# The original documents are located in Box 1, folder "Australia - Prime Minister Fraser" of the National Security Adviser's Presidential Correspondence with Foreign Leaders Collection at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL REFERRAL

Date: Jul 20, 1976 NSC log # 7603918

#### MEMORANDUM FOR:

C. Arthur Borg Executive Secretary Department of State

#### DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

To: Prime Minister Fraser

From: President

Date: July 19, 1976

Subject:

Replies to his letter re Fraser recent trip to China & Japan

ACTION	REQUESTED:			•
***************************************	Draft reply for:			dent's Signature House Staff
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Staff Secretary

CLASSIFICATION:

# THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

July 19, 1976

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Thank you for your July 2 letter describing the high points of your recent visits to Japan and China. I agree that the Basic Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Australia and Japan which you signed in Tokyo will make an important contribution to strengthening the ties between the Western democracies and Japan. Close relations between Australia, Japan and the United States are vital to peace and stability in the Pacific.

I also appreciate your insights regarding China, and I look forward to discussing them with you during your forthcoming visit to Washington.

Again, many thanks for your thoughtful letter.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Malcolm Fraser Prime Minister of Australia Canberra

Gerald R. Ford

15/7/19/76

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

SECRET -

July 19, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT:

Letter from Prime Minister Fraser on His Visits

to Japan and China

Prime Minister Fraser sent you a letter (Tab B) dated July 2 providing a brief account of some important aspects of his recent visits to Japan and China. The Prime Minister notes that in Japan he signed a Basic Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, which he believes will make a contribution to welding Japan into the world of the industrialized democracies. In Peking the Prime Minister was impressed with Premier Hua Kuo-feng. He saw Hua as self-possessed and toughminded.

The Prime Minister believes there is much to gain in further exploration with the Chinese of areas where their views could accommodate our thinking. Fraser also believes that Hua's statement to him about the Chinese Government's non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries represented an advance on previous Chinese statements. (Actually, Hua's statement seemed to be as ambiguous as usual.)

The Prime Minister notes that his Ambassador will be providing the Department of State more detailed texts of his conversations. He concludes by expressing keen anticipation of his forthcoming talks with you in Washington.

We have provided at Tab A a brief reply to the Prime Minister.

Douglas Smith, of Robert Hartmann's office, has cleared the text of the proposed letter.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

<del>SEGRET</del> - GDS

Un 3/3/04

#### **MEMORANDUM**

Yab I find 10 TT 7-19 1500 3918

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SECRET GDS

URGENT ACTION

July 12, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:

THOMAS J. BARNES

SUBJECT:

Letter to the President from Prime Minister

Fraser

Prime Minister Fraser has sent a July 2 letter (Tab B) to the President providing a brief account of some important aspects of his recent visits to Japan and China.

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President briefly outlining some of the basic points in the Prime Minister's letter and enclosing a reply (Tab A) for the President's signature.

Douglas Smith, of Robert Hartmann's office, has cleared the text of the proposed letter.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I. It would be helpful to move quickly on the letter so that Fraser will receive the reply before his July 27 visit here.



SECRET - GDS

# Pec. 1/8/76 - 10:00 AM

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 8, 1976

TO:

DOUG SMITH

FROM:

JAY TAYLOR

The attached proposed Presidential letter to the Prime Minister of Australia is forwarded for your clearance.

Please call 3044 when cleared.

July 8, 1976

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I was glad to receive your July 2 letter providing an account of some aspects of your recent visits to Japan and China. I entirely agree that the new Basic Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between Australia and Japan, which you signed while in Tokyo, will make an important contribution to strengthening the ties between the Western democracies and Japan. Close relations between Australia, Japan, and the United States are especially vital to peace and stability in the Pacific. I also appreciate your insights regarding China, and I look forward to discussing them in detail with you during your forthcoming

visit to Washington.

We have had many distinguished visits during this Bicentennial

year, but there have been none to which I have looked forward

anticipation than vote own.

Again, many thanks for your thoughtful letter.

Sincerely,

GRF

The Honorable Malcolm Fraser Prime Minister of Australia Canberra SERVICE COROLLING TO SERVICE OF S





PRIME MINISTER

CANBERRA

2 July 1976

Dear Mr President,

On the eve of my arrival back in Australia from my first visit as Prime Minister to Japan and China I thought I should give you a brief account of some important aspects of the visit.

In Japan I signed the Basic Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, which recognises the scope of the Australia-Japan relationship and sets broad guidelines for the development of co-operation between our two countries at all levels. In deciding to conclude this Treaty, the Australian Government had in mind the importance of the Treaty's assurances of close consultations across the board, and that Australia would be a reliable supplier of natural resources to Japan for Japan's self-confidence and trust in the Western democracies generally. my hope that this new relationship will make a contribution to welding Japan into the world of the industrialised democracies. I believe that this objective is broadly in accord with the policies of your own government.

During the visit to China I had a good opportunity to get some personal impressions of the new Chinese Premier. I formed the impression that he was completely assured of his own authority. There were a number of instances, particularly towards the end of the discussions, where he clearly did not seek corroboration from his Foreign Minister. He impressed me as being self-possessed, and basically a toughminded man who had the capacity to assert his command in a complex situation.



DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES, Sate lev. at 9/16/03 \_\_\_\_, NARA, DATE 3/3/04

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The visit was somewhat marred by an unfortunate construction on the purpose of the visit by a representative of a major Australian newspaper. The paper carried the story that my mission was to develop a pact between the United States, Japan, China and Australia. I issued immediate denials. I said, specifically, that there had been no discussion of a four-power pact, alliance or agreement of any kind. I confirm that to you now.

The basic purpose of my visit was to develop a keener dialogue between Australia and China. I found the Chinese very willing in areas where there was possible common ground to engage in quite developed discussion. On matters where we disagreed, the disagreements were brief and frank on both sides. I therefore conclude that there is much to be gained by exploring with China those areas where the Chinese view has some potential for accommodation with our thinking. I think this is particularly important. I found the Chinese felt somewhat neglected and ignored by other nations.

In respect of insurgency, the Premier stated that Government to Government relations would in no way be influenced by relations between parties. To quote him verbatim: "Party relations are relations between parties, and state relations are relations between states. We never interfere with the internal affairs of other countries and we also never interfere in the internal affairs of fraternal parties ... The relations between parties should not influence the relations between governments." I took the opportunity to discuss this and related statements by the Chinese Premier with President Marcos, who judged, as I did, that they represented an advance on anything that had been said previously, including to Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew.

In respect of South East Asia generally, the thrust of Premier Hua's position was that he would prefer to see it as an area free from competition between the great powers. Regarding Taiwan, the Chinese Premier appeared prepared to view it in a broad politico-strategic context, and, while still a matter of principle, not so important as the general international situation.



.../3



My Ambassador will be calling at the State Department with more detailed texts and remarks which could have significance for your interpretation of Chinese attitudes, and I would be grateful in due course to have State Department comments on them.

I now prepare for my first official visit to the United States with some keen anticipation. I am particularly grateful to have your invitation and to be your official guest. I look forward to my talks with you and Vice President Rockefeller, and with Secretaries Kissinger and Rumsfeld, when I will be able to give you a more detailed account of my impressions and the construction we place on them.

(Malcolm Fraser)

Gerald R. Ford,
President of the United States of America,
The White House,
WASHINGTON D.C.



### THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

TO:

BOB LINDER

FROM:

TRUDY FRY

The attached is sent to you for review before it is forwarded to the President.

AD.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Thank you for your July 2 letter describing the high points of your recent visits to Japan and China. I agree that the Basic Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Australia and Japan which you signed in Tokyo will make an important contribution to strengthening the ties between the Western democracies and Japan. Close relations between Australia, Japan and the United States are vital to peace and stability in the Pacific.

I also appreciate your insights regarding China, and I look forward to discussing them with you during your forthcoming visit to Washington.

Again, many thanks for your thoughtful letter.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Malcolm Fraser Prime Minister of Australia Canberra



#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

#### Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I was glad to receive your July 2 letter providing an account of some aspects of your recent visits to Japan and China. I entirely agree that the new Basic Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between Australia and Japan, which you signed while in Tokyo, will make an important contribution to strengthening the ties between the Western democracies and Japan. Close relations between Australia, Japan, and the United States are vital to peace and stability in the Pacific.

I also appreciate your insights regarding China, and I look forward to discussing them in detail with you during your forthcoming visit to Washington. We have had many distinguished visitors during this Bicentennial year, but I have been looking forward to your own visit with special pleasure and anticipation.

Again, many thanks for your thoughtful letter.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Malcolm Fraser Prime Minister of Australia Canberra

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#### **DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

Washington, D.C. 20520

November 6, 1976

#### CONFIDENTIAL

### MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Letter Concerning Meat Quotas from Australian Prime Minister Fraser to President Ford

Attached is the original of a letter concerning meat quotas from Prime Minister Fraser to President Ford. The text of the letter, provided by the Australian Embassy, was transmitted to you on October 14.

The quota for Australia for 1976 has been established at 632.2 million pounds, the level referred to by Prime Minister Fraser in the last paragraph of his letter. As this information has already been transmitted to the Government of Australia we recommend that no further action be taken.

C. Arthur Borg Executive Secretary

#### Attachment:

As stated.

SERALO A

GDS

Was 3/3/04



COMPIDENTAL

PRIME MINISTER

CANBERRA

Dear Mr President,

I have learned with concern and regret of the proclamation you have issued imposing quotas on meat imports into the United States.

My concern stems not only from the possible consequences for our direct bilateral relationship, but also from my fears of the consequences such action may have in the sphere of multi-lateral trading relationships. It will be particularly unfortunate if, at a time when the United States and Australia are both pursuing in the GATT, the Multi-Lateral Trade Negotiations and elsewhere their key objective of a greater liberalisation of world trade in agricultural products, a situation were to arise in our own bilateral trade which ran - or even appeared to run - counter to this. Such a development - which would undoubtedly be seized upon by those interests which are opposed to us in this field - could only be to our mutual detriment and to the detriment of the framework of world trade more generally.

I should therefore like to recall and affirm the message to you from my colleague, the Right Honourable J.D. Anthony, who was the Acting Prime Minister of Australia during my visit to Indonesia from which I have only a few hours ago returned.

As far as Australia's direct position is concerned, you are aware that we have invariably co-operated with the United States in arriving at voluntary restraint arrangements and in adhering to them to the letter. More recently, Australia has unilaterally ceased approval of shipments of meat to Mayaguez from 10 September 1976. This action, in respect of which we were under no legal obligation whatsoever, was taken in good faith and to assist the United States Administration in a difficult domestic situation.

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BY Man, NARA, DATE 2/2/04



Although therefore I appreciate the circumstances under which your Administration has estimated that imports would exceed the figure at which quotas would need to be imposed and the care you have taken in not reducing the total level of imports to be permitted entry into the United States this year, I must emphasise that it was not excess supplies from Australia that has resulted in your present estimate. My understanding is that, on the contrary, the increased estimate now results principally from a large rise in shipments from a country, Canada, which has refused to participate in the voluntary restraint arrangements.

Against that background I refer to the forthcoming consultations on the detailed operation of the quota system. I must say to you that the Australian Government could not accept, and the Australian people will not be able to understand, any decision which penalises, or appears to penalise, Australia for failure on the part of others. Any such discriminatory action against Australia would be incomprehensible to us and would provoke very strong reactions.

I therefore wish you to know that it is my firm view that the quantity of Australian meat to be permitted entry to the USA this year, should be in no way reduced below the level of 632.2 million pounds previously agreed between our two Governments.

Yours sincerely,

(Malcolm Fraser)

Mr Gerald R. Ford,
President of the United States
of America,
WASHINGTON
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



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#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

October 14, 1976

#### LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Letter to the President from Australian
Prime Minister Fraser

We are forwarding for the President's attention the attached letter from Prime Minister Fraser. The original was given personally by Fraser October 11 to our Deputy Chief of Mission in Canberra.

The letter is a strongly worded expression of concern and regret over the imposition of quotas on meat imports. It denies Australian responsibility for increased imports into the United States and reports that Fraser understands that, on the contrary, our increased estimate of imports now results principally from a large increase in shipments from "Canada, which has refused to participate in the voluntary restraint arrangements." The letter concludes that the previously-agreed Australian restraint allocation of 632.2 million pounds should not be reduced under a quota regime and "that the Australian government could not accept, and the Australian people will not be able to understand, any decision which penalizes, or appears to penalize, Australia for failure on the part of others."

We are currently consulting with the governments of Australia and other major exporting countries about the details of the quota program.

C. Arthur Borg
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Letter from Prime Minister Fraser.

FORD L'BRAALT

### THE WHITE HOUSE

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#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION October 14, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:

ROBERT HORMATS RH 118

SUBJECT:

Meat Imports

In connection with the announcement of import quotas on beef, Agriculture intends to issue in the next day or so a regulation concerning meat shipments through Foreign Trade Zones. As presently drafted by Agriculture, the regulation would take effect immediately and thus would apply to Australian beef shipments now being processed at Mayaguez, Puerto Rico.

State has sent a letter to Agriculture pointing out that the proposed regulation is inconsistent with the terms of our various meat restraint agreements and would have a damaging effect on our relations with Australia and other supplying countries. Jules Katz has also discussed this matter with Dick Bell, but Agriculture has thus far refused to budge. Bell contends that the Administration must make a further gesture to the domestic cattle industry and thus is pushing this regulation, which will in effect force Australia to absorb approximately 11 million pounds of beef now in Mayaguez into its overall import quota.

The Australian Government has, however, made it clear that any action taken by us to reduce its quota below the negotiated restraint level would be viewed as discriminatory and would likely provoke a strong reaction in Australia. Prime Minister Fraser wrote the President on October 11 concerning this matter (Tab B). He alluded to possible consequences for our bilateral relations if we move to cut the Australian quota. He said that ". . . the Australian Government could not accept, and the Australian people will not be able to understand, any decision which penalizes, or appears to penalize, Australia for failure on the part of others". Fraser stressed that our meat import problem stems from above-estimate shipments by Canada, which is not a party to the US voluntary restraint program.

#### TALKING POINTS

- -- We understand that you are about to issue a regulation concerning meat shipments through Foreign Trade Zones. We have been advised that the regulation, as presently drafted, would take effect immediately and thus apply to Australian beef now being processed in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico.
- -- We recognize your responsibility under the law to administer the meat import program. However, we are concerned that this regulation could have a severely adverse impact on our relations with Australia.
- -- Australian Prime Minister Fraser wrote the President on October 11 and pointed out that any action which would in effect reduce the Australian quota below restraint levels could have serious consequences for our bilateral relations. The Australians stress that our meat import problem stems from unexpectedly large shipments of beef from Canada. They assert that they have lived up to the terms of the restraint agreement and, therefore, should not be penalized for overshipments by a country which refused to restraint exports.
- -- Fraser also indicated that any effort on our part to hold Australian meat imports below agreed-upon levels would provoke a strong domestic reaction in Australia.
- -- Australia is an important US ally. Thus we hope that we can resolve this problem in a way which will not jeopardize our strong bilateral relationship.
- -- We note that in the case of sugar we did not apply the higher duty to shipments in transit and believe that a similar provision in the proposed meat import regulation would be appropriate. The regulation should apply to <u>future</u> meat shipments through Foreign Trade Zones and not be made retroactive to cover meat now being processed in Puerto Rico. This would be consistent with the language of the Curtis Agreement.
- -- We hope you will take these factors into account in drafting the regulation.

I share State's concern about this matter, particularly with respect to the possible impact on our relations with Australia. The regulation should apply prospectively not retroactively. We should not penalize Australia at this late date for taking advantage of a loophole in our legislation especially when we told the Australians officially that we had no intention of doing so. The Australians are on solid legal grounds and will hold us accountable in the GATT and elsewhere if we force them to count the recent shipment to Mayaguez under their 1976 quota.

There are some precedents for dealing with situations such as these. For example, when we recently raised the duty on sugar, we exempted shipments in transit from the higher tariff. Also, the Senate this year passed the Curtis Amendment concerning Foreign Trade Zones. The amendment would have required that only those meat shipments which entered a Foreign Trade Zone after the effective date of the act be counted as part of an individual country's quota. Although the amendment died in the House, it does give us some idea of what might be acceptable to the Congress. Domestic cattlemen supported the amendment.

I recommend that you call Acting Secretary of Agriculture Knebel and explain to him the broader policy implications of the proposed regulation and request that his Department give consideration to its modification so that it applies only to future shipments through Foreign Trade Zones. At Tab A are suggested talking points for your call to Knebel.

#### RECOMMENDATION

That you phone Knebel and discuss with him the proposed meat import regulation.

Concur: W.R. Gleysteen 💆



The following is the text of a letter to President Ford which we understand the Australian Prime Hinister was to have handed to the American Embassy in Camberra on the evening of 11 October.

"Dear Mr. President,

"I have learned with concern and regret of the proclamation you have issued imposing quotas on neat imports into the United States.

My concern stems not only from the possible consequences for our direct bilateral relationship, but also from my fears of the consequences such action may have in the sphere of multi-lateral trading relationships. It will be particularly unfortunate if, at a time when the United States and Australia are both pursuing in the GATT, the multi-lateral trade negotiations and elsewhere their key objective of a greater liberalisation of world trade in agricultural products, a situation were to arise in our own bi-lateral trade which ran - or even appeared to run - counter to Such a development - which would undoubtedly be seized upon by those interests which are opposed to us in this field - could only be to our mutual detriment and to the detriment of the framework of world trade more generally.

I should therefore like to recall and affirm the message to you from my colleague, the Right Honourable J.D. Anthony, who was the acting Prime Minister of Australia during my visit to Indonesia from which I have only a few hours ago returned.

As far as Australia's direct position is concerned, you are aware that we have invariably co-operated with the United States in arriving at voluntary restraint arrangements and in adhering to them to the letter. More recently, Australia has unilaterally ceased approval of shipments of meat to Mayaguez from 10 September 1976. This action, in respect of which we were under no legal obligation whatsoever, was taken in good faith and to assist the United States Administration in a difficult domestic situation.

Although therefore I appreciate the circumstances under which your Administration has estimated that imports would exceed the figure at which quotas would need to be imposed and the care you have taken in not reducing the total level of imports to be permitted entry into the United States this year, I must emphasise that it was not excess supplies from Australia that has resulted in your present estimate. My understanding is that, on the contrary the increased estimate now results principally from a large rise in shipments from a country, Canada, which has refused to participate in the voluntary restraint arrangements.

Against that background I refer to the forthconing consultations on the detailed operation of the quota system. I must say to you that the Australian Government could not accept, and the Australian people will not

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be able to understand, any decision which penalises, or appears to penalise, Australia for failure on the part of others. Any such discriminatory action against Australia would be incomprehensible to us and would provoke very strong reactions.

I therefore wish you to know that it is my firm view that the quantity of Australian meat to be permitted entry to the U.S.A. this year, should be in no way reduced below the level of 632.2 million pounds previously agreed between our two Governments.

Yours sincerely,

(MALCOLM FRASER)"



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