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MSGNO 2 (MIXX) WES \*02/05/80\* \*09:00\*  
ZCZC 13:56:08Z (MC)

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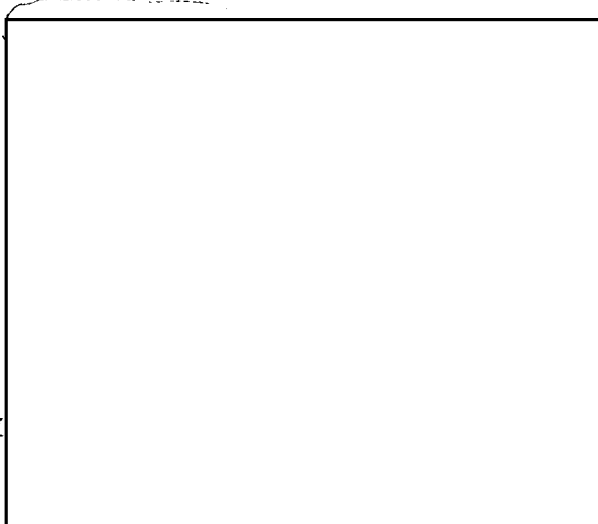
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RUFHVO/VOA MUNICH PRIORITY  
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RUFHAB/USICA/USNATO BRUSSELS PRIORITY  
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EZ2:

USINFO FOR PGM/RC - VOA/PE - PGM/PP. PASS EU. PASS PGM/FW.  
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EUR (GOODBY AND FUNSETH) AND AF/S HARE. WHITE HOUSE/NSC FOR  
BLACKWILL. DAR ES SALAAM AND LAGOS FOR PAC'S OFFICE.

LONDON MIDWEEK REVIEW SUMMARY TO FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1980.

L REVIEW OF BRITISH WEEKLIE :

THE PRESIDENT AND IRAN (STRONG CRITICISM OF AMERICAN ACTION  
AND DOUBTS ABOUT AMERICAN LEADERSHIP; AMERICA MAY DECIDE IT  
NEEDS STEADIER HANDS AT THE HELM; RESCUE BID MAY HAVE  
LESSENED IMMEDIATE DANGER OF CONFRONTATION WITH RUSSIA; AMERICAN  
MOVE MAY WAKE EUROPE UP TO DANGERS; AMERICANS HAVE CONSISTENTLY  
MISCALCULATED ON IRAN; IRAN COULDN'T HAVE PLANNED AMERICAN  
ACTION BETTER ITSELF; TALK IN WASHINGTON KEEPS TURNING TO  
WAR; AMERICA SHOULD NOT BE BLINDLY FOLLOWED).

THE PRESIDENT AND IRAN:

ECONOMIST EDIT HEADLINED "THE SHRINKING OF AMERICA."

"JIMMY CARTER CONDUCTING FOREIGN POLICY HAS ALWAYS LOOKED

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A BIT LIKE A MAN PLAYING A FRUIT MACHINE: HE WOULD PULL THE LEVER, THE MACHINE WOULD TREMBLE, ORANGES AND LEMONS WOULD WHIRR AND FLASH, AND THAT WOULD BE THAT; PERHAPS, OCCASIONALLY, A COIN WOULD TINKLE OUT, BUT USUALLY NOT. SINCE NOVEMBER 4TH LAST YEAR, WHEN THE IRANIAN MOB OVER-RAN THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN TEHRAN, THE WRENCHING OF THE LEVER HAS BECOME MORE FRENETIC, BUT THE CONSEQUENCES OF EACH WRENCH HAVE REMAINED AS UNHELPFUL TO THE PRESIDENT AS EVER. FOR THE MAN WHO PLAYS FRUIT MACHINES HAS NO CONTROL OVER THE FRUIT, EXCEPT TO SET THEM A-SPINNING. HAVING MOVED DESPAIRINGLY FROM MACHINE TO MACHINE IN SEARCH OF ONE THAT WOULD YIELD UP ITS PRIZE, MR. CARTER DECIDED LAST WEEK TO FORAKE THE FRUIT MACHINES FOR THE ROULETTE WHEEL, WHERE HE PUT ALL THAT REMAINED OF HIS CAPITAL ON RED. HIS TROUBLES WOULD HAVE BEEN OVER, HAD HE WON. HE DIDN'T.

HARD THOUGH IT IS TO BELIEVE, LAST WEEK'S DEBACLE IN THE DESERT COULD HAVE BEEN WORSE: THE AMERICAN MISSION TO LIBERATE THE HOSTAGES COULD HAVE GONE WRONG AT A LATER STAGE, POSSIBLY WHEN HUNDREDS OF IRANIANS HAD BEEN KILLED OR WOUNDED. MANY MORE OF THE WOULD-BE LIBERATORS MIGHT HAVE DIED; THEY MIGHT CERTAINLY HAVE BEEN TAKEN PRISONER. O, BY COMPARISON WITH WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN, EVENTS NOW SEEM NOT QUITE AS CRUEL AS THEY DID WHEN THE PRESIDENT MADE HIS FIRST SAD BROADCAST LAST FRIDAY MORNING. THERE IS INDEED A LARGE POTENTIAL DIVIDED IN THE BELATED SIGHT OF AN AMERICA PREPARED TO ACT MILITARILY -- PROVIDED THE LESSON NOW LEARNT IN AMERICA ITSELF IS NOT ONE OF DEFEATISM. IT IS NOT ACTION AS SUCH, BUT THIS ACTION -- AND ITS FAILURE IN IRAN THAT LEAVES THE GEOPOLITICAL LANDSCAPE LITTLE LESS DESOLATE THAN MR. CARTER'S EARLIER MEANDERINGS HAD ALREADY MADE IT.... SO FAR FROM BEING FREED THE DIPLOMATS ARE NOW DISPERSED THROUGHOUT IRAQ. THE UNITED STATES, CONQUEROR OF THE MOON AND OUTER SPACE, IS HUMILIATED. IRAN IS LESS ISOLATED IN TERMS OF WORLD OPINION, AND EVEN IN TERMS OF ISLAMIC OPINION, THAN IT WAS. OF THE MOSLEM COUNTRIES IN THE REGION, ONLY SYRIA HAD HITHERTO FOUGHT SHY OF OUTRIGHT CRITICISM OF IRAN FOR ITS SEIZURE OF THE HOSTAGES. NOW CONDEMNATION MAY BE MILDER AND SYMPATHY GREATER, FOR THIRD-WORLD COUNTRIES DO NOT LIKE TO SEE SUPERPOWER MILITARY PERATIONS IN OTHER THIRD-WORLD COUNTRIES, HOWEVER THE GREAT THE PROVOCATION AND THE JUSTIFICATION IN MORALITY OF LAW. GULF COUNTRIES, ALREADY AWARE THAT THEIR PETRODOLLARS COULD BE FROZEN BY AMERICA AS EASILY AS IRAN'S WERE LAST YEAR, HAVE NOW ALSO BEEN REMINDED OF THE VULNERABILITY OF THEIR OILFIELDS. THE SHIVER AT THE SIGHT OF A RESTORED AMERICAN WILL TO ACT WAS HEALTHY, BUT THE CARTERIAN INCOMPETENCE OF THE OPERATION HAS NOT HEIGHTENED THEIR RESPECT FOR AMERICA; MEMORIES OF THE SHAH'S DOWNFALL MUST NOW BE MINGLED IN THE MINDS OF MANY LEADERS IN THE GULF WITH MEMORIES OF TANGLED AMERICAN HELICOPTERS AND BURNT-OUT TRANSPORT AEROPLANES.

GULF STATES LESS CONFIDENT IN AMERICA ARE GULF STATES MORE READY TO CONTEMPLATE ACCOMMODATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THEY ARE ALSO GULF STATES EVEN LESS PREPARED TO LEND SUPPORT TO THE CAMP DAVID PEACE TREATY. TO DO SO IS PECKED UNPOPULAR IN THE ARAB WORLD, SO WHY SHOULD ANYONE NOW FEEL MORE LIKE STICKING HIS NEXT OUT FOR AMERICA, HOWEVER MUCH HE MIGHT LIKE TO SEE THE MIDDLE EAST DISPUTE SETTLED? EGYPT'S PRESIDENT SADAT CAN ALWAYS BE RELIED UPON TO SHOW POLITICAL COURAGE, BUT THE MORE AMERICA ACTS IN A WAY THAT DEMANDS IT OF HIM, THE MORE ISOLATED HE BECOMES AMONG HIS FELLOW ARABS AND THE MORE VULNERABLE HE GROWS TO SOME SORT OF UPHEAVAL INSIDE EGYPT ITSELF. THE FAILURE OF LAST WEEK'S MISSION HAS

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CARTER'S GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, THE CAMP DAVID  
AGREEMENTS, AND FURTHER UNSITTLED THE SECURITY OF AMERICA'S  
-- AND THE WEST'S -- SUPPLY OF OIL. (MORE) USICA LONDON

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MSGNO 13 (MIX) JES \*02/15/80\* \*14:17\*  
ZCZC 19:12:07Z (MC)

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ACTION: NONE INFO: NESA, VESA/IAC-2, DDPS-S, RF, WEN/UK, WES/SA,  
FILE, JDPN-V, PP3/NEAF, CR/E, EJ3-3, IAD/CAS-3, IAD/DSG, NE-4, NIC/AG,  
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EUR (GOODBY AND FJNSETH) AND AF/S HARE. WHITE HOUSE/NSC FOR  
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LONDON MIDWEEK REVIEW SUMMARY TO FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1980.

ADD 1....UPPICKING X X X X SUPPLY OF OIL.

AMERICA'S OTHER MAIN OBJECTIVE, CONTAINMENT OF THE SOVIET  
UNION, HAS AT THE SAME TIME BEEN SET BACK. IRAN HAS BEEN PUSHED  
CLOSER TO RUSSIA, WHICH, GODLESS AND NEIGHBOUR-INVADING THOUGH  
THE AYATOLLAH KNOWS IT TO BE, MAY YET SEEM AN ACCEPTABLE FOUL-  
WEATHER FRIEND. CERTAINLY, THE RUSSIANS MUST RECKON THAT ANY  
CHANGE OF REGIME IN TEHERAN, OR SOON, OR WHEREVER POWERS LIES IN  
THAT COUNTRY, WOULD MAKE IRAN MORE LIKELY TO FALL INTO THEIR  
LAP. AND MEANWHILE THE SPOTLIGHT OF WORLD ATTENTION HAS BEEN  
REMOVED FROM THEIR ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN AND  
FOCUSED INSTEAD ON THE WHOLLY LEGITIMATE BUT HAPLESS  
AMERICAN MISSION TO FREE THE HOSTAGES. IN MAKING A MONKEY OUT

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 OF AMERICA, THE AYATOLLAH -- WITH JIMMY CARTER HIS ACOMPLICE  
 -- HAS WIDENED THE SMILE ON THE FACE OF THE RUSSIAN BEAR.

SOME OF THE WRECKAGE ON THE FIELD OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
 PRESIDENT CARTER INHERITED. BUT SOME OF IT HE CREATED IN HIS  
 PULLING OF DISCONNECTED LEVERS OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS. AND  
 SOME -- PERHAPS THE BULK OF IT -- HE BROUGHT CRASHING DOWN WHEN  
 HIS GAMBLE FAILED IN THE DESERT LAST WEEK. IF LUCK SEEKS  
 SKILL, AS BATSHEN CLAIM, CERTAINLY ILL-LUCK JOINS HANDS IN  
 HISTORY WITH INEPTITUDE.

WHEN PRESIDENT CARTER DECIDED ON THAT GAMBLE HE HAD  
 FOUR THINGS TO GAIN: THE LIBERATION OF THE HOSTAGES, A  
 PROPAGANDA COUP FOR THE UNITED STATES, A DEMONSTRATION OF THE  
 LESSON THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT ALLOW ITSELF TO BE PUSHED  
 AROUND INDEFINITELY, AND HIS OWN RE-ELECTION AS PRESIDENT NEXT  
 AUTUMN. WHEN THE PRESIDENT CHOSE TO GAMBLE AND LOST, THE FIRST  
 TWO AIMS WERE GONE, THE LAST TWO LEFT UP IN THE AIR. THAT  
 RISKS WOULD OUTWEIGH GAINS WAS THE APPRAISAL PUT TO MR. CARTER  
 BY HIS SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. CYRUS VANCE, WHEN HE RESIGNED ON  
 THE MONDAY BEFORE THE MISSION, EVEN BEFORE HE KNEW WHAT LAY IN  
 STORE AT TABAS.

WHY THEN DID THE PRESIDENT GO AHEAD WITH IT? MR. CARTER  
 HAS BEEN GENUINELY MORE TOUCHED BY THE HOSTAGES' IMPRISONMENT  
 IN TEHRAN THAN OTHER RECENT PRESIDENTS MIGHT HAVE BEEN: THAT  
 REFLECTS WELL ON HIM AS A HUMAN BEING, BADLY ON HIM AS A PRESIDENT  
 WHO HAS CONSISTENTLY FAILED TO KEEP THE HOSTAGE-PROBLEM IN  
 PERSPECTIVE. SINCE CHRISTMAS IT HAS OCCUPIED A DISPROPORTIONATELY  
 LARGE SHARE OF HIS ADMINISTRATION'S ATTENTIONS, WHILE AFGHANIAN  
 HAS OCCUPIED A DISPROPORTIONATELY SMALL ONE. THE HOSTAGES  
 WERE NOT THE ISSUE ON WHICH AMERICA SHOULD HAVE RESOLVED NO LONGER  
 TO HAVE SAND KICKED IN ITS FACE: IRAN HAS NEVER LOOKED  
 SUSCEPTABLE TO, OR WORTHY OF, THE SORT OF MUSCLE-BACKED PRESSURES  
 THAT THE SOVIET UNION UNDERSTANDS, YET IT HAS BEEN AGAINST IRAN,  
 4-5#34 5#-, 5#3 9;335 7,89,, THAT MR. CARTER HAS WHIPPED THE  
 ALLIES INTO LINE.

ALTHOUGH ONE CAN NOW BELIEVE PRACTICALLY ANYTHING OF  
AMERICA'S PRESENT GOVERNMENT, IT IS ALMOST INCONCEIVABLE  
THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS NOT WARNED OF THE RISKS HE RAN; INDEED,  
IT IS KNOWN THAT MR. VANCE MADE HIS VIEWS CLEAR. ONE CAN ONLY  
CONCLUDE THAT MR. CARTER'S REFLECTION PROSPECTS WEIGHED MORE HEAVILY  
IN HIS MIND THAN THEY SHOULD HAVE DONE. AS EVIDENCE FOR THIS  
THEORY, THE PRESIDENT REMARKED AT A PRESS CONFERENCE ON APRIL 17TH  
THAT THE PATIENCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WAS RUNNING OUT FOR A  
PEACEFUL SOLUTION. OTHER EVIDENCE CAN BE SEEN IN THE OPINION POLLS  
WHICH HAVE RECENTLY STARTED TO SUGGEST THAT A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS  
WOULD SUPPORT THE USE OF FORCE, AS INDEED IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE  
MISSION THEY SEEM TO HAVE DONE.

MR. CARTER IS A STRONG BELIEVER IN OPINION POLLS: HE RODE  
 TO THE WHITE HOUSE ON THEIR BACK AND HAS KEPT A CLOSE WATCH  
 ON THEM EVER SINCE. THE GEORGIANS CLOSE TO MR. CARTER, WITH  
 THEIR ROOTLESS INFLUENCE ON POLICY, ARE IF ANYTHING EVER MORE  
 CONSCIOUS OF THE PRESIDENT'S POPULAR STANDING. WHEN, LAST  
 SUMMER, HE SANK TO A DISMAL LOW IN THE EYES OF THE VOTERS --  
AS REFLECTED BY THE POLLS -- HE ASKED FOR THE RESIGNATION OF MOST  
OF HIS CABINET AND DECLARED THAT AMERICA WAS AFFLICTED BY A  
NATIONAL MALAISE. NOW HE SEEMS ONCE AGAIN TO HAVE ACTION IN  
RESPONSE TO THE POLLS, AT A TIME WHEN A TRUE LEADER WOULD HAVE  
BEEN ENDEAVOURING TO TURN PUBLIC OPINION ROUND, NOT TO FOLLOW IT.  
 AMERICA MAY DECIDE IT NEEDS STEADIER HANDS THAN MR.  
 CARTER'S -- OR MR. BRZDZICKI'S, MR. VANCE'S OR SENATOR

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EDMUND MUSKIE'S -- TO TIDY UP THE TRAIL OF DEBRIS THAT LEADS  
FROM TABAS. IT WILL BE A LONG TIDYING-JP. HAVING FAILED SO  
IGNOMINIOUSLY TO RELEASE THE HOSTAGES, MR. CARTER SHOULD  
START BY RECOGNISING THAT HE IS DEALING WITH AN IRRATIONAL OLD  
MAN, SURROUNDED BY CLERICS WHO DO NOT ENDEAR THEMSELVES TO THE  
WORLD BY PICKING OVER AMERICAN SOLDIERS' CORPSES LIKE CARRION  
CROWS. BUT CALLING THE HOSTAGES PRISONERS, A NEW PUEBLO CREW,  
BY TURNING THE GLARE OF PUBLICITY AWAY FROM IRAN, MR. CARTER  
WOULD BEGIN TO ROB THE IRANIS OF THEIR HOLD OVER AMERICA.  
THAT STARTED, THE UNITED STATES COULD GET BACK TO THE BUSINESS OF  
MAKING ITSELF CREDIBLE AGAIN MILITARILY, AND COHERENT AGAIN  
DIPLOMATICALLY. TO BE MILITARY IMPLACABLE, AMERICA DOES NOT  
NEED COWBOY ESCAPADES ITS SUPERPOWER ARMED FORCES ARE NOT MADE  
FOR AND SHOULD NOT HAVE TO BE JUDGED BY; WHAT IT DOES NEED IS A  
FORCE, AND A WILLINGNESS TO USE IT, THAT CAN DETER REAL  
REGIONAL AGGRESSION OR VIOLENT CHANGE. THAT IS THE PATH TO  
REPAIRING ITS RELATIONS WITH ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES AND, MORE  
IMPORTANT, WITH THE COUNTRIES OF SOUTH-WEST ASIA AND THE MIDDLE  
EAST." (MORE) JSICA LONDON

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LONDON MIDWEEK REVIEW SUMMARY TO FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1980.

ADD 2.....UPPICKING X X X X AND THE MIDDLE EAST."

NOW MAGAZINE ARTICLE: "RETRIBUTIONS OVER THE AMERICAN FAILURE  
SEEM TO BE GROWING RATHER THAN FADING WITH THE REALISATION THAT  
THE MILITARY OPTION OF RESCUING THE HOSTAGES HAS NOW DISAPPEARED.

CYRUS VANCE, WHO RESIGNED RATHER THAN SUPPORT THE RAID, HAS  
TOLD HIS FRIENDS THAT HE FEARS PRESIDENT CARTER IS PREPARING  
NEW AND POSSIBLY DANGEROUS MOVES IN THE PERSIAN GULF.

IT IS PRECISELY THIS POSSIBILITY WHICH IS FREIGHTENING SOME  
OF AMERICA'S ALLIES. ACCORDING TO ONE OF HIS CLOSEST ASSOCIATES  
CARTER IS "OBSESSED" WITH THE HOSTAGES. AS A RESULT,  
THIS ASSOCIATE BELIEVES THAT THE PRESIDENT IS BECOMING BLIND  
TO THE WIDER CONSEQUENCES OF HIS EFFORTS TO FREE THEM. IT IS

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 PERHAPS NOT UNCONVICTED THAT A MEMBER OF THE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION WHICH VISITED THE WHITE HOUSE ON THE MORNING AFTER THE DISASTER, COULD DESCRIBE THE PRESIDENT AS "EERILY CALM, WHICH WAS VERY STRANGE FOR A MAN WHO'S BEEN UP ALL NIGHT DEALING WITH A MAJOR CRISIS."

THE FIASCO IN THE DESERT ALSO DEMONSTRATED THE DISUNITY OF CARTER'S GOVERNMENT. THE RESIGNATION OF CYRUS VANCE HAS LEFT WASHINGTON'S NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL ESTABLISHMENT IN CHAOS. HOWEVER MUCH HE MAY HAVE BEEN OVERRULED IN RECENT WEEKS, THE FORMER WALL STREET LAWYER WAS WIDELY CONSIDERED TO BE THE ADMINISTRATION'S ONE MODERATING VOICE. WHAT MADE HIS RESIGNATION EVEN MORE DEVASTATING WAS THAT THE FAILURE OF THE RESCUE MISSION HAD, PERHAPS PERMANENTLY, SET BACK ANY PEACEFUL EFFORT TO RELEASE THE HOSTAGES. THERE WAS A GROWING ANXIETY IN WASHINGTON THAT THE AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI MEANT JUST WHAT HE SAID WHEN HE DECLARED THAT THE HOSTAGES WOULD NOT BE FREED UNTIL THE PRESIDENCY CHANGED.

VANCE'S DEPARTURE ENSURES THE PARAMOUNTCY OF THE WHITE HOUSE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, WHO IS GENERALLY REGARDED AS AN IDEOLOGUE AND AN ACADEMIC, GIVEN TO BROAD CONCEPTUALISING RATHER THAN PATIENT DIPLOMACY. IT HAD BEEN CLEAR FOR SOME TIME THAT HE WAS WINNING THE STRUGGLE FOR INFLUENCE WITH VANCE. "CY WAS JUST TIRED," SAID A STATE DEPARTMENT LOYALIST -- "TIRED OF THE LONG HOURS, TIRED OF THE DEBATE, TIRED OF LOSING TO ZBIG BRZEZINSKI."

CARTER'S APPOINTMENT OF MUSKIE AS THE NEW SECRETARY OF STATE IS EXPECTED TO STEADY AMERICA'S WACILLATING DIPLOMACY. MUSKIE, HIMSELF ONCE A STRONG PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, IS A SENIOR POLITICIAN HIGHLY RESPECTED IN THE SENATE.

HE WILL NEED ALL HIS POLITICAL SKILLS TO REPAIR THE DAMAGE OF A WEEK THAT LEFT AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN DISARRAY, WITH EUROPEAN NATIONS FEARFUL OF THE EFFECTS OF PURE MILITARY ADVENTURES, AND THE STATES OF THE PERSIAN GULF, FRIENDS OF THE WEST, FEARFUL OF THE OPPROBRIUM THAT FRIENDSHIP MIGHT BRING THEM. POSSIBLY THE ONE BENEFIT TO COME FROM THE WHOLE SAD AFFAIR IS THAT CARTER HAS MADE IT PLAIN TO THE KREMLIN THAT HE IS PREPARED TO UNDERSTAKE MILITARY ACTION TO DEFEND AMERICA'S VITAL INTERESTS. IN THAT SENSE, BY AN IROVIC TWIST, THE FAILURE OF OPERATION BLUE LIGHT MIGHT FOR THE MOMENT HAVE REDUCED THE IMMEDIATE DANGERS OF A DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION... (BUT) THE FULL EFFECT OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION IN IRAN AND OF AMERICAN ATTEMPTS TO COPE WITH IT HAVE STILL TO BE FELT."

SPECTATOR COLUMNIST FERDINAND MOUNT: "LET US, IF ONLY BRIEFLY AND FOR THE SAKE OF ARGUMENT, THINK THE UNTHINKABLE: THAT THE FAILURE OF THE AMERICAN MISSION TO RESCUE THE HOSTAGES WAS NOT SUCH A BAD THING. THIS MAY NOT SEEM QUITE UNTHINKABLE: MANY PEOPLE ARE READY TO ADMIT THAT THE FIASCO MIGHT HAVE ONE OR TWO COMPENSATIONS. BUT I WANT TO CONSIDER BLUNTLY THE PROPOSITION THAT FAILURE WAS PREFERABLE TO SUCCESS, SHOCKING AND PERVERSE THOUGH THAT MAY SOUND.

FIRST, WHAT WOULD HAVE COUNTED AS SUCCESS? THE RETURN, SAFE AND SOUND, OF MOST OF THE HOSTAGES. IT IS ACCEPTED BY EXPERT OPINION ON ALL SIDES THAT IN THE RESCUE OF SO MANY PEOPLED FROM A MINED AND GUARDED COMPOUND IN THE CENTRE OF A GREAT CITY THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN CASUALTIES: DOZENS OF IRANIANS KILLED AND A DOZEN OR SO DEAD HOSTAGES. THERE WOULD ALSO HAVE BEEN AMERICAN SERVICEMEN KILLED, NO DOUBT MANY MORE THAN DIED IN THE TRAGIC COLLISION ON THE DARKLING RUNWAY. AS WE ARE DISCUSSING A MISSION WHICH IS

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NOT MILITARY, IT IS RELEVANT TO SART BY POINTING OUT THAT AFTER  
THE FAILURE ALL THE HOSTAGES ARE STILL ALIVE, AS FAR AS WE KNOW.

NOW A 'SUCCESS' OF THIS KIND WOULD INDEED HAVE IMMENSELY  
RAISED AMERICAN MORALE. IT WOULD HAVE DEMONSTRATED TO THE WORLD  
THAT BLACKMAIL USING THE LIVES OF DIPLOMATS WOULD NOT BE  
TOLERATED, JUST AS PRESIDENT FORD'S RESCUE OF THE MAYAGUEZ  
CREW DID DEMONSTRATE, EVEN IF MORE MARINES WERE KILLED THAN  
CREWMEN SAVED, THAT MERCHANT SEAMEN COULD NOT BE SEIZED WITH  
IMPUNITY. BUT THEN THIS MISSION'S FAILURE HAS SUGGESTED SOMETHING  
OF THE SAME SORT TOO: NAMELY, THAT AMERICAN PRESIDENTS WILL  
DEFY THE ADVICE OF THEIR STATE DEPARTMENT (MR. VANCE'S  
RESIGNATION WAS Eloquent TESTIMONY) AND USE FORCE TO RETRIEVE  
THEIR OWN CITIZENS. THE AMERICANS MAY NOT BE PASTMASTERS AT  
CARRYING OUT THESE APPALLINGLY DIFFICULT AND PERILOUS MISSIONS;  
BUT KIDNAPPERS, GUARDS AND ANYBODY ELSE STANDING AROUND ARE  
STILL LIABLE TO BE BLOWN TO BLAZES. IT IS THE HAVING-A-GO  
RATHER THAN THE BRINGING-THEM-SAFE-HOME THAT IS THE DETERRENT.  
(MORE) USICA LONDON

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ZCZC 19:12:07Z (MC)

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MILITARY

ACTION: NONE INFO: NESA, VESA/IAC-2, DDPS-S, RF, WEN/UK, WES/SA,  
FILE, DDPN-V, PP3/NEAF, CR/E, EUR-3, IAD/CAS-3, IAD/OSG, NE-4, NIC/AG,  
NIO/NE, NIO/WE, DSCR-2,

WES, NIA-2, WUK, WES,  
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FM USICA LONDON  
TO RUEHFO/USINFO WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
RUEADWW/WHITE HOUSE/NSC PRIORITY  
RHEGDDE/USDOE WASHDC PRIORITY  
RUEATRS/TREASURY WASHDC PRIORITY  
RUEKJCS/OSD WASHDC PRIORITY  
RUEAIIA/CIA WASHDC PRIORITY  
RUFHVO/VOA MUNICH PRIORITY  
RUDOVFA/3RD AIR FORCE MILDENHALL PRIORITY  
RUFJIS/USICA PARIS PRIORITY  
RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR WAIHINGEN GERMANY PRIORITY  
RUDORRA/USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY  
RUFJCK/USMISSION USEC PARIS PRIORITY  
RUFHNAB/USICA/USNATO BRUSSELS PRIORITY  
RUFHBSA/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY  
RUEHNS/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC

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EZ1:

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EZ2:

USINFO FOR PGM/RC - VOA/PE - PGM/PP. PASS EU. PASS PGM/FW.  
PGM/RC FOR VOA AND PASS STATE FOR S/P AND INR.  
OSD FOR ISA-ILN. JAMES FOR SDE. MILDENHALL FOR OI. PARIS FOR  
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EUR (GOODBY AND FJNSETH) AND AF/S HARE. WHITE HOUSE/NSC FOR  
BLACKWILL. DAR ES SALAAM AND LAGOS FOR PAO'S OFFICE.

LONDON MIDWEEK REVIEW SUMMARY TO FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1980.

ADD 3....UPPICKING X X X X THAT IS THE DETERRENT.

THE READINESS TO DEFEND THE PRINCIPLE OF DIPLOMATIC  
IMMUNITY, EVEN IF THE DEFENCE MAY COST THE LIVES OF DIPLOMATS,  
IS A NOBLE ONE. BUT SHELTERING BEHIND THIS HIGH PRINCIPLE,  
THERE LUCKS A VIEW OF THE WORLD WHICH IS BOTH IMPOLITIC AND  
IGNOBLE AND WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN HARMFULLY ENCOURAGED BY THE  
SUCCESS OF THE RESCUE; IT IS A VIEW WHICH CAN ONLY BE DESCRIBED  
AS 'IMPERIALISM WITHOUT THE IMPERIAL WILL' -- AND IT'S A LOSER.

SWINGING WITH ITS HABITUAL VIOLENCE FROM ONE EXTREME TO  
ANOTHER, AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY NOW SEEMS STUCK AT THE 'HARD-  
NOSED' END. TODAY, THE HUMAN-RIGHTS RHETORIC OF JIMMY CARTER'S  
EARLY MONTHS IN POWER LOOKS LIKE A BRIEF INTERLUDE IN THE

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MSGNO 12 (MIX) WES \*02/05/80\* \*14:17\*

DOMINANCE OF THE NIXON-KISSINGER RHETORIC OF 'REALISM'. THE CATCH-CLAUSES WHICH THAT HUMAN-RIGHTS PERIOD HAS LEFT ENSHRINED IN AMERICAN LAW ON FOREIGN AID ARE NOW ONLY EMBARRASSING IMPEDIMENTS TO THE DISPATCH OF BUSINESS ON THE LINES OF NAKED EXPEDIENCY. A CLEAR SIGHTED PRESIDENT, SO THE ARGUMENT RUNS, MUST DEAL WITH AND SOMETIMES SHORE UP UNPLEASANT, OFTEN CORRUPT AND REPRESSIVE REGIMES; ALAS, OR NOT ALAS, WE MAY HAVE TO CONSIDER MATERIAL INTERESTS LIKE OIL AND MINERALS BEFORE THE FREEDOMS AND NATIONALIST ASPIRATIONS OF LESSER BREEDS.

UNFORTUNATELY, WE ARE BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THAT DR. KISSINGER IS NOT AS CUNNING AS HE LOOKS -- AND DR. BRZEZINSKI DOESN'T EVEN LOOK CUNNING. FOR THIS KIND OF REALISM IS NOT ONLY NARROW; IT IS BASED ON A DANGEROUSLY STATIS PICTURE OF THE WORLD. TYRANTS SEEM TO COME AND GO, AND THE PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCE IS THAT YOUR INTEREST, ANXIETY AND SUPPORT HAS TO HOP FROM TYRANT TO TYRANT. THE SHAH IS GONE; IRAN IS 'GOING'; SO NOW THE WEIGHT OF ASSISTANCE HAS TO TURN TO THE SAUDIS AND THE GULF SHEIKHS, EVEN TO PRESIDENT ZIA OF PAKISTAN. ALWAYS YOU ARE LEFT HAVING TO DITCH YESTERDAY'S MAN. THIS SWITCHING OF BETS IS SAID TO BE FLEXIBLE, SOPHISTICATED AND PRAGMATIC; IT IS ALSO BRUTAL AND BLATANT. BY THE GROWING ALACRITY WITH WHICH IT JUMPS FROM HORSE TO HORSE, AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IS MORE AND MORE OBVIOUSLY DRIVEN BY MATERIAL GREED -- IN ITS OWN WAY JUST AS CRUDE AS KHOMEINI'S RAVINGS.

AS LONG AS SO MANY LEADING AMERICANS ARE READY TO SPEAK QUITE OPENLY OF 'GOING IN THERE AND GRABBING THE OIL' IF THE SAUDI REGIME FALLS, THEY CANNOT EXPECT TO BE TRATED OTHER THAN WITH FEAR AND HOSTILITY IN THE WHOLE REGION, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME THE RUSSIANS REMAIN QUIETLY CONFIDENT THAT NO LIKELY AMERICAN PRESIDENT WOULD ACTUALLY CARRY SUCH THREATS INTO PRACTICE.

IN ANY CASE, THE POLITICS OF RAW MATERIALS STRIKES THE LAWMAN AS A DISTINCTLY SHAKY SET OF ARGUMENTS. HOW FAR DO YOU NEED ACTUALLY TO CONTROL A SOURCE OF RAW MATERIAL OR TO BE FRIENDS WITH THOSE WHO CONTROL IT IN ORDER TO BE SURE OF ACCESS TO IT? ARE NOT MOST RARE MINERALS IN THE HANDS OF COUNTRIES WHICH COULD NOT GET FAR WITHOUT THEMSELVES HAVING ACCESS TO THE WORLD MARKET?

FAR FROM PREVIOUS IMPERIAL HUMILIATIONS HAVING SOFTENED THE BRUTAL EDGE OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, THEY HAVE HARDENED IT. THAT BEAUTIFUL BLURRING OF DEMOCRATIC SENTIMENT AND MATERIAL INTEREST, OF WHICH EISENHOWER WAS THE MASTER, HAS LONG FADED. THE GREATEST DISAPPOINTMENT ABOUT MR. CARTER'S PRESIDENCY SO FAR IS THAT THE ROBUST PATRIOTISM OF HIS GEORGIAN ORIGINS AND NAVAL EXPERIENCE HAS NEVER QUITE BLENDED WITH THE LIBERALISM OF THE NEW SOUTH TO COMBINE STRENGTH WITH SYMPATHY; HE VEERS, HE DOES NOT FUSE, ALTHOUGH HIS APPOINTMENT OF SENATOR MUSKIE TO SUCCEED MR. VANCE IS A WORTHY EFFORT TO RESTORE THAT BALANCE WHICH TYPIFIES THE BEST OF POWER-WAR U.S. FOREIGN POLICY.

IF ANIT-AMERICAN FEELING IS TO CONTINUE THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE EAST FOR SOME TIME TO COME, THEN IT IS PREFERABLE THAT IT SHOULD BE EXPRESSED BY STRONG ISLAMIC POPULIST REGIMES RATHER THAN BY SOVIET PUPPETS -- AGAIN, A REASON FOR STRENGTHENING RATHER THAN WEAKENING THE AYATOLLAHS IN IRAN.

ACCORDING TO THE NIXON-KISSINGER DOCTRINE, A REGIME OF THIS SORT CANNOT SURVIVE; DISTRUST OF POPULAR FORCES IS INHERENT IN THE NEW 'PSEUDO-REALISM'. DISORDER IS SAID TO BE THE INEVITABLE PRELUDE TO COMMUNISM. WE ARE TOLD THAT IRAN IS DOOMED TO GO COMMUNIST 'INSIDE TWO YEARS' -- 'PSEUDO-REALISTS LIKE A NICE DEFINITE TIME

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MSGNO 12 (MIXED) RES \*02/15/83\* 010:170  
DON'T KNOW HOW THEY CAN BE SURE, BECAUSE THE PRESENT REGIMES  
HAS FEW IF ANY PARALLELS.

WHAT IS CLEAR, THOUGH, HORRIBLY, EMBARRASSINGLY CLEAR, IS  
THAT THE AMERICANS DON'T GIVE A DAMN ABOUT THE IRANIANS OR ABOUT  
ISLAM; ALL THEY CARE ABOUT IS OIL AND ORDER. IN THIS CASE,  
THE AMERICANS HAVE BEEN HUMILIATED WHEN ENGAGED ON A GENUINELY  
HUMANE MISSION; BUT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A TRULY SOPHISTICATED  
REALISM, WHAT MATTERS IS THAT SUCH A HUMILIATION -- A BLOODLESS  
TRIUMPH FROM THE AYATOLLAH'S POINT OF VIEW -- CAN ONLY IMPROVE  
THE CHANCES OF THE IRANIAN REGIME'S SURVIVAL. IT IS HARD TO DENY  
THAT AN AMERICAN SUCCESS MIGHT HAVE PRECIPITATED THE CONDITIONS  
FOR A SOVIET-LEAVING REGIME. (MORE) USICA LONDON

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MSGNO 15 (MIX) WES \*02/15/80\* \*14:17\*  
ZCZC 19:12:07Z (MC)

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FILE, ODPN-V, PP3/NEAF, CR/E, EUR-3, IAD/CAS-3, IAD/OSG, NE-4, NIC/AG,  
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TO: 021446Z MAY 80

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TO RUEHFO/USINFO WASHDC IMMEDI  
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RHEGDOE/USDOE WASHDC PRIORITY  
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LONDON MIDWEEK REVIEW SUMMARY TO FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1980.

ADD 4....UPPICKING X X X SOVIET LEARNING REGIME.

THE HUMILIATION MAY ULTIMATELY MATTER LESS TO THE AMERICANS  
THEMSELVES THAN IT NOW SEEMS IT. IF THEY ARE IMPATIENT PEOPLE,  
THEY ARE ALSO PATRIOTIC; IF THEY DON'T TAKE KINDLY TO FAILURE,  
THEY ALSO HAVE SHORT MEMORIES. SNAP JUDGMENTS ARE ALWAYS LIABLE  
TO STUB THEIR TOES ON THE IMMENSE STABILITY OF THE U.S. COME  
NOVEMBER, MR. CARTER'S CHANCES OF RE-ELECTION MAY STILL HINGE ON  
INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

BUT FOR WESTERN EUROPE SO FAR THE EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN  
INVALUABLE. THE PRESENT DANGER OUGHT TO WAKE US UP NOT ONLY  
TO THE THREAT FROM THE EAST BUT TO THE PROBLEMS TO OUR WEST.

~~THIS IS NOT TO IMPLY THAT WE OUGHT TO MOVE TO ANY KIND OF~~

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MSGNO 15 (MIXX) WES \*02/05/30\* \*14:17\*  
 GAULLIST POSTURE OF DETACHMENT OR CONDESCENSION TOWARDS THE AMERICANS. RATHER THAT, WHILE SPENDING TO THE LIMIT ON DEFENCE AND STAYING GRATEFUL AND LOYAL ALLIES, WE SHOULD PUT IN MORE OF A SUPPLEMENTARY SHOVE FROM A DIFFERENT ANGLE. WE SHOULD KEEP ON RUBBING SOFT NOSES IN AFRICA AND ASIA TO MAKE UP FOR THE NEW AMERICAN BRUTALISM, JUST AS IT WAS OUR FUNCTION TO COMPENSATE IN THE OTHER DIRECTION FOR THE HUMAN-RIGHTS IDEALISM OF WOODROW WILSON AND FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT.

PERHAPS IT IS UNFITTING TO ARGUE QUITE SO FAR. THE FAILURE OF A HUMANE MISSION, HOWEVER MISERABLE OR HOPELESS, IS STILL A SPECTACLE TO BE PITIED. BUT IT REMAINS TRUE TOO THAT SUCCESS WOULD ONLY HAVE ENCOURAGED US TO DO NOTHING.

SPECTATOR ARTICLE BY TIMES INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS WRITER EDWARD MORTIMER: "IT IS CLEAR THAT THE AMERICANS HAVE MISCALCULATED THE REACTION OF THE IRANIANS AT EACH SUCCESSIVE STAGE OF THE CRISIS, BUT THERE IS NO REASON TO THINK THEY HAVE MISCALCULATED THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE RUSSIANS. AS FAR AS I KNOW, NO ONE EXCEPT ROBERT MOSS BELIEVES THAT THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION WAS ORGANISED BY THE KGB, AND THE ONLY EVIDENCE HE HAS PRODUCED IS THE FACT THAT ONE IRANIAN GENERAL WAS SHOT FOR BEING A SOVIET SPY IN 1977. THE RUSSIANS' HANDLING OF IRAN HAS BEEN EXTREMELY CAUTIOUS. EVER SINCE TRUMAN FORCED STALIN TO WITHDRAW HIS TROOPS FROM NORTHERN IRAN IN 1946 THE KREMLIN HAS IMPLICITLY AND GRUDGINGLY RECOGNISED IRAN AS AN AMERICAN SPHERE OF INFLUENCE. NO DOUBT THE PRESENT SOVIET LEADERS ARE DELIGHTED TO SEE THAT STATE OF AFFAIRS ENDED AND EVEN IF THEY (LIKE THE REST OF US) REGARD THE PRESENT SITUATION IN IRAN AS DANGEROUSLY UNPREDICTABLE, THAT WILL NOT STOP THEM DOING WHAT THEY SAFELY CAN TO EXPLOIT IT AND TO ESTABLISH THEIR OWN INFLUENCE THERE.

BUT THAT 'SAFELY' IS A CRUCIAL QUALIFICATION. THEY MUST BE WELL AWARE THAT IRAN REMAINS AN AREA WHERE THE UNITED STATES WOULD, IN EXTREMIS, BE PREPARED TO DEPLOY ITS OWN FORCES, AND LAST WEEK'S OTHERWISE DISASTROUS RESCUE ATTEMPT HAS AT LEAST THE MERIT OF REAFFIRMING THAT. THE RUSSIANS HAVE ALWAYS BACKED AWAY FROM A DIRECT CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THEIR OWN FORCES AND THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES. AND WHILE IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS TO ASSUME THAT WOULD DO THAT IF CHALLENGED DIRECTLY IN AN AREA WHERE THEIR FORCES WERE ALREADY PRESENT (SUCH AS AFGHANISTAN), IT SEEMS TO ME UNLIKELY THEY WOULD MOVE THEIR FORCES INTO IRAN EVEN (OR PERHAPS ESPECIALLY) TO FIGHT A FULL-SCALE AMERICAN INVASION OF THAT COUNTRY.

THE PURPOSE OF MASSING TROOPS ON THE AFGHAN-IRANIAN AND SOVIET-IRANIAN BORDERS WOULD, I SUGGEST, BE TO DETER SUCH AN INVASION OR AT WORST TO RESPOND TO AN AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF THE OIL-WELLS BY ESTABLISHING A SOVIET ZONE IN THE NORTH, AS DURING WORLD WAR TWO. EITHER WAY, THE RUSSIANS WOULD HAVE MORE TO GAIN, AND AT FAR LESS RISK, BY EXPLOITING POLITICALLY THE REACTION TO SUCH AN AMERICAN INVASION, BOTH IN IRAN ITSELF AND IN THE ADJACENT ARAB STATES, THEN BY OPPOSING IT DIRECTLY WITH THEIR OWN TROOPS. THE MILITARY RESISTANCE TO AMERICAN OCCUPATION WOULD BE UNDERTAKEN BY LOCAL FORCES, WITH LAVISH SOVIET AID AND, IF POSSIBLE UNDER SOVIET CONTROL, AS IN VIETNAM.

IRAN, LIKE AFGHANISTAN WOULD HAVE TO PASS POLITICALLY INTO THE SOVIET SPHERE BEFORE IT COULD DO SO MILITARILY. THE DANGER OF PRESENT AMERICAN POLICY IS THAT IT MAY BE PROMOTING THAT SEQUENCE OF EVENTS RATHER THAN PREVENTING IT."

NEW STATESMAN ARTICLE FROM BY-LINER CHRISTOPHER BOURNE IN TEHRAN: "IF THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT HAD PLANNED THE WHOLE AFFAIR, THEY WOULD NOT HAVE DONE THIS."

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MSGNO 15 (MIX) WES \*02/05/80\* \*14:17\*

FAITH IN THEMSELVES AT A TIME WHEN THEY SEEMED DETERMINED TO ALIENATE VIRTUALLY EVERY ELEMENT IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY EXCEPT THE HARDEST LINE MUSLEM FAITHFUL...THE RESULT OF THE AMERICAN RAID WAS OBVIOUSLY A HAPPY ONE FOR IRAN, BUT IT MEANS ADDED DISCOMFORT FOR THE HOSTAGES AND MAY NOT BE TO THE COUNTRY'S LONG TERM ADVANTAGE. THE HOSTAGES ARE NOW DISPERSED THROUGH VARIOUS CENTRES IN THE COUNTRY, AND FOR SIMPLY PHYSICAL REASONS WILL PROBABLY NOT LIVE IN COMFORT. THE BLATANT AMERICAN ATTEMPT TO USE ARMED FORCE TO SOLVE THE HOSTAGE PROBLEM HAS GREATLY STRENGTHENED THE HAND OF THE HARDLINE ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISTS ON THE RULING REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL WHO HAVE ALWAYS SAID THAT CARTER WAS A MURDERER WHO DID NOT UNDERSTAND REASON, AND THAT THE HOSTAGES ARE SIMPLY A BUNCH OF SPIES WHO SHOULD GO ON TRIAL AND BE PUNISHED, EVEN WITH EXECUTION IF NECESSARY. THEY WILL NOT BE TOLD WHAT HAPPENED, IN ALL PROBABILITY, BUT WILL KNOW FROM THE FACT THAT THEY HAVE BEEN MOVED OUT OF TEHRAN THAT SOMETHING OCCURRED, AND FROM THE FACT THEY ARE STILL PRISONERS THAT SOMETHING MUST HAVE GONE BADLY WRONG. THE MODERATES, INCLUDING BANI-SADR AND FOREIGN MINISTER SADEGH GHORBZADEH, WHO WANT TO RETURN THE HOSTAGES SO THEY CAN GET ON WITH THE REAL BUSINESS OF GETTING IRAN BACK ON ITS FEET, HAVE SEEN THEIR ARGUMENTS COMPLETELY UNDERCUT BY THIS LATEST CARTER FIASCO. THE ONE WILD ACTION OF AN ESSENTIALLY MODERATE MAN IN WASHINGTON HAS DONE NOTHING TO HELP THE MODERATE MEN IN TEHRAN." (MORE) USICL LONDON

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*WR*

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LONDON MIDWEEK REVIEW SUMMARY TO FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1980.

ADD 5....UPPICKING X X X MODERATE MEN IN TEHRAN."  
NEW STATESMAN ARTICLE BY AUTHOR WM. SHAWCROSS IN WASHINGTON:  
"IN WASHINGTON TODAY CONVERSATION TENDS TO BE ALARMING: IT  
OFTEN TURNS TO WAR. WILL HE, WON'T HE, CAN HE AVOID IT, DOES  
HE WISH TO DO SO?  
THE 'HE' IN QUESTION IS SOMETIMES JIMMY CARTER. SOMETIMES  
IT IS HIS NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI. A  
M  
MAN WHO SEEMS NOW TO BE REGARDED WITH ALMOST AS MUCH CONTEMPT,  
AND WITH A GOOD DEAL MORE FEAR, THAN RICHARD NIXON AT HIS NADIR.  
THAT FEAR HAS INCREASED CONSIDERABLY NOW THAT CYRUS VANCE'S  
RESTRAINING HAND HAS GONE....WHERE INDEED CAN CARTER GO FROM HERE?  
THE HOSTAGES ARE SAID TO BE DISPERSED FROM THE EMBASSY --  
A

*[Handwritten squiggle]*



MILITARY RESCUE WOULD HAVE EVEN LESS CHANCE THAN BEFORE. YET DIPLOMATIC SUCCESS IS PRESUMABLY EVEN MORE REMOTE. AND SO THE POLITICAL ATTRACTIONS OF TAKING SOME FURTHER MILITARY ACTION MAY GROW. ESPECIALLY IN THE FACE OF SUCH PROVOCATIONS AS THE DISPLAY BY THE IRANIAN CLERGY OF THE DEAD AMERICANS IN THE GROUNDS OF THE EMBASSY. AND CERTAINLY IF, AS SEEMS LIKELY, CARTER SLIPS BACK DOWN THE POLLS.

I BEGAN THIS PIECE WITH RUMOURS OF WAR. LET'S ASSUME THEY REMAIN ONLY THAT. THE FACT IS THAT THEY ARE BEING WIDELY RETAILED HERE NOW. CARTER, WHO HAS GENUINE ACHIEVEMENTS TO HIS RECORD, AND WHO DID TRY TO REVERSE THE PATTERN OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, NOW SEEMS TO BE A MIDAS IN REVERSE. EVERYTHING HE TOUCHES APPEARS TO BE DEFECTIVE, AND IT IS HARD TO HAVE ANY CONFIDENCE IN HIS FOREIGN POLICY ADVISERS. 'WITH KISSINGER'S MADMAN THEORY OF WAR THERE WAS AT LEAST A THEORY,' SAYS ONE OFFICIAL.

IT HAS NOW BECOME FASHIONABLE HERE TO COMPARE EVENTS TO THE INEXORABLE DRIFT TOWARD WAR IN 1914. HENRY KISSINGER IS ONE WHO HAS WARNED THAT WE ARE IN SUCH A PRE-WAR SITUATION. NOTHING TO THAT, ONE MIGHT THINK, FROM A MAN GIVEN TO EXTRAVAGANT AND MISLEADING HYPERBOLE. BUT ANOTHER WHO HAS EXPRESSED THE SAME FEAR IS ONE OF AMERICA'S GREATEST JOURNALISTS (AND KISSINGER'S MOST PERSISTENT CRITICS) I.F. STONE. 'A TERRIFYING CLOCK IS TICKING, AND IT MAY VERY SOON BE TOO LATE' WROTE STONE. WHEN TWO MEN OF SUCH OPPOSING VIEWS AGREE ON ANYTHING, RUMOURS ASSUME SOME SUBSTANCE."

NEW STATESMAN ARTICLE POLITICAL WRITER GODFREY HODGSON: "ONE CURRENT PROPOSITION IS THAT WHATEVER THE WISDOM OR FOLLY OF THE PRESIDENT'S ACTIONS, WE MUST STAND BY HIM OUT OF GRATITUDE FOR WHAT THE UNITED STATES HAS DONE FOR US IN THE PAST, AND OUR CONSCIOUSNESS OF WHAT WE MAY WANT FOR THE FUTURE.

CERTAINLY GRATITUDE IS APPROPRIATE. FOR FORTY YEARS NOW THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE UNDERTAKEN A LARGE SHARE OF THE BURDEN OF OUR DEFENCE, AND THERE ARE SOME, INCLUDING LABOR SYMPATHISERS, WHO WOULD LIKE THEM TO UNDERTAKE MORE.

CERTAINLY THERE ARE OBLIGATIONS OF FRIENDSHIP, REINFORCED FREQUENTLY BY PERSONAL TIES. IT IS NATURAL TO SHARE AMERICAN PRIDE WHEN THINGS GO WELL, AND SHARE THEIR FRUSTRATION WHEN MATTERS ARE OTHERWISE. (FEW WHO HAVE LIVED IN BOTH COUNTRIES WOULD DENY THAT WE IDENTIFY MORE CLOSELY WITH THE FORTUNES OF THE UNITED STATES THAN THEY IDENTIFY WITH OURS.)

BUT THE TIES OF ALLIANCE, INTEREST AND HONOUR MUST NOT FREED US FROM SAYING, FOR THE SAKE OF COMMON INTEREST, WHAT IS OBVIOUSLY TRUE.

THE TRUTH IS THAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S POLICY CANNOT BE JUSTIFIED, AND IT HAS PRODUCED A HIGHLY-DANGEROUS FIASCO...WE DO NOT WANT TO BE COMPELLED TO CHOOSE BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. THIS IS A TIME WHEN THE ALLIANCES BETWEEN COUNTRIES WHICH ARE COMMITTED, AT LEAST, TO DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE REQUIRED TO BE STRENGTHENED, AND NOT WEAKENED.

BUT IF PRESIDENTS ARE GOING TO INTERPRET THEIR POSITION AS 'LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD' TO MEAN THAT THEY MAY DO WHATEVER SUGGESTS ITSELF TO THE PRIDE AND PREJUDICE OF THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE -- AND IT WILL BE NONE OF OUR BUSINESS, EXCEPT THAT WE MUST APPROVE IT AFTERWARDS -- THEN A CHOICE WILL HAVE BEEN MADE, AND NOT IN FACT BY US. THE WESTERN ALLIANCE WILL INDEED HAVE BEEN WEAKENED, AND NOT BY US. 3

IT IS A PITY, IF NOT EXACTLY A SURPRISE, THAT MRS. THATCHER AND HER FRIENDS DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT IS GOING ON. BUT IT IS MUCH MORE OF A PITY THAT THERE ARE A GOOD MANY PEOPLE WHO SPEAK FOR THE LABOUR PARTY WHO STILL SEE THINGS IN TERMS OF UNQUESTIONING OBEEDIENCE TO WASHINGTON.

FOR THE MOMENT, AS THE OPINION POLLS SUGGEST, THE BRITISH PUBLIC MAY BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT ADVENTURES LIKE THE TEHRAN RAIL. THEY HAVE, AFTER ALL, BEEN GIVEN OVER THE YEARS MANY LECTURES UPON THE NEED TO DO SO. BUT IT WOULD BE FOOLISH TO IMAGINE THAT THE STOCK OF PRESIDENTIAL CREDIT, BUILT UP MANY YEARS AGO, WILL LAST FOR EVER.

THE FEARSOME MISJUDGMENTS OF LYNDON JOHNSON, THE GROTESQUERIES OF NIXON, THE SAD PREDICAMENT OF CARTER -- NOT TO MENTION THE PROSPECT OF THE SHALLOW DEMAGOGUE REAGAN -- SOONER OR LATER AID UP TO A CLEAR ENOUGH MESSAGE. AT THAT POINT, BRITISH ELECTORS WILL LOOK TO THEIR POLITICIANS FOR SOME MORE SUBSTANTIAL ANSWER THAN THE PLATITUDES OF THE LAST THIRTY-FIVE YEARS. AND THEY MAY NOT BE VERY FORGIVING OF THOSE WHO FIND THEMSELVES WITH NOTHING TO SAY. END ITEM. USICA LONDON

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Approved For Release 2002/05/23 : CIA-RDP81B00401R000500140043-8

WESTERN EUROPE

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NATO

Approved For Release 2002/05/23 : CIA-RDP81B00401R000500140043-8

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# OFFICE OF CURRENT OPERATIONS

## Bulletin

28 April 1980  
Item #2

*J/2*  
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*J/4*  
*Went*

(EUROPE)

(BY BARRY JAKES)

LUXEMBOURG (UPI) - WESTERN EUROPEAN LEADERS TODAY APPROVED A DECLARATION SUPPORTING PRESIDENT CARTER IN THE IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS; DENOUNCING THE SOVIET UNION FOR INVADING AFGHANISTAN AND ORDERING A STUDY OF NEW APPROACHES ON THE MIDDLE EAST.

SOURCES AT A SUMMIT MEETING OF THE NINE-NATION EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY SAID THE DECLARATION WOULD BE ISSUED AT THE END OF THE CONFERENCE LATER TODAY.

THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE OFFICIAL REACTION TO THE RESIGNATION OF SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS VANCE, BUT SOME FOREIGN MINISTERS REPORTEDLY REGRETTED THE DEPARTURE OF A MAN THEY ADMIRER FOR HIS RESTRAINT AND ABILITY.

THE NEWS CAME AS SUMMIT PARTICIPANTS STRESSED THE VALUE OF CLOSER CONSULTATION WITH THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AND EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER A FURTHER DETERIORATION IN THE IRAN CRISIS, CONFERENCE SOURCES SAID.

THERE WAS NO HINT OF CRITICISM OF THE FACT THE WESTERN ALLIES HAD NOT BEEN CONSULTED ON THE ATTEMPT TO RESCUE THE U.S. HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN.

WHATEVER THEIR PRIVATE FEELINGS ABOUT CARTER'S ACTIONS, THE SOURCES SAID, THE SUMMIT LEADERS WERE CLOSING RANKS ON THE CRISIS IN ORDER TO PRESERVE ATLANTIC UNITY.

IN THEIR STATEMENT, THEY REAFFIRMED THE DECISION TAKEN A WEEK AGO BY EEC FOREIGN MINISTERS TO IMPOSE A TRADE EMBARGO ON IRAN ON MAY 17 UNLESS DECISIVE PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE TOWARD RELEASING THE HOSTAGES.

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GISCARD: FRANCE, EC TO STAND BY U.S. ON IRAN

NC271333 PARIS AFP IN ENGLISH 1329 GMT 27 APR 80

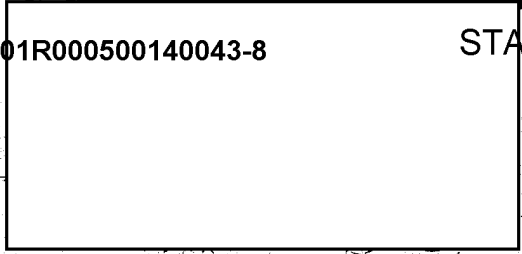
(TEXT) LUXEMBOURG, APRIL 27 (AFP)--FRANCE AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY HAVE DECIDED TO STAND BY THE UNITED STATES OVER THE IRANIAN HOSTAGE AFFAIR, FRENCH PRESIDENT VALERY GISCARD D'ESTAING SAID ON HIS ARRIVAL HERE FOR THE COMMUNITY SUMMIT.

THE FRENCH PRESIDENT DECLARED: "FRANCE HAS DECIDED TO CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS--AS HAS THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY--IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE UNITED STATES TO OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF THE AMERICAN HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN."

HE SAID THE HOLDING OF THE HOSTAGES WAS A VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL LAW.

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EXDIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 4/25/10 (STREATOR, EDWARD J.) OR-M  
TAGS: PEPR, IR, AF, UK, UR  
SUBJECT: (C) UK RESPONSE TO RESCUE ATTEMPT: LIKELY SOVIET  
REACTIONS TO MILITARY SANCTIONS

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT) FCO EE/SOVIET DEPARTMENT HEAD MALLABY  
SAID APRIL 25 THAT THE WAR SCARE IN PUBLIC OPINION DOES  
NOT EXIST WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT, BUT THERE IS REAL CONCERN  
AT THE BENEFITS THE SOVIETS ARE LIKELY TO REAP IN IRAN  
FROM U.S. MILITARY SANCTIONS.

2. THE FCO IS PREPARING A BRIEFING MINUTE FOR THE PRIME  
MINISTER WHICH WILL MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- IT IS VERY UNLIKELY THAT THE SOVIETS WILL SEEK TO BREAK  
A NAVAL BLOCKADE. RECENT INTELLIGENCE SUGGESTS THEIR

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SHIPS IN THE AREA HAVE BEEN ORDERED TO STEER EVEN CLEARER THAN USUAL.

-- IT IS ALSO UNLIKELY THEY WILL INTERVENE MILITARILY IF THE U.S. PUTS TROOPS ON THE GROUND IN IRAN, ALTHOUGH THERE MAY BE PUBLIC ASSURANCES SUGGESTING THEY WILL DO SO BEFORE THE EVENT. THEY WILL RECOGNIZE THAT THE DANGER OF ESCALATION IS ALL THE GREATER BECAUSE THE U.S. HAS SO FEW MILITARY ASSETS IN THE AREA.

-- INSTEAD, THE SOVIETS ARE LIKELY TO WRAP UP THE IRANIAN ECONOMY FOR AN EXTENDED PERIOD BY SIGNING LONG-TERM CONTRACTS GIVING THE IRANIANS PROTECTED MARKETS FOR THEIR PRODUCTS, ESPECIALLY OIL, AND GUARANTEED SUPPLIES. DESPITE TRANSPORT BOTTLENECKS, THE FCO THINKS THE SOVIETS COULD SUPPLY IRAN WITH A GREAT DEAL OVER EXISTING ROADS, AND IT CALCULATES THAT TAKING OVER IRANIAN OIL EXPORTS FOR THE SOVIET MARKET WILL PROBABLY GIVE THE USSR MORE THAN IT HAS GAINED IN A DECADE OF GROWING ECONOMIC INTERCHANGES WITH THE WEST.

-- AND, OF COURSE, THE SOVIETS WILL TRY TO CAPITALIZE ON IRANIAN FEAR AND CONFUSION TO PUSH A SUBVERSIVE EFFORT TO ENSURE THAT ANY CHANGE PRODUCES AN IRAN FRIENDLY TO THE USSR. THE BRITISH DO NOT THINK TUDER IS PARTICULARLY STRONG AT THIS POINT, BUT THE RECRUITING BASE FOR A FIFTH COLUMN WILL OBVIOUSLY GROW IN A MILITARY CONFRONTATION SITUATION.

3. WE WILL PROBABLY BE HEARING A LOT ABOUT SUEZ IN COMING DAYS AND WEEKS, HALLABY CONCLUDED. IN PART, THIS WOULD BE THE HISTORICAL RESENTMENT AT LACK OF U.S. SUPPORT IN 1956 WHICH STILL EXISTS WITHIN THE TORY PARTY. MORE IMPORTANTLY, HE SAID, IT WOULD POINT TO THE DANGER OF REPEATING THE SUEZ/HUNGARY EXPERIENCE -- GETTING THE SOVIETS OUT OF A JAM OF THEIR OWN CREATION BY UNWISE WESTERN ACTIONS ELSEWHERE -- AGAIN IN THIS GENERATION. BREGSTER

END OF MESSAGE

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DPA CITES FRG SPOKESMAN ON U.S. HOSTAGE RESCUE BID

LD251114 HAMBURG DPA IN GERMAN 1038 GMT 25 APR 80 LD

(EXCERPTS) BONN--THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WAS COMPLETELY TAKEN BY SURPRISE BY THE AMERICAN OPERATION TO FREE THE TEHRAN HOSTAGES, WHICH FAILED DURING THE NIGHT IN IRAN. GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN KLAUS BOELLING TOLD JOURNALISTS IN BONN THIS MORNING THAT FEDERAL CHANCELLOR HLEMUT SCHMIDT AND THE ENITE GOVERNMENT HAD ONLY LEARNED ABOUT THE ABORTIVE COMMANDO OPERATION THROUGH NEWS AGENCY REPORTS. IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE FIRST REPORT SCHMIDT HELD A MEETING WITH HIS CLOSEST COLLEAGUES AND FOREIGN MINISTER HANDS-DIETRICH GENSCHER.

ACCORDING TO BOELLING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ASSUMES THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN INFORMED BY WASHINGTON IF U.S. UNITS STATIONED IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN THE OPERATION. THE GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN NOTED THAT ALL ACTIVITIES CONNECTED WITH THE U.S. HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN FELL WITHIN THE SOLE COMPETENCE OF THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION.

SCHMIDT, WHO HAS REPEATEDLY ADVISED AGAINST MILITARY MEASURES IN THE IRAN CRISIS IN THE PAST, IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN ABACK BY THE REPORTS ABOUT THE AMERICAN ATTEMPT TO FREE THE HOSTAGES. THERE WERE INDICATIONS FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THAT BONN HAD EXPECTED TO BE OFFICIALLY INFORMED BY WASHINGTON THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS ABOUT THE AMERICAN OPERATION IN IRAN--AT LEAST AT THE SAME TIME AS THE PUBLIC WAS INFORMED.

BOELLING LINKED THE ELEMENT OF SURPRISE IN BONN NOT ONLY TO THE TIMING OF THE RESCUE OPERATION BUT TO THE INCIDENT AS A WHOLE.

BOELLING REFUSED TO JUDGE OR COMMENT ON THE UNITED STATES'S COMMANDO RAID AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST FIRST HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF ALL THE IMPORTANT FACTORS BEFORE MAKING A JUDGMENT.

25 APR 1145Z JU/TN

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E.O. 12065: RDS-1 04/25/90 (BENNETT, W. TAPLEY) DR-M  
 TAGS: NATO  
 SUBJECT: COUNCIL DISCUSSION OF ABORTIVE IRAN RESCUE  
 ATTEMPT.

1. (S-ENTIRE TEXT)
2. A GLUM NORTH-ATLANTIC COUNCIL OPENED ITS PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED MEETING APRIL 25 WITH A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE ABORTIVE EFFORT TO RESCUE THE US HOSTAGES IN IRAN. AMBASSADOR BENNETT READ OUT PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATEMENT. AMBASSADOR PAULS, ACTING DEAN, (FRG) IN A MOVING STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF ALL COUNCIL MEMBERS EXPRESSED DEEP REGRET AT THE LOSS OF AMERICAN LIFE AND SAID THAT AMERICA'S ALLIES FELT CLOSER TO HER NOW THAN EVER BEFORE.
3. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE PRESS WOULD BE REFERRED TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATEMENT. THE PRESS WOULD BE TOLD THAT THE COUNCIL HAD DISCUSSED THE SUBJECT AND HAD UNANIMOUSLY EXPRESSED THE ALLIANCES' COMPREHENSION AT WHAT HAD HAPPENED AND ITS SYMPATHY FOR THE LOSS OF AMERICAN

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LIVES IN THE RESCUE ATTEMPT.

4. THE SENSE OF SOLIDARITY OCCASIONED BY THE DISCUSSION WAS UNFORTUNATELY SOMEWHAT DAMPENED BY THE DANISH CHARGE'S READING OUT THE DANISH GOVERNMENT STATEMENT SEEMING TO IMPLY THAT THE US ACTION CALLED INTO QUESTION THE EC-9'S APRIL 22 DECISION ON SANCTIONS. ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL PETRIGNANI INTERVENED TO INSIST THAT THE PREVIOUS AGREEMENT OF EXPRESSIONS OF SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT FOR THE US REMAINED VALID FOR USE BY THE NATO PRESS SPOKESMAN AND SEVERAL PERMREPS SUBSEQUENTLY EXPRESSED SHOCK AT THE DANISH STATEMENT.
5. DANISH DELEGATE HERE AND SYG LUNS BY PHONE FROM COPENHAGEN HAVE JUST INFORMED US THAT DANISH GOVERNMENT DID NOT WISH TO IMPLY ANY CHANGE IN ITS POLICY SUPPORTING THE EC-9 POSITION ON SANCTIONS. BENNETT