3/30/06, State Dept. Guidelines

By NR Date 8/3/10

ALTHOUGH HE HAS NOT ARTICULATED IT IN SO MANY WORDS, IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT BOTH MAO AND CHOU WILL BE TOO SICK TO MEET WITH HIM AND HE WOULD BE RELEGATED TO DEALING EXCLUSIVELY WITH TENG.

4. TO ME, WHAT THIS ALL ADDS UP TO IS CONCERN ON THE PART OF THE PRESIDENT THAT HIS TRIP APPEAR SIGNIFICANT AND THEREFORE WORTHWHILE. IF HE MERELY REPEATED THE NIXON TRAVELS, THIS TIME WITHOUT ANY TV COVERAGE, HAD NOTHING TO ANNOUNCE AS HAVING BEEN ACHIEVED BY HIS TRIP, AND HAVING MET ONLY WITH A VICE PREMIER, I THINK HE FEELS HE WOULD COME UNDER SERIOUS CRITICISM HERE FOR HAVING MADE THE TRIP AT ALL. THIS, OF COURSE, IGNORES COMPLETELY THE SUBSTANTIVE REASONS FOR THE TRIP AS DISTINCT FROM OPTICS. BUT THOSE REASONS, ESPECIALLY IN TERMS OF SOVIET-CHINESE-US RELATIONSHIPS ARE DIFFICULT TO ARTICULATE TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

5. I HOPE THIS MAY BE OF SOME USE TO YOU. I DO NOT BELIEVE IT CONTAINS ANYTHING WHICH HAK DOES NOT ALREADY KNOW, AT LEAST INTUITIVELY, BUT YOU MAY USE THIS WITH HIM ANY WAY YOU WISH. SHOULD YOU WISH ME TO PURSUE IT FURTHER, LET ME KNOW. WARM REGARDS.
0479



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PAGE 02

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA BLACK PATCH

October 19, 1975

TOHAK ___

TO: SECRETARY KISSINGER
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *BS*

1. I have explored all the alternative routes between Anchorage and Peking without landing near Tokyo.

2. The only refueling stop in the Aleutions is Shemya. It is not satisfactory because if the runway is wet, we could not take on enough fuel to reach Peking.

3. From Anchorage to Okinawa is 9 hours 45 minutes. Okinawa to Peking (overflying Shanghai) is 3 hours 10 minutes.

4. From Anchorage to Guam is 9 hours 10 minutes. Guam to Peking (overflying Shanghai) is 5 hours 40 minutes.

5. There is another alternative if the President can land in Japan but not near Tokyo. He could land at Misawa, which is about 500 miles north of Tokyo. It is 7 hours 10 minutes from Anchorage. From Misawa to Peking (overflying Shanghai) is 5 hours 20 minutes.

6. All the above times are actual flying times. As you know, the time change between Anchorage and Japan/Okinawa is 5 hours and between there and Peking 1 hour. Time change to Guam is 4 hours + 2 more to Peking.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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EO 13526 (b) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) (12)
NSC Memo 8/20/81, HR 8/3/10



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

7. Let me know if you need further information. Would appreciate knowing what you decide.

8. Warm regards.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OP IMMED
DE WTE #5924 2921814
O 191800Z OCT 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOHAK13//

TO BREMER/BARBIAN/RODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ VIA BLACK PATCH DELIVER AT OPENING OF BUSINESS

WH51976

TOHAK13

OCTOBER 19, 1975

TO: SECRETARY KISSINGER
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

1. I HAVE EXPLORED ALL THE ALTERNATIVE ROUTES BETWEEN ANCHORAGE AND PEKING WITHOUT LANDING NEAR TOKYO.

2. THE ONLY REFUELING STOP IN THE ALEUTIONS IS SHEMYA. IT IS NOT SATISFACTORY BECAUSE IF THE RUNWAY IS WET, WE COULD NOT TAKE ON ENOUGH FUEL TO REACH PEKING.

3. FROM ANCHORAGE TO OKINAWA IS 9 HOURS 45 MINUTES. OKINAWA TO PEKING (OVERFLYING SHANGHAI) IS 3 HOURS 10 MINUTES.

4. FROM ANCHORAGE TO GUAM IS 9 HOURS 10 MINUTES. GUAM TO PEKING OVERFLYING SHANGHAI) IS 5 HOURS 40 MINUTES.

5. THERE IS ANOTHER ALTERNATIVE IF THE PRESIDENT CAN LAND IN JAPAN BUT NOT NEAR TOKYO. HE COULD LAND AT MISAWA, WHICH IS ABOUT 500 MILES NORTH OF TOKYO. IT IS 7 HOURS 10 MINUTES FROM ANCHORAGE. FROM MISAWA TO PEKING (OVERFLYING SHANGHAI) IS ABOUT 5 HOURS 20 MINUTES.



6. ALL THE ABOVE TIMES ARE ACTUAL FLYING TIMES. AS YOU KNOW,

***** W H S R C O M M E N T *****

SDO, SEC FLE

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PAGE 01

TOR:292/18:14Z

DTG:191800Z OCT 75

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

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E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

NSC Memo, 3/30/06, State Dept. Guidelines

By HR NARA, Date 8/3/10

THE TIME CHANGE BETWEEN ANCHORAGE AND JAPAN/OKINAWA IS 5 HOURS AND BETWEEN THERE AND PEKING 1 HOUR. TIME CHANGE TO GUAM IS 4 HOURS PLUS 2 MORE TO PEKING.

7. LET ME KNOW IF YOU NEED FURTHER INFORMATION. WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING WHAT YOU DECIDE.

8. WARM REGARDS.
0250



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 031246

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

TITLE [TOHAK 14]

CREATION DATE 10/19/1975

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 035900312

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. TRIP
BRIEFING BOOKS AND CABLES OF HENRY
KISSINGER

BOX NUMBER 22

FOLDER TITLE October 19-23, 1975 - People's Republic
of China - TOHAK (2)

DATE WITHDRAWN 09/08/2010

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST CCG

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 031247

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

TITLE TOHAK 14

CREATION DATE 10/19/1975

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 035900312

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. TRIP
BRIEFING BOOKS AND CABLES OF HENRY
KISSINGER

BOX NUMBER 22

FOLDER TITLE October 19-23, 1975 - People's Republic
of China - TOHAK (2)

DATE WITHDRAWN 09/08/2010

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST CCG

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 031248

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

TITLE TOHAK 15

CREATION DATE 10/19/1975

VOLUME 2 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 035900312

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. TRIP
BRIEFING BOOKS AND CABLES OF HENRY
KISSINGER

BOX NUMBER 22

FOLDER TITLE October 19-23, 1975 - People's Republic
of China - TOHAK (2)

DATE WITHDRAWN 04/06/2010

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST CCG

Open w/ portions exempt

OP IMMED
DE WTE #5928 2822249
O 192228Z OCT 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOHAK 15//

DECLASSIFIED w/exceptions exempted

AUTHORITY RDC h/f CODEWORD-42-19-2-3

BY ll NSC/State guidelines
NARA, DATE 4/6/10

10/1/04

TO BREMER/BARBAN/RODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY

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

VIA BLACK PATCH WH51988

TOHAK 15

OCTOBER 28, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER
FROM: THE SITUATION ROOM
SUBJECT: ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ITEMS

SOVIET RESPONSE TO ANTI-SOVIET CHINESE SPEECH; MOSCOW HAS FINALLY RESPONDED TO THE ANTI-SOVIET SPEECH VICE PREMIER CHEN HSI-LIEN MADE TWO WEEKS AGO AT THE 28TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS OF THE SINKIANG UIGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION. CHEN HAD CONGRATULATED SINKIANG FOR ITS PAST VICTORIES IN "SMASHING" SOVIET AGGRESSION AND SUBVERSION AND WARNED OF THE CONTINUING NEED TO MAINTAIN VIGILANCE AGAINST BOTH THE POSSIBILITY OF SOVIET SURPRISE ATTACK AND SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO FOMENT DISSENSION AMONG THE MINORITIES. THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME IN RECENT MONTHS THAT A HANKING CHINESE OFFICIAL HAD EXPLICITLY RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF A SOVIET ATTACK ON CHINA. PRAVDA ON OCTOBER 5 CARRIED AN ARTICLE LAMBASTING CHINA'S POLICIES ON MINORITIES -- PARTICULARLY ITS SUPPRESSION OF MINORITY RELIGIONS -- AND AGAIN REMINDING SOVIET READERS OF THE PHYSICAL THREAT CHINA POSES TO THE USSR. THE CHARGE THAT THE CHINESE ARE SUPPRESSING MINORITY RELIGIONS SUGGESTS HE SOVIETS BELIEVE THAT ONE REASON CHEN WENT TO SINKIANG AS BECAUSE OF A RELIGIOUS PROBLEM THERE CAUSING TROUBLE OR PEKING. PRAVDA'S IMPLICATION THAT CHINA POSES A THREAT TO THE USSR IS A LOGICAL COUNTER TO CHEN'S ANTI-SOVIET REMARKS. MOSCOW'S DELAY IN RESPONDING TO CHEN'S RIP TO SINKIANG SUGGESTS THE SOVIETS AT FIRST WERE UNCER-
AIN AS TO PRECISELY WHAT THE VISIT SIGNIFIED.



Residential Library Review of DOS & NSC Equities is Required

BN1848841

PAGE 01

TOR:292/22149Z

DTG:192228Z OCT 75

~~TOP SECRET~~ ***** COPY

Entire page redacted.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 031249

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

TITLE TOHAK 16

CREATION DATE 10/20/1975

VOLUME 5 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 035900312

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. TRIP.
BRIEFING BOOKS AND CABLES OF HENRY
KISSINGER

BOX NUMBER 22

FOLDER TITLE October 19-23, 1975 - People's Republic
of China - TOHAK (2)

DATE WITHDRAWN 09/08/2010

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST CCG

OP IMMED
DE WTE #5931 2930607
O 200615Z OCT 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOHAK 17//

TO BREMER/BARBAN/RODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY

UNCLAS VIA BLACK PATCH WH51982

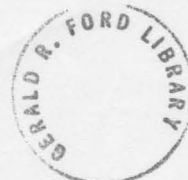
TOHAK 17

REF. HAKTO 14

FOLLOWING ARE SUNDAY'S FOOTBALL SCORES:

OILERS	13,	REDSKINS	10
PACKERS	19,	COWBOYS	17
CARDINALS	31,	EAGLES	20
DOLPHINS	43,	JETS	0
PATRIOTS	21,	COLTS	10
STEELERS	34,	BEARS	3
VIKINGS	25,	LIONS	19
BENGALS	14,	RAIDERS	10
RAMS	22,	FALCONS	7
CHIEFS	12,	CHARGERS	10
FORTY-NINERS	35,	SAINTS	21
BRONCOS	16,	BROWNS	15

THE WORLD SERIES WAS RAINED OUT SUNDAY. THE SERIES
WILL CONTINUE MONDAY NIGHT IN BOSTON, WEATHER PERMITTING.
0126



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

SECFLC, SDO

PSN:046089 PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:293/06:07Z DTG:200615Z OCT 75

***** UNCLASSIFIED ***** COPY

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 031250

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

TITLE TOHAK 18

CREATION DATE 10/20/1975

VOLUME 2 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 035900312

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. TRIP
BRIEFING BOOKS AND CABLES OF HENRY
KISSINGER

BOX NUMBER 22

FOLDER TITLE October 19-23, 1975 - People's Republic
of China - TOHAK (2)

DATE WITHDRAWN 09/08/2010

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST CCG

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 031251

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction
 TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram
 TITLE TOHAK 19
 CREATION DATE 10/20/1975
 VOLUME 1 page
 COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID 035900312
 COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. TRIP
 BRIEFING BOOKS AND CABLES OF HENRY
 KISSINGER
 BOX NUMBER 22
 FOLDER TITLE October 19-23, 1975 - People's Republic
 of China - TOHAK (2)
 DATE WITHDRAWN 09/08/2010
 WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST CCG

Open w/ portions exempt

112

~~***** TOP SECRET *****~~ COPY

DECLASSIFIED w/portions exempted

OP IMMED
DE WTE #5941 2931125
3 201510Z OCT 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOHAK 019//

AUTHORITY RAC NSA-62-19-5-0
BY NSA/State NARA, DATE 4/6/10 5/24/06

TO BREMER/BARSIAN/RODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY

~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE~~ CONTAINS CODEWORD VIA BLACK PATCH WH51987

TOHAK 019

OCTOBER 20, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

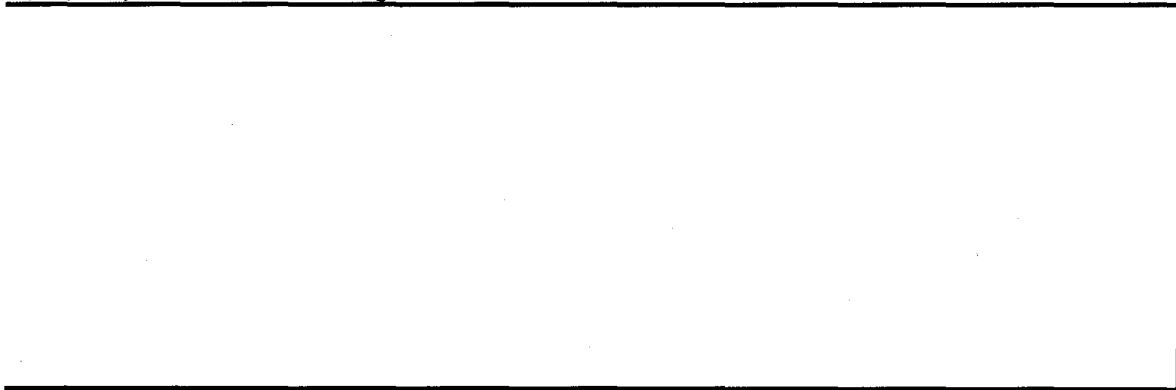
FROM:

HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT:

INFORMATION ITEMS

VIETNAMESE REPATRIATES: SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM REPORTEDLY HAS BEEN INFORMED BY THE VIETNAMESE THAT THEY REJECT COMPLETELY THE PLAN FOR THE SHIP CARRYING REPATRIATES FROM GUAM TO ARRIVE IN VIETNAMESE WATERS. THE VIETNAMESE STRESSED THEY WOULD NOT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ANYTHING THAT MIGHT HAPPEN, BUT DECLINED TO OFFER ANY SPECIFICS.



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

SDO, SEC/FLE

PSN:046517 RECALLED PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:293/11:25Z DTG:201510Z OCT 75

~~***** TOP SECRET *****~~ COPY

NSA review completed

Presidential Library Review of DOS & NSC Equities is Required

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 031252

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

TITLE TOHAK 20

CREATION DATE 10/20/1975

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 035900312

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. TRIP
BRIEFING BOOKS AND CABLES OF HENRY
KISSINGER

BOX NUMBER 22

FOLDER TITLE October 19-23, 1975 - People's Republic
of China - TOHAK (2)

DATE WITHDRAWN 09/08/2010

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST CCG

Open w/ portions Exempted



SENT
TO HAK 20

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE/EYES ONLY

October 20, 1975

FROM: Brent Scowcroft *BS*

TO: Bremer/Barbian/Rodman

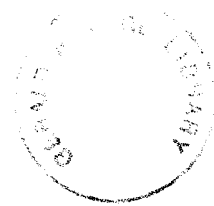
FOR: Henry A. Kissinger

1. The President did not come to work this morning. He has a sinus infection and is running a slight fever ^{to} ~~and~~ Lukash has confined him to bed.

2. Under these circumstances, I plan to call Schlesinger and pass on the message about meeting with Dobrynin. I do not believe we can afford to wait.

3. Warm regards.

DECLASSIFIED w/ portions exempted
AUTHORITY RAC NLF-TB-HK-15-4-2-4 9/10/04
NSC Guidelines
LR NLF DATE 3/4/09



~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE/EYES ONLY

Presidential Library Review of NSC Equities is Required

OP IMMED
DE WTE #5940 2931307
O 201515Z OCT 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TGHAK 020//

TO BREMER/BARBAN/RODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY

~~SECRET~~ VIA BLACK PATCH SENSITIVE EYES ONLY NH51986

TGHAK 020

OCTOBER 20, 1975

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT
TO: HENRY A. KISSINGER

- 1. THE PRESIDENT DID NOT COME TO WORK THIS MORNING. HE HAS A SINUS INFECTION AND IS RUNNING A SLIGHT FEVER SO LUKASH HAS CONFINED HIM TO BED.
- 2. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, I PLAN TO CALL SCHLESINGER AND PASS ON THE MESSAGE ABOUT MEETING WITH DOBRYNIN. I DO NOT BELIEVE HE CAN AFFORD TO WAIT.
- 3. WARM REGARDS.

0121



DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

NSC Memo, 3/30/06, State Dept. Guidelines

By 1JR NARA, Date 8/3/10

*****KNSR COMMENT*****

SDO, SECPL

PSN:846513 PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:293/13:07Z DTG:201515Z OCT 75

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 031253

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

TITLE TOHAK 21

CREATION DATE 10/20/1975

VOLUME 3 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 035900312

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. TRIP
BRIEFING BOOKS AND CABLES OF HENRY
KISSINGER

BOX NUMBER 22

FOLDER TITLE October 19-23, 1975 - People's Republic
of China - TOHAK (2)

DATE WITHDRAWN 09/08/2010

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST CCG

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 031254

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

TITLE TOHAK 22

CREATION DATE 10/20/1975

VOLUME 4 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID 035900312

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. TRIP
BRIEFING BOOKS AND CABLES OF HENRY
KISSINGER

BOX NUMBER 22

FOLDER TITLE October 19-23, 1975 - People's Republic
of China - TOHAK (2)

DATE WITHDRAWN 09/08/2010

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST CCG

Open w/ patients exempt

OP IMMEO
DE NTE #5951 2932225
O 282255Z OCT 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOHAK 022//

DECLASSIFIED w/portions exempted
AUTHORITY RAC NLF-CODEWORD-42-19-7-8 5/24/86
BY NSA/State guidelines NARA, DATE 4/6/10

TO BREMER/BARBAN/RODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY

~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE~~ CONTAINS CODEWORD VIA BLACK PATCH WH51993

TOHAK 022

OCTOBER 28, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM: THE SITUATION ROOM

SUBJECT: INFORMATION ITEMS

[Redacted content]

[Redacted content]

25X1

***** W H S R C O M M E N T *****

EC FLE

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PAGE 01

TOR:293/22:25Z

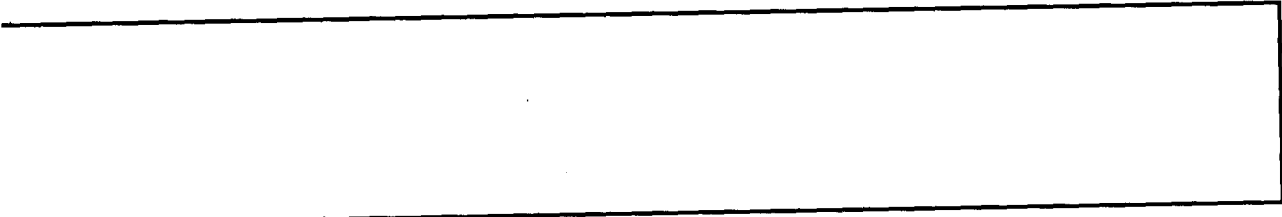
DTG:282255Z OCT 75

***** ~~TOP SECRET~~ ***** COPY

NSA, DIA reviews completed

Presidential Library Review of DOS & NSC Equities is Required





FRANCO'S ILLNESS: IN ANNOUNCING CANCELLATION OF GENERAL FRANCO'S REGULAR TUESDAY AUDIENCE WITH MILITARY OFFICIALS TODAY, THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT CONTINUED TO ATTRIBUTE FRANCO'S INDISPOSITION TO AN ATTACK OF FLU. A GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN ALSO EXPRESSED UNCERTAINTY OVER WHETHER FRANCO WILL HOLD HIS REGULAR WEDNESDAY AUDIENCE FOR CIVILIANS THIS WEEK.

25X1

25X1

DIA

FRANCO SUFFERED A SLIGHT CARDIAC ARREST ON OCTOBER 16, BUT IS GIVEN A 98 PERCENT CHANCE OF RECOVERY. THE FRANCO HAS A SLIGHT CASE OF INFLUENZA, SUFFERED SOME HEART DAMAGE, BUT THIS WAS INSUFFICIENT TO CAUSE HIS HOSPITALIZATION. THE CHANCES OF A MORE SERIOUS ATTACK IN THE NEAR FUTURE ARE INCREASED BY THIS EPISODE.

25X1

25X1

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THE WASHINGTON STAR

YOU ARE PICTURED ON PAGE ONE ARRIVING AT A BANQUET GIVEN IN OUR HONOR IN PEKING SUNDAY NIGHT ACCOMPANIED BY CHINESE VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING.

HENRY BRADSHAW REPORTS THAT IN THE SECOND OF TWO ARTICLES, WITH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY MASSING TROOPS AROUND SAI- GON ON LATE LAST APRIL, THE U.S. DID NOT KNOW WHETHER TO EXPECT THE CITY TO BE OVERRUN MILITARILY -- FORCING AN EMERGENCY HELICOPTER EVACUATION OF REMAINING AMERICANS -- OR AN IMPOSED BUT PEACEFUL ENDING THAT WOULD ESTABLISH COMMUNIST PREDOMINANCE WHILE PERMITTING AN ORDERLY U.S. WITHDRAWAL. (A-1)

JOHN DORNBERG WRITES THAT WHEN PEKING ACCUSES MOSCOW OF USING THE SAME TACTICS AS HITLER AND THE SOVIETS CALL THE CHINESE AGENTS OF REACTIONARY IMPERIALIST CIRCLES, "RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNIST SUPERPOWERS ARE OBVIOUSLY AT LOW EBB. IN ADDITION TO THE VERBAL SLUGFESTS THERE ARE OTHER INDICATORS OF THE TRUE STATE OF SINO-SOVIET AFFAIRS WHICH, IN THE OPINION OF OBSERVERS, ARE NOW WORSE THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE CHINESE AND SOVIET FORCES FOUGHT A MINI-WAR ON THE USSURI RIVER BORDER." (A-4)

THE LEAD EDITORIAL SAYS THAT WHEN PRESIDENT FORD MEETS NEXT MONTH IN FRANCE WITH THE LEADERS OF FIVE OR SIX OTHER WESTERN

IN 1046944

PAGE 02

TOR:293/22:25Z

DTG:1202235Z OCT 75



INDUSTRIAL NATIONS, IT WILL BE TO PAY HIGH HONOR TO AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS NOT QUITE COME. THE IDEA IS TO COORDINATE ECONOMIC POLICIES AMONGSTHE INCREASINGLY INTERDEPENDENT COUNTRIES, SO THAT THEY AVOID ACTIONS HARMFUL TO EACH OTHER AND, INSTEAD, PROMOTE THE COMMON PROSPERITY. THE STAR'S GUESS IS THAT TRUE ECONOMIC COORDINATION AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL IS A LONG WAY OFF. CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION, WITHIN LIMITS, YES, BUT THE IMPOSITION OF INTERNATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS OVER THE WHOLE RANGE OF NATIONAL ECONOMICDECISIONS IS ANOTHER MATTER. ECONOMIC COORDINATION GOES AGAINST CHERISHED CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY. IT WOULD HAVE TO RECONCILE STARKLY VARYING PRACTICES, AS IN THEEXTENT OF GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY. SO THE SUMMIT WILL PRODUCE PLATITUDES ABOUT THE WESTERN NATIONS' ADVANCING TOGETHER TO NEW HEIGHTS OF ECONOMIC WELL-BEING. THE COMPLETE BLENDING OF EFFORTS TO GET THERE AWAITS ANOTHER POLITICAL AGE. (A-18)

CARL T. ROWAN WRITES THAT IN BIGTIME COLLEGE SPORTS, WHEN A SCHOOL IS CAUGHT IN A FLAGRANT RECRUITING VIOLATION, THIS IS WHAT USUALLY HAPPENS: THE SCHOOL FIRES THE OFFENDING COACH AND PRETENDS THAT THIS PURIFIES THE AIR) AND/OR THE COLLEGE IS PUT ON PROBATION, BARRED FROM LUCRATIVE TV EXPOSURE AND BOWL GAMES, AND SPORTSWRITERS ARE ENCOURAGED TO ACT AS THOUGH THE SCHOOL DOESN'T EXIST. THE CIA HAS BEEN CAUGHT IN SOME VIOLATIONS THAT INVOLVE A LOT MORE THAN OVERZEALOUS RECRUITING, AND THERE IS A LOT OF CHIT-CHAT ABOUT WHICH SPORTS-ARENA PENALTY THE COUNTRY IS GOING TO DISH OUT. WELL, THEY'LL PROBABLY FIRE THE COACH AND PRETEND THIS PURIFIES THE AIR. THIS WILL BE AN OUTRAGE, BECAUSE COLBY IS NOT REMOTELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DECISIONS THAT INVOLVED THE CIA IN THE ILLEGAL OPENING OF AMERICANS' MAIL (THE GIVING OF SUPPORT TO E. HOWARD HUNT AND G. ORDANLIDDY, TWO WATERGATE VILLAIN)) THE KILLING OF PEOPLE IN RUG EXPERIMENTS) AND THE MANY SHOCKING THINGS THAT HAVE BEEN REVEALED LATELY. SO THEY'LL DUMP COLBY EVENTUALLY -- IF THEY CAN FIND A MAN OF GREAT PRESTIGE WHO CAN BE CONVINCED THAT PATRIOTISM REQUIRES HIM TO TAKE OVER THE DIRECTORSHIP. TROUBLE IS, ANY MAN WISE ENOUGH TO TAKE THE JOB UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES IS TOO WISE TO HANDLE IT. REPLACING COLBY IS NOT REMOTELY THE ANSWER TO THE CIA DILEMMA. WHAT WILL MATTER MOST, OF COURSE, IS HAVING A FEW RESIDENT AND PRESIDENTIAL AIDES WHO WILL NOT USE THE CIA IN EVIL WAYS. (A-19)

ATURDAY'S RESULTS OF COLLEGE FOOTBALL:

BOSTON COL 17, NAVY 3
HARVARD 34, CORNELL 13
DENN ST. 10, SYRACUSE 7
DUKE 10, W. VIRGINIA 14

BOSTON U 10, BUCKNELL 0
MASSACHUSETTS 23, RHODE IS. 7
PITT. 52, ARMY 20
YALE 34, COLUMBIA 7

IN 1846944

PAGE 03

TOR:293/22:25Z

DTG:202235Z OCT 75

***** ~~TOP SECRET~~ ***** S COPY



ALABAMA 36, TENNESSEE 7
DUKE 25, CLEMSON 21
GEORGIA 47, VANDERBILT 3
MARYLAND 27, WAKE FOREST 6
N. CAROLINA 35, MISSISSIPPI 29
IOWA 26, INDIANA 18
MICHIGAN 69, NORTHWESTERN 6
NEBRASKA 28, OKLAHOMA ST. 28
OKLAHOMA 25, KANSAS ST. 3
TEXAS A&M 14, TCU 6
CALIFORNIA 31, OREGON ST. 24
NOTRE DAME 31, AIR FORCE 38

AUBURN 31, GEORGIA TECH 27
FURMAN 21, HOLY CROSS 14
LSU 17, KENTUCKY 14
N. C. STATE 21, N. C. 28
VIRGINIA TECH 24, VIRGINIA 17
KANSAS 21, IOWA ST. 18
MICHIGAN ST. 38, MINNESOTA 15
OHIO ST. 56, WISCONSIN 8
TEXAS 24, ARKANSAS 18
ARIZONA 32, TEXAS TECH 28
COLORADO 31, MISSOURI 28
SOUTHERNCAL. 17, OREGON 3

(SIXTH GAME OF WORLD SERIES POSTPONED UNTIL TUESDAY.)

HORRIBLE DICTU, THE SKINS/COLTS SCORES ARE CORRECT,
1392



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 031255

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

TITLE TOHAK 23

CREATION DATE 10/21/1975

VOLUME 2 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 035900312

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. TRIP
BRIEFING BOOKS AND CABLES OF HENRY
KISSINGER

BOX NUMBER 22

FOLDER TITLE October 19-23, 1975 - People's Republic
of China - TOHAK (2)

DATE WITHDRAWN 09/08/2010

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST CCG

64

OP IMMED
DE WTE #5955 2940024
O 210357Z OCT 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOHAK 24//

TO BREMER/BARBIAN/RODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY

~~SECRET~~ VIA BLACK PATCH WH51996

TOHAK 24

FROM: CAVANEY AND GATES (PARIS 100)
TO: THE WHITE HOUSE, EYES ONLY GENERAL SCOWCROFT AND JERRY JONES.
SUBJECT: ECONOMIC SUMMIT

1. UPON ARRIVAL, DCM PROVIDED US WITH ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUMMIT. FRENCH APPEAR VERY LOCKED IN TO DECISION TO HOST CONFERENCE AT CHATEAU RAMBOUILLET, 53 KILO-METERS FROM PARIS. THEY VIEW MEETING AS A SEMINAR AND APPARENTLY WISH TO ISOLATE LEADERS FROM THEIR MINISTERS AND STAFF TO EXTENT POSSIBLE. FRENCH WANT ONLY LEADERS AND THEIR PERSONAL ENTOURAGES TO STAY AT CHATEAU, WITH MINISTERS AND VIRTUALLY ALL SUPPORT STAFF QUARTERED IN PARIS. AT CHATEAU, US APPARENTLY TO BE OFFERED SITTING ROOM AND BEDROOM FOR THE PRESIDENT, A ROOM FOR AN AIDE, THREE OR FOUR ADDITIONAL BEDROOMS FOR PERSONAL STAFF, AND ONE BEDROOM FOR AN OFFICE. US ALSO TO BE OFFERED FIVE OR SIX BEDROOMS IN A SMALL HOTEL IN VILLAGE OF RAMBOUILLET, ABOUT 200 METERS DISTANT.

WHILE WE MAY HAVE FLEXIBILITY IN ASSIGNMENT OF OUR ROOM ALLOTMENT IN RAMBOUILLET, OUR ABILITY TO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT WITH OUR OTHER PRINCIPALS IN THE CHATEAU IS VIRTUALLY NON-EXISTENT. UNLESS WE VOICE OPPOSITION FROM THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN TOMORROW'S MEETING, WE PROBABLY ARE COMMITTED TO RAMBOUILLET. DUE TO ISOLATED LOCATION OF RAMBOUILLET, ALL OTHERS WILL BE HOUSED IN PARIS. GUIDANCE REQUESTED: ARE WE TO KEEP QUIET AND SCRAMBLE TO MAKE THE BEST OF A POOR ENVIRONMENT OR ARE WE TO STATE THAT THE HOUSING/MEETING PLAN IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO US?

2. ACCORDING TO DCM, FRENCH FORESEE VERY LIMITED ACCESS, WITH PERHAPS FIFTEEN REPEAT FIFTEEN ACCESS PASSES PER NATIONAL DELEGATION (TOTAL). EVEN EXCLUDING COMMUNICATORS AND SECRET SERVICE, 15 SEEMS TOO FEW TO U. NO WORD YET ON SUBSTANTIVE SCHEDULE, BUT FRENCH APPARENTLY CONSIDERING VERY UNSTRUCTURED ATMOSPHERE, WITH MINISTERS ATTENDING DURING DAY AND RETURNING TO PARIS PRESUMABLY AFTER DINNER. (CONFERENCE ROOM/DINING ROOM SEATS ABOUT 35.)

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

SEC FLE

PSN:047260

PAGE 01

TOR:294/00:24Z

DTG:210357Z OCT 75

~~SECRET~~

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DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

NSC Memo, 3/30/06, State Dept. Guidelines

By HR NARA, Date 8/3/10



GUIDANCE REQUESTED: REGARDING SUBSTANTIVE SCHEDULE AND ARRANGEMENTS, UNLESS YOU HAVE SPECIFIC GUIDANCE, WE WILL LISTEN TO FRENCH, MAKE NO COMMITMENTS, AND LEAVE THAT TO BE WORKED OUT IN OTHER CHANNELS.

3. DCM REPORTS THAT THE FRENCH MAY BE CONSIDERING CONVENING CONFERENCE ON MORNING OF NOVEMBER 15. GUIDANCE REQUESTED: ARE WE TO HOLD TO US POSITION THAT THE PRESIDENT CAN ARRIVE NO EARLIER THAN 1100 LOCAL ON SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, WITH EARLIEST AVAILABILITY FOR MEETINGS AT 1800 LOCAL THAT EVENING? (DCM INDICATES FRENCH MAY BE FLEXIBLE ON STARTING TIME OF CONFERENCE.) ALTERNATIVE IS TO CANCEL PRESIDENT'S DOMESTIC SCHEDULE ON FRIDAY AND ARRIVE PARIS THAT EVENING TO BE PREPARED FOR BEGINNING OF ECONOMIC MEETINGS ON SATURDAY MORNING. (DCM FURTHER REPORTS THAT PRESENT FRENCH INTENTIONS ARE TO CONCLUDE THE CONFERENCE, POSSIBLY OVER LUNCH, ABOUT NOON ON MONDAY.)

4. FOR YOUR INFORMATION: FRENCH HAVE APPARENTLY NOT FOCUSED ON ANY ASPECT OF PRESS COVERAGE FOR THE CONFERENCE. ONLY MENTION BY FRENCH TO DATE HAS BEEN OF PHOTOGRAPHS AT THE BEGINNING AND END OF THE CONFERENCE. WOULD APPEAR TO BE IN US BEST INTERESTS TO OBTAIN GOOD COVERAGE ON MONDAY. IN SHORT, DO WE WANT A MEDIA EVENT FOR MONDAY? OPTIONS MAY INCLUDE:

- JOINT PRESS Q & A INVOLVING ALL DELEGATION LEADERS;
- INDIVIDUAL STATEMENTS, AS DESIRED, FOR THE PRESS FOLLOWING CONFERENCE ADJOURNMENT;

- POSSIBLE ISSUANCE OF JOINT STATEMENT OR COMMUNIQUE.

MATTER RAISED FOR INFORMATION ONLY SINCE ISOLATED LOCATION OF RAMBOUILLET WILL PRECLUDE SPONTANEOUS ACCESS TO PRESS.

5. WHILE ABOVE IS BASED ON INFORMAL EMBASSY CONTACTS WITH FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTRY, WE BELIEVE (AS DOES DCM) THAT IT REPRESENTS FAIRLY ACCURATE REFLECTION OF FRENCH VIEWS. WE ARE THE FIRST ADVANCE PARTY TO ARRIVE PARIS AND REPRESENT ONLY HEAD OF STATE OTHER THAN GISCARD. THEREFORE, OUR RESPONSES DURING PRE-ADVANCE LIKELY WILL CARRY CONSIDERABLE WEIGHT. THIS, IN TURN, MAKES GUIDANCE ON KEY QUESTIONS (SITE AND BEGINNING TIME) ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT. THEREFORE PLEASE TRY TO ADVISE OOB TUESDAY PARIS TIME ON AT LEAST SITE AND BEGINNING TIME.

6. ADDENDUM: WE ARE ADVISED BY EMBASSY THAT NO PROTOCOL OR CEREMONIAL EVENTS ARE PLANNED IN PARIS.

0750



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 031256

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

TITLE TOHAK 25

CREATION DATE 10/21/1975

VOLUME 2 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 035900312

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. TRIP
BRIEFING BOOKS AND CABLES OF HENRY
KISSINGER

BOX NUMBER 22

FOLDER TITLE October 19-23, 1975 - People's Republic
of China - TOHAK (2)

DATE WITHDRAWN 09/08/2010

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST CCG

OP IMMED
DE WTE #5959 2940144
O 210101Z OCT 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOHAK 26//

TO BREMER/BARBAN/RODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY

~~SECRET~~ SENSITIVE VIA BLACK PATCH WH52000

TOHAK 26

OCTOBER 20, 1975

TO: HENRY A. KISSINGER
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

1. THE PRESIDENT HAS STAYED IN THE RESIDENCE ALL DAY AND HAS
TRANSACTIONED NO PUBLIC BUSINESS.

2. THE SOVIET GRAIN DEAL WAS ANNOUNCED AT 4:00 P.M. TODAY AND
BRIEFED BY SEIDMAN, BUTZ, ZARB AND HINTON. WHILE I AS YET HAVE
SEEN NO TICKERS ON THE ANNOUNCEMENT, THE BRIEFING SEEMED TO GO
WELL. VIRTUALLY ALL OF THE QUESTIONS WERE DIRECTED TO BUTZ AND
ZARB. WHILE MANY OF THEM DEALT WITH LINKAGE AND LEVERAGE BETWEEN
GRAIN AND OIL, AS WELL AS THE ISSUE OF OIL PRICE, THEY WERE NOT
PARTICULARLY BELLIGERENTLY PHRASED AND I THINK THE ANSWERS
ADEQUATELY PROTECTED OUR POSITIONS.

3. I AM REPEATING TO YOU A CABLE WHICH JUST CAME IN FROM THE
ADVANCE TEAM IN PARIS FOR THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT. YOU WILL NOTE
THAT THE FRENCH APPARENTLY PLAN TO ISOLATE THE HEADS OF
GOVERNMENT FROM THEIR MINISTERS. IT DOES NOT STRIKE ME AS A
VERY FELICITOUS ARRANGEMENT, BUT I AM NOT SURE WHAT WE CAN
DO ABOUT IT. I WOULD THINK IT PREFERABLE TO HAVE ACCOMMODATIONS
FOR THE FOREIGN AND FINANCE MINISTERS WITH THE HEAD OF
GOVERNMENT. ANYTHING YOU WANT DONE ABOUT IT?

4. IN VIEW OF THE NON-ACCESSIBILITY OF THE PRESIDENT, I SENT
OUT THE CABLES TO GISCARD AND WILSON ON CANADIAN PARTICIPATION
IN THE SUMMIT. I WILL INFORM THE PRESIDENT TOMORROW

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

SEC FLE

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PAGE 01

TOR:294/01:44Z

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E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

NSC Memo, 3/30/06, State Dept. Guidelines

By HR NARA, Date 8/3/10



MORNING.

5. JOHN CONNALLY IS ACTING AS MASTER OF CEREMONIES AT THE DINNER FOR SADAT IN HOUSTON. THIS WAS CLEARED AT LEAST BY DON RUMSFELD, WHO SAID THERE WAS ABSOLUTELY NO OBJECTION TO CONNALLY. I WILL TRY TO FIND OUT FROM THE PRESIDENT IN THE MORNING WHAT IS REALLY GOING ON, BUT, AT THE MOMENT, THE VICE PRESIDENT IS NOW WONDERING WHY HE SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN THE SADAT SWING AROUND THE COUNTRY.

6. GOVERNOR ASKEW IS A LITTLE SKITTISH ABOUT HOSTING A DINNER FOR SADAT, IN VIEW OF HIS JEWISH CONSTITUENCY. HE THINKS HE CAN MANAGE IT, HOWEVER IF WE CAN ASSURE HIM THAT THERE WILL BE NO ANNOUNCEMENTS FROM FLORIDA ABOUT MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR SADAT, OR SOMETHING EQUALLY DAMAGING. I WOULD THINK THAT WE WOULD PROBABLY NOT HAVE ANY ANNOUNCEMENT FROM THE MEETINGS IN FLORIDA, BUT, AT THE MINIMUM, I THINK WE CAN REASSURE ASKEW ON THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE POINT. INCIDENTALLY, THE EGYPTIAN ADVANCE TEAM THOUGHT IT WAS A GREAT IDEA TO HAVE A BIG DINNER IN FLORIDA.

7. THE ADVANCE PEOPLE SAY THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS AGREED TO A 3:00 P.M. ARRIVAL IN PEKING (OR 4 P.M. IF YOU THINK THAT PREFERABLE.) THEY ARE RIGHT NOW SHOWING A DEPARTURE ON FRIDAY AT 8:30 P.M. FROM SHANG HAI. I PRESUME YOU WILL WISH TO REVIEW THAT IN LIGHT OF YOUR DISCUSSIONS THERE ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S ITINERARY.

8. YOU GOT GOOD TV COVERAGE ON THE EVENING NEWS TONIGHT. THERE WERE PICTURES AT THE BANQUET, AT YOUR FIRST MEETING, AND OF NANCY DOING SOME SHOPPING.

WARM REGARDS.
0524



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 031257

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram
TITLE TOHAK 27
CREATION DATE 10/20/1975
VOLUME 4 pages
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . . 035900312
COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. TRIP
BRIEFING BOOKS AND CABLES OF HENRY
KISSINGER
BOX NUMBER 22
FOLDER TITLE October 19-23, 1975 - People's Republic
of China - TOHAK (2)
DATE WITHDRAWN 09/08/2010
WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST CCG

Open w/ portions Exempt

OP IMMED
DE WTE 22958 2948320
O 210125Z OCT 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOHAK 27//

TO BREMER/BARBIAN/RODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY

~~SECRET~~ SENSITIVE VIA BLACK PATCH WH51999

with portions excerpted

TOHAK 27

AUTHORITY RAC NLF-TB-HK-15-4-3-3 9/10/04
State Review 12/19/01 NSC Guidelines
152 NLF DATE 3/4/09

OCTOBER 28, 1975

TO: BREMER, BARBIAN, RODMAN
FOR: HENRY A. KISSINGER
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

1. AT THE SRG MEETING ON THAILAND, YOU ASKED FOR AN ANALYSIS OF THAI REACTIONS WERE WE TO REQUEST TO RETAIN A SMALL COMBAT ELEMENT IN THE COUNTRY. CIA HAS PROVIDED THAT ASSESSMENT, WHICH IS PREDICTABLY NEGATIVE. THE TEXT IS AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE:

IT IS THE JUDGMENT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THAT A DIRECT US REQUEST TO RETAIN ANY US COMBAT FORCE IN THAILAND BEYOND MARCH 1976 WOULD BE REJECTED.

--THE THAI GOVERNMENT NO LONGER REGARDS THE US AS A RELIABLE GUARANTOR OF THAI SECURITY AND BELIEVES THAT THE WITHDRAWAL OF US COMBAT FORCES IS THEREFORE IN THAILAND'S BEST INTERESTS. MANY THAI--MILITARY AND CIVILIAN--BELIEVE THAT EVEN IF THERE WERE A US COMBAT PRESENCE, THE US WOULD BE UNWILLING TO USE IT TO DEFEND THAI SECURITY.

--PRIME MINISTER KHUKRIT'S PUBLIC PLEDGE LAST APRIL THAT ALL US COMBAT TROOPS AND AIRCRAFT WOULD BE WITHDRAWN FROM THAILAND BY MARCH 1976 REMAINS OFFICIAL THAI POLICY.

--THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO RUN THE POLITICAL RISK OF GOING BACK ON ITS ORIGINAL TIMETABLE FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF US COMBAT FORCES.

--PUBLIC PRESSURE TO COMPLETE THE WITHDRAWAL OF COMBAT

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

REC FILE



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Presidential Library Review of NSC and DOS Equities is Required

5. KHUKRIT'S POLITICAL RIVALS, SUCH AS DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER PRAMAN AND HIS ALLY FOREIGN MINISTER CHATCHAI, WOULD BE QUICK TO TAKE POLITICAL ADVANTAGE OF ANY SLIPPAGE IN THE MOR.

PRESENCE IS AN ISSUE THAT COULD HELP PROPEL HIM INTO THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP, HAS ALREADY COME OUT PUBLICLY AGAINST ANY US MILITARY PRESENCE BEYOND MARCH. SUCH STATEMENTS COULD REDUCE KHUKRIT'S FLEXIBILITY IN NEGOTIATING ANY KIND OF AGREEMENT ON A FUTURE US MILITARY PRESENCE IN THAILAND.

-----POSSIBLE CHANGES IN THAI VIEWS-----

6. CIRCUMSTANCES COULD ALTER THAI WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT A US COMBAT PRESENCE. A SERIOUS DETERIORATION IN THE SECURITY SITUATION ALONG THAILAND'S BORDER WITH LAOS OR CAMBODIA, FOR EXAMPLE, COULD PROMPT A SHIFT IN THAI OPINION. THE THAI COULD COME TO SEE A DETERRENT VALUE IN HAVING A US COMBAT ELEMENT REGULARLY STATIONED IN THAILAND.

7. SHORT OF SUCH A TURN OF EVENTS, THE THAI LEADERS WOULD LOOK ASKANCE AT A US REQUEST TO RETAIN A COMBAT PRESENCE IN THAILAND, VIEWING IT AS UNNECESSARILY COMPLICATING THAILAND'S POSITION AND NOT AFFORDING ANYTHING OF CONSEQUENCE IN RETURN. THERE IS A CHANCE, HOWEVER, THAT THE THAI MIGHT TAKE A LESS NEGATIVE STANCE IF A US DEMARCHE WERE NOT IN THE FORM OF A REQUEST BUT WERE COUCHED IN TERMS OF A WILLINGNESS TO RETAIN A COMBAT PRESENCE IN RESPONSE TO A THAI DESIRE FOR IT. THIS WOULD PLACE THE THAI IN A POSITION OF MAKING THE DECISION WITHOUT PUTTING THE ONUS ON THE US FOR FORCING THE MATTER.

UNQUOTE.

2. I PRESUME YOU WISH TO GO ALONG WITH THE SRG PAPER AND ACCEPT OPTION THREE, AS A MODIFICATION, HOWEVER, YOU MIGHT CONSIDER DIRECTING THAT THE SIX F-4S IN OPTION ONE BE LEFT TO THE VERY LAST WITHDRAWAL INCREMENT. IN THAT WAY, IF THERE ARE ANY DEVELOPMENTS BETWEEN NOW AND THE COMPLETION OF OUR EVACUATION, WE WOULD STILL HAVE THE FORCE IN COUNTRY RATHER THAN HAVING TO TRY TO REINSERT IT.

3. ARE YOU READY TO SIGN OFF ON THE PAPER?
 (A) YES, OPTION THREE AS IS.
 (B) OPTION THREE MODIFIED AS YOU SUGGEST.
 (C) NO.

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PAGE 03

TOR:294/83:28Z

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OP IMMED
DE WTE #5957 2940257
O 210359Z OCT 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOHAK 28//

TO BUD MCFARLANE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ VIA BLACK PATCH WH51998

TOHAK 28

OCTOBER 20, 1975

TO: BUD MCFARLANE
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

1. COULD YOU SEND ME A COPY OF THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE FOR THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP AS IT NOW STANDS.
 2. THE ADVANCE TEAM WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE ARRIVING IN PEKING EITHER NOVEMBER 3 OR 4 TO BEGIN THE PRE-ADVANCE SURVEY.
 3. WARM REGARDS.
- 0091

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E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

NSC Memo, 3/30/06, State Dept. Guidelines

By NR NARA, Date 8/3/10



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

SEC FLE

PSN:047267 PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:294/02:57Z DTG:210359Z OCT 75

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

OP IMMED
DE WTE #5960 2940405
O 210406Z OCT 75
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOHAK 29//

TO PETER RODMAN

UNCLAS VIA BLACK PATCH WH52001

TOHAK 29

MONDAY NIGHT FOOTBALL SCORE:
N.Y. GIANTS 17 - BUFFALO BILLS 14

THE WORLD SERIES WAS RAINED OUT AGAIN. THE WEATHER SHOULD IMPROVE
CONSIDERABLY AND HOPES ARE HIGH THAT THE SIXTH GAME WILL
BE PLAYED TOMMORROW.
0066



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

SEC FLE

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