

CIA/OCI/BRIEF 191-75  
12 DECEMBER 1975

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 191-75.4

1. //ARGENTINA: ARGENTINE OFFICERS WHO FAVOR DELAYING A MILITARY TAKEOVER WON A FRAGILE CONSENSUS AT A MEETING HELD BY ARMY CHIEF GENERAL VIDELA AND TOP ARMY COMMANDERS ON DECEMBER 5.//4

//VIDELA CALLED THE MEETING IN RESPONSE TO GROWING PRESSURE FROM OFFICERS WHO, ALONG WITH SOME CIVILIAN BUSINESSMEN, HAVE BEEN ADVOCATING THE OVERTHROW OF PRESIDENT MARIA ESTELA PERON. GENERAL RODOLFO MUJICA, HEAD OF THE SUPERIOR WAR SCHOOL, HAS EMERGED AS A LEADING SPOKESMAN OF THOSE FAVORING A COUP. HE REPORTEDLY HAS THREATENED TO RESIGN HIS COMMISSION IF THE ARMY DOES NOT OUST PERON SOON.//4

//VIDELA URGED THE OFFICERS AT THE MEETING TO POSTPONE COUP PLANS AT LEAST UNTIL FEBRUARY OR MARCH, ARGUING THAT THE NATION'S ECONOMY HAS NOT DETERIORATED ENOUGH TO MAKE MILITARY INTERVENTION POPULAR. MANY OFFICERS ALREADY SHARED HIS CONCERN OVER THE PRESENT LACK OF POPULAR SUPPORT, AND VIDELA APPARENTLY HAD LITTLE DIFFICULTY IN WINNING A DELAY. EVEN THE COUP PROPONENTS ARE LOATHE TO STRAIN MILITARY UNITY BY A PRECIPITATE MOVE, KNOWING THAT MILITARY OPINION

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IS NOT FULLY WITH THEM.//4

//THOSE WHO FAVOR AN IMMEDIATE COUP ARGUE THAT DELAY ONLY PLAYS INTO THE HANDS OF THE TERRORISTS, WHO THEY SAY, CONTINUE TO INFILTRATE THE ARMED FORCES. MOREOVER, COUP ADVOCATES FEEL THAT SINCE A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION HAS BEEN SET FOR LATE NEXT YEAR, IT IS IMPERATIVE TO MOVE NOW, BEFORE THE BALLOTING GETS SO CLOSE THAT A MILITARY TAKEOVER WOULD BE HARD TO JUSTIFY.//4

//VIDELA AND HIS SUPPORTERS, WHO INCLUDE CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF GENERAL VIOLA, CONTEND THAT THE MILITARY CAN GOVERN EFFECTIVELY ONLY AFTER THE SUBVERSIVES ARE "NEUTRALIZED." MOREOVER, VIDELA PREFERS NOT TO MARTYR PERON BY OUSTING HER BEFORE THERE IS FIRM PROOF OF WIDESPREAD, HIGH-LEVEL CORRUPTION IN HER GOVERNMENT.//4

//DESPITE THE AGREEMENT TO HOLD OFF, MILITARY INTERVENTION REMAINS A LIVE POSSIBILITY. MISSTEPS BY THE ADMINISTRATION ARE MORE LIKELY TO SPARK A COUP THAN TERRORIST PROVOCATIONS. INDEED, THE RECENT MURDER OF RETIRED GENERAL CACERES MONIE AND HIS WIFE AND SUBSEQUENT ATTACKS AGAINST OTHER HIGH-RANKING OFFICERS DO NOT SEEM TO HAVE INCREASED SUPPORT FOR A COUP. {SECRET NOFORN}//4

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2. //MEXICO: THE RECENT SEIZURE OF FOUR US SHRIMP BOATS BY THE MEXICAN NAVY SUGGESTS MEXICO IS ADOPTING A POLICY OF STRICT ENFORCEMENT OF CLAIMED TERRITORIAL WATERS.//4

//THE BOATS, SEIZED LAST WEEK, WERE THE FIRST TAKEN INTO CUSTODY BY MEXICAN AUTHORITIES SINCE MARCH. THREE WERE CHARGED ONLY PORT FEES AMOUNTING TO ABOUT \$500. THE FOURTH BOAT WAS GIVEN A MINIMUM FINE OF \$6,000-PLUS PORT COSTS-FOR RESISTING ARREST. ALTHOUGH SHRIMP CATCHES WERE CONFISCATED, THE NOMINAL FINES SUGGEST THE SEIZURES WERE WARNINGS.//4


//RECENT CRITICISM OF THE NAVY IN THE MEXICAN PRESS HAS UNDOUBTEDLY GENERATED SOME PRESSURES TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST FOREIGN FISHING BOATS IN MEXICAN WATERS. ANOTHER REASON FOR STEPPED-UP ENFORCEMENT MAY BE MEXICAN LEGISLATIVE ACTION TO ESTABLISH A 200-NM OFFSHORE ECONOMIC ZONE. WHEN IT BECOMES EFFECTIVE IN THE SPRING, THIS MEASURE WILL AFFECT US SHRIMPING IN THE GULF OF MEXICO. LAST WEEK'S ARRESTS COULD BE AN INDICATION THAT THE MEXICANS WILL NO LONGER TAKE A TOLERANT VIEW OF VIOLATIONS OF THEIR CLAIMED TERRITORIAL WATERS. THE ARRESTS WILL ALSO GIVE THE GOVERNMENT A BETTER

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BARGAINING POSITION, IF BILATERAL TALKS ARE REQUIRED. (CONFIDENTIAL  
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MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF: INFO: FILE

INDEX DISSEM BY:  
 NO INDEX  
 RETURN TO PER  
 IP FILE #

MIDDLE EAST AFRICA BRIEF 191-75.4

1. LEBANON: RADICAL LEFTISTS ON THURSDAY NIGHT CONDITIONALLY ACCEPTED PRIME MINISTER KARAMI'S LATEST CALL FOR A TRUCE. THEY WILL DECIDE WHETHER TO PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS ON THE TERMS OF A MORE DURABLE CEASE-FIRE AFTER MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER.4

THE LEFTISTS ARE DEMANDING THAT KARAMI "EXPLAIN" WHY THE GOVERNMENT USED THE ARMY IN BEIRUT'S COMMERCIAL CENTER THIS WEEK. THEY ALSO WANT AN EXPLANATION OF A SPEECH MADE BY PRESIDENT FRANJIYAH ON DECEMBER 10, IN WHICH FRANJIYAH DENOUNCED THE CONTINUING VIOLENCE IN TERMS THAT THE LEFTISTS CONSIDERED PLACED UNDUE BLAME ON THEM.4

THE DECISION TO ACCEPT THE CEASE-FIRE CAME AFTER THE LEFTISTS MET WITH LEADERS OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION. ZUHAYR MUHSIN, HEAD OF THE PLO MILITARY DEPARTMENT, TOLD NEWSMEN THAT THE PALESTINIANS HAD BEEN ABLE TO ACT AS MEDIATORS BECAUSE THEY "ARE NOT A PARTY TO THE CONFLICT."4

2 REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO LARGEST CHRISTIAN POLITICAL PARTIES, THE PHALANGISTS AND THE NATIONAL LIBERALS, HAVE SAID THAT THEY WILL

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MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR      DATE-TIME GROUP      CITE      MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:      INFO:      FILE

INDEX      DISSEM BY:  
 NO INDEX  
 RETURN TO      PER  
 IP FILES      #

RESPECT THE CEASE-FIRE. A PHALANGIST REPRESENTATIVE HAS PLEDGED THAT HIS PARTY WILL ALLOW AN OFFICIAL INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES OF THE KILLINGS LAST WEEKEND THAT SET OFF THE CURRENT ROUND OF FIGHTING.4

THIS RELATIVELY COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE HAS RESULTED IN PART FROM THE CHRISTIANS' INABILITY TO TURN THE TIDE OF BATTLE IN THE HOTEL DISTRICT. DESPITE INTERVENTION BY ARMY COMMANDOS, THE LEFTISTS APPEAR TO CONTROL TWO OF THE THREE HOTELS THAT COMMAND THE SEAFRONT BETWEEN THE CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM AREAS OF BEIRUT. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

2. SPANISH SAHARA: MOROCCO IS CONTINUING TO STRENGTHEN ITS SECURITY FORCES IN NORTHERN SPANISH SAHARA, ANTICIPATING A RAPID SPANISH WITHDRAWAL FROM THE TERRITORY.4

A SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL RECENTLY INDICATED THAT VIRTUALLY ALL SPANISH FORCES AND CIVILIANS WILL BE OUT OF THE SAHARA BY DECEMBER 20, WELL AHEAD OF THE SCHEDULED FEBRUARY DEADLINE. THE SPANISH WANT TO AVOID INVOLVEMENT IN HOSTILITIES BETWEEN MOROCCO AND THE POLISARIO FRONT OR ITS SPONSOR, ALGERIA.4

ON THURSDAY, THE FIRST MOROCCAN ARMY UNITS ARRIVED IN EL AAIUN, THE CAPITAL, AMID MUCH FANFARE FROM MOROCCAN OFFICIALS ALREADY ON

DATE:  
ORIG:  
UNIT:  
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COORDINATING OFFICERS

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

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2	5	8
3	6	9

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010093-7

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CLASSIFICATION  
SECRET NOFORN  
MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF: INFO: FILE

- INDEX . DISSEM BY:
- NO INDEX
- RETURN TO PER
- IP FILES

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OPERATIONS ARE UNDER WAY IN THE NORTHEASTERN PART OF THE TERRITORY AGAINST GUERRILLAS OF THE POLISARIO FRONT. THE GUERRILLAS ARE NOW USING MORTARS, MACHINE GUNS, AND GRENADE LAUNCHERS. ACCORDING TO SPANISH PRESS REPORTS, POLISARIO GUERRILLAS MACHINE-GUNNED A MOROCCAN POLICE CAR IN EL AAIUN TUESDAY. THEY PROBABLY WERE ALSO RESPONSIBLE FOR A PRE-DAWN RAID THURSDAY ON A MOROCCAN GARRISON OUTSIDE THE CITY.4

SCATTERED FIGHTING REPORTEDLY IS ALSO OCCURRING BETWEEN MAURITANIAN FORCES AND POLISARIO GUERRILLAS ALONG THE SOUTHERN SPANISH SAHARAN BORDER. NOUAKCHOTT HAS MOBILIZED ITS 1,500-MAN ARMY AND MOROCCAN C-130S ARE SHUTTLING ARMS AND AMMUNITION INTO THE CAPITAL.4

ALGIERS REMAINS OPPOSED TO A MOROCCAN-MAURITANIAN TAKE-OVER OF SPANISH SAHARA AND IS CONTINUING A LIMITED MILITARY BUILD-UP IN SOUTHWESTERN ALGERIA ADJACENT TO THE SAHARA. THE ALGERIAN GOVERNMENT HAS DECLARED A SAHARA SOLIDARITY WEEK AND IS STAGING DEMONSTRATIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THESE RALLIES ARE CLEARLY INTENDED TO

DATE:  
ORIG:  
UNIT:  
EXT:

RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010093-7

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1	4	7
2	5	8
3	6	9

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010093-7

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5

CLASSIFICATION  
SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR DATE-TIME GROUP CITE MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF: INFO: FILE

INDEX DISSEM BY:  
 NO INDEX  
 RETURN TO FER  
 IP FILES #

AROUSE ANTI-MOROCCAN SENTIMENT, BUT WE BELIEVE THE GOVERNMENT IS ALSO TRYING TO DEVELOP DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR INCREASED ALGERIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE POLISARIO FRONT. THE ALGERIAN MEDIA ARE HIGHLIGHTING POLISARIO CLAIMS OF MILITARY SUCCESS AGAINST MOROCCAN FORCES IN THE SAHARA.4

THE POLISARIO GUERRILLAS CANNOT DEFEAT THE MORE HEAVILY ARMED MOROCCAN ARMY, BUT WITH ALGERIAN BACKING THEY CAN PROBABLY KEEP UP TERRORIST AND SABOTAGE ATTACKS. THE AUTOMATED BELT CONVEYOR SYSTEM THAT MOVES PHOSPHATE ORE SOME 60 MILES FROM BU CRAA TO EL AAIUN IS ESPECIALLY VULNERABLE TO GUERRILLA OPERATIONS.4

DEBATE ON SPANISH SAHARA IN THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAS ENDED WITH THE ADOPTION OF TWO CONTRADICTORY RESOLUTIONS. THIS OUTCOME IS A SETBACK FOR ALGERIA, WHICH SOUGHT FORMAL UN DISAVOWAL OF THE SPANISH-MOROCCAN-MAURITANIAN AGREEMENT THAT PROVIDED FOR GIVING THE TERRITORY TO RABAT AND NOUAKCHOTT. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

3. ANGOLA: THE OFFENSIVE LAUNCHED LAST WEEK BY THE POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA AGAINST AMBRIZ, THE HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA, APPEARS

DATE:  
ORIG:  
UNIT:  
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1	4	7
2	5	8
		9

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010093-7

AGE COI ACP TOG TPE MPD DCI PAGE OF PAGES

OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

6

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

- INDEX DISSEM BY:
- NO INDEX
- RETURN TO PER
- IP FILES #

TO HAVE STALLED SOME 50 MILES SOUTH OF ITS TARGET.4

THE NATIONAL FRONT HAS BEEN DESTROYING BRIDGES AS IT FALLS BACK TO AMBRIZ AND POSITIONS FARTHER NORTH. MOREOVER, THE POPULAR MOVEMENT'S SUPPLY LINES TO LUANDA PROBABLY HAVE BEEN SLOWED BY THE ONSET OF THE RAINY SEASON, A FACTOR THAT ANNUALLY HAMPERED PORTUGUESE OPERATIONS DURING THE INSURGENCY.4

A NATIONAL UNION SPOKESMAN ANNOUNCED IN LUSAKA, ZAMBIA, LAST WEEKEND THAT UNION FORCES HAD "LAUNCHED AN OFFENSIVE" AGAINST HENRIQUE DE CARVALHO, THE POPULAR MOVEMENT'S MAJOR STRONGHOLD IN EASTERN ANGOLA. THE EXTENT OF THE FIGHTING IN THAT AREA CANNOT BE DETERMINED. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

4. RHODESIA: JOSHUA NKOMO, THE LEADER OF A MAJOR FACTION OF RHODESIAN BLACK NATIONALISTS, ANNOUNCED ON THURSDAY THAT FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH AIMED AT ACHIEVING A CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT WILL BEGIN ON FRIDAY.4

NKOMO AND SMITH LAST WEEK SIGNED A "DECLARATION OF INTENT" TO BEGIN THE FORMAL TALKS, BUT THEY HAD BEEN EXPECTED TO HOLD ANOTHER PRELIMINARY MEETING THIS WEEK TO SETTLE FINAL DETAILS.

DATE:  
ORIG:  
UNIT:  
EXT:

RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010093-7

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OUTGOING MESSAGE

1	4	7
2	5	8
		9

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010093-7

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7

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF: INFO: FILE

- INDEX DISSEM BY:
- NO INDEX
- RETURN TO PER
- IP FILES #

NKOMO'S ANNOUNCEMENT SUGGESTS THAT ALL PROCEDURAL MATTERS MAY ALREADY HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT.4

NKOMO SAID HE WOULD LEAD A 12-MAN DELEGATION TO THE TALKS, BUT HE DID NOT INDICATE WHETHER REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER NATIONALIST FACTIONS WILL BE INCLUDED. THE DELEGATION ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL NOT INCLUDE NKOMO'S MOST PROMINENT RIVALS, NDABANINGI SITHOLE AND BISHOP MUZOREWA, WHO HAVE DENOUNCED FROM EXILE THE SMITH-NKOMO MEETINGS.4

SETTLEMENT TALKS WILL BE PROLONGED AND DIFFICULT, AND ULTIMATE SUCCESS IS FAR FROM ASSURED. IN ANY EVENT, SMITH CAN BE EXPECTED TO EMPLOY TACTICS AIMED AT AVOIDING A FINAL SETTLEMENT FOR AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET.H

DATE:  
ORIG:  
UNIT:  
EXT:

RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010093-7

IMPDET

CL BY:

2	5	8
3	6	9

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CLASSIFICATION  
SECRET NOFORN  
MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF: INFO: FILE

- INDEX DISSEM BY:
- NO INDEX
- RETURN TO PER
- IF FILES #

EUROPEAN BRIEF 191-75.4

1. SPAIN: THE NEW SPANISH CABINET, WHICH IS TO BE SWORN IN FRIDAY OR SATURDAY, PROMISES A BREAK WITH THE PAST. IT IS LIBERAL IN SPANISH TERMS, AS KING JUAN CARLOS AND PRIME MINISTER ARIAS TRY TO TAKE SOME OF THE WIND OUT OF THE OPPOSITION'S SAILS.4

MANUEL FRAGA IRIBARNE, THE NEW INTERIOR MINISTER, AND JOSE MARIA DE AREILZA, THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER, FAVOR AN EARLY AND FAIRLY EXTENSIVE LIBERALIZATION OF THE SPANISH POLITICAL SYSTEM. MOST OF THE OTHER POSTS ARE FILLED BY MEN WHO FAVOR GRADUAL, BUT SIGNIFICANT, CHANGE. THE NEW JUSTICE MINISTER, FORMER AMBASSADOR TO THE VATICAN ANTONIO GARRIGUES, FOR EXAMPLE, MAY INTERPRET THE KING'S CONTROVERSIAL PARDON LIBERALLY ENOUGH TO FREE MANY OF THE REMAINING POLITICAL PRISONERS-AN EMOTIONAL ISSUE FOR THE LEFT.4

LIEUTENANT GENERAL SANTIAGO DIAZ DE MENDIVIL WAS NAMED DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND COORDINATOR OF DEFENSE AFFAIRS. HE IS ONE OF THE LESS CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS OF THE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND.4

THE NEW MINISTER OF THE GOVERNMENT'S LABOR ORGANIZATION, RODOLFO MARTIN VILLA, AND THE NEW MINISTER OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S

DATE:  
ORIG:  
UNIT:  
EXT:

RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010093-7

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PAGE OF PAGES

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3

CLASSIFICATION  
SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR      DATE-TIME GROUP      CITE      MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:      INFO:      FILE

- INDEX      DISSEM BY:
- NO INDEX
- RETURN TO      PER
- IN FILES      #

OFFICE, ALFONSO OSSORIO, ARE ALSO MEN WHO FAVOR GRADUAL DEMOCRATIZATION. INDEED, THE ENTIRE CABINET LIST PROVIDES SCANT COMFORT TO DIE-HARDS ON THE RIGHT. LEFTISTS ARE UNLIKELY TO GREET THE NEW GOVERNMENT WITH ANY PUBLIC ENTHUSIASM, BUT THEY MAY BE PRIVATELY ENCOURAGED BY A CABINET THAT IS AS LIBERAL AS THEY COULD HAVE REALISTICALLY HOPED FOR.

THE CABINET WILL HAVE TO MOVE QUICKLY TO DEAL WITH DEMONSTRATIONS AND STRIKES ORGANIZED BY THE LEFT. THOUSANDS OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS STRUCK ON THURSDAY AS LABOR ACTION SPREAD FROM MADRID TO OTHER INDUSTRIAL AREAS, INCLUDING BARCELONA, THE NORTHERN BASQUE COUNTRY, AND THE ASTURIAS COAL MINES. THE TWO PRINCIPAL THEMES OF THE STRIKERS HAVE BEEN POLITICAL AMNESTY AND THE WAGE FREEZE. THE STRIKES SO FAR HAVE FAILED TO PARALYZE THE CONSTRUCTION AND METAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIES-BODING ILL FOR THE COMMUNISTS' PLANS TO ORGANIZE A NATIONWIDE GENERAL STRIKE EARLY NEXT MONTH. {CONFIDENTIAL}

2. PORTUGAL: FOREIGN MINISTER MELO ANTUNES, A KEY MEMBER OF PORTUGAL'S REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL, HAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE MILITARY IS

DATE:  
ORIG:  
UNIT:  
EXT:

RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION

1				
2				
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OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

PAGE 4 OF 4 PAGES

CLASSIFICATION  
SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR      DATE-TIME GROUP      CITE      MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:      INFO:      FILE

- INDEX      DISSEM BY:
- NO INDEX
- RETURN TO      PER
- IP FILE      #

PREPARED TO ALLOW CIVILIANS A GREATER ROLE IN RUNNING THE COUNTRY, BUT HE RULED OUT AN EARLY RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE.4

SPEAKING AT A PRESS CONFERENCE ON TUESDAY, ANTUNES CONCEDED THAT THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT-WHICH HAS DOMINATED PORTUGAL FOR THE PAST 20 MONTHS- MAY HAVE TO SURRENDER ITS ROLE AS THE VANGUARD OF THE REVOLUTION. HE CONFIRMED THAT A REVISION OF THE PACT SIGNED WITH THE POLITICAL PARTIES LAST SPRING IS UNDER WAY, BUT HE STRESSED THAT A PRECIPITATE WITHDRAWAL BY THE MILITARY COULD ENDANGER ITS PROGRAM FOR LEADING THE COUNTRY TO SOCIALISM. ANTUNES, WHO HAS POLITICAL AMBITIONS OF HIS OWN, WAS RESPONDING TO RECENT DEMANDS BY MILITARY AND CIVILIAN LEADERS THAT THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT RELINQUISH POWER AND "RETURN TO THE BARRACKS."4

AMONG THE OFFICERS PUSHING FOR THE MILITARY TO WITHDRAW FROM POLITICS ARE A NUMBER OF RESPECTED PROFESSIONAL SOLDIERS WHO BELIEVE THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO DECIDE WHETHER THEY WANT SOCIALISM. ALTHOUGH THEIR NUMBER AND INFLUENCE ARE NOT KNOWN, SEVERAL OF THE OFFICERS ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN PUTTING DOWN THE LEFTIST MILITARY REBELLION OF NOVEMBER 25-26.

DATE:  
ORIG:  
UNIT:  
EXT:

RELEASING OFFICER      COORDINATING OFFICERS      AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

AGE

PAGE OF PAGES

OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

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CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

- INDEX DISSEM BY:
- NO INDEX
- RETURN TO PER
- IF FILES =

THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT THE STRENGTH OF THE GROUP IS GROWING AND THAT IT MAY EXERT INCREASING PRESSURE UPON THE ANTUNES FACTION TO CHANGE BOTH ITS GRADUALIST APPROACH TO RETURNING POWER AND ITS ATTACHMENT TO SOCIALISM AS AN UNALTERABLE GOAL. {CONFIDENTIAL}

3. EASTERN EUROPE: GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV, FIVE OF HIS EAST EUROPEAN COUNTERPARTS, AND MONGOLIAN PARTY LEADER TSEDENBAL--ALL OF WHOM WERE ATTENDING THY POLISH CONGRESS--HELD A SHORT "SUMMIT" MEETING IN WARSAW ON DECEMBER 9. ROMANIA, WHICH SENT A SECOND-LEVEL DELEGATION TO THE CONGRESS, WAS NOT REPRESENTED.

A SHORT COMMUNIQUE RELEASED BY TASS SAID ONLY THAT THE PARTICIPANTS GAVE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO WAYS TO IMPLEMENT THE EUROPEAN SECURITY ACCORD AND THAT DISARMAMENT MEASURES MUST ACCOMPANY POLITICAL RELAXATION. DISCUSSION MAY HAVE FOCUSED ON BREZHNEV'S PROPOSAL, PUBLICLY AIRED THE SAME DAY, FOR PAN-EUROPEAN MEETINGS TO BE HELD ON SUCH PROBLEMS AS THE ENVIRONMENT AND ENERGY.

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 ORIG:  
 UNIT:  
 EXT:

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COORDINATING OFFICERS

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

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2	5	8

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CLASSIFICATION  
SECRET NOFORN  
MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF: INFO: FILE

INDEX DISSEM BY:  
 NO INDEX  
 RETURN TO PER  
 FILES #

THE LEADERS ALSO "EXCHANGED OPINIONS" ON THE PROBLEMS OF FURTHER COOPERATION BETWEEN THEIR COUNTRIES--LANGUAGE THAT SUGGESTS A VARIETY OF PROPOSALS AND VIEWPOINTS WERE AIRED.4

MOSCOW MAY HAVE WANTED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF CEAUSESCU'S ABSENCE BY DISCUSSING INFORMALLY WITH ITS LOYALIST ALLIES SUCH SENSITIVE ISSUES AS PREPARATIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE, POLEMICS, WITH CHINA, AND CEMA INTEGRATION. ROMANIA HOLDS DISSENTING POSITIONS ON ALL THESE ISSUES. CONVENING THE MEETING WITHOUT CEAUSESCU UNDERSCORES ROMANIAN ISOLATION AND MAY PROVOKE UNEASINESS IN BUCHAREST.4

IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER THIS MEETING RULES OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A CEMA SUMMIT IN THE NEAR FUTURE. AN ECONOMIC SUMMIT HAD BEEN EXPECTED BEFORE YEAR'S END, BUT RECENT REPORTING SUGGESTS THAT IT HAS BEEN PUSHED BACK UNTIL NEXT YEAR. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

4. CZECHOSLOVAK-YUGOSLAVIA: ECONOMIC RELATIONS WERE

DATE:  
ORIG:  
UNIT:  
EXT:

RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION

CL BY:

2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

OMF

PAGE OF PAGES

7

CLASSIFICATION  
SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR      DATE-TIME GROUP      CITE      MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:      INFO:      FILE

INDEX      DISSEM BY:  
 NO INDEX  
 RETURN TO      PER  
 IP FILES      #

THE FOCAL POINT OF CZECHOSLOVAK PREMIER STROUGAL'S THREE-DAY VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA, WHICH ENDED ON WEDNESDAY.4

A FIVE-YEAR [1976-80] TRADE AGREEMENT AND A TRADE PROTOCOL FOR 1976 WERE SIGNED. THE LONG-TERM AGREEMENT CALLS FOR A DOUBLING OF THE PRESENT TRADE LEVEL TO \$4.3 BILLION. METALLURGICAL AND AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION, THE TRANSPORT OF SOVIET NATURAL GAS FOR YUGOSLAVIA ACROSS CZECHOSLOVAK TERRITORY, THE PAN ADRIA PIPELINE, AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION BEYOND 1980 APPARENTLY WERE ALSO DISCUSSED.4

IN THE POLITICAL REALM, WHERE THERE ARE FAR FEWER POSSIBILITIES FOR AGREEMENT, THE TWO SIDES "EXCHANGED VIEWS" ON "TOPICAL QUESTIONS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS." CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND YUGOSLAVIA ARE ON OPPOSITE SIDES IN THE DEADLOCKED PREPARATIONS FOR A EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE, AND PRAGUE IS VIEWED BY BELGRADE AS A MAJOR SUPPORT CENTER FOR THE YUGOSLAV COMINFORMISTS. MOREOVER, THE BASIC TENETS OF CZECHO-

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8

CLASSIFICATION  
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MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR DATE-TIME GROUP CITE MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF: INFO: FILE

- INDEX DISSEM BY:
- NO INDEX
- RETURN TO PER
- IF FILES #

SLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY--PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM  
 AND A COORDINATED BLOC APPROACH--ARE ANATHEMA TO BEL-  
 GRADE.Y

THE YUGOSLAVS MAY HAVE COMPLAINED TO STROUGAL  
 ABOUT CZECHOSLOVAK PRESS TREATMENT OF THEIR COUNTRY.  
 PRAGUE'S REPEATED EMPHASIS ON THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET  
 UNION IN THE LIBERATION OF YUGOSLAVIA HAS PERSIST-  
 ENTLY RANKLED BELGRADE.Y

STROUGAL PROBABLY PUSHED FOR A TITO VISIT TO  
 PRAGUE. ALTHOUGH PARTY CHIEF HUSAK VISITED BELGRADE  
 IN 1973 AND YUGOSLAV OFFICIALS HAVE STATED THAT THE  
 ILL WILL OF THE POST-INVASION PERIOD HAS DISSIPATED,  
 THE CZECHOSLOVAKS HAVE SOUGHT A TITO VISIT AS THE  
 DECISIVE SIGN THAT RELATIONS HAVE NORMALIZED.

STROUGAL, WHO WAS RECEIVED BY THE MARSHAL, SAID IN  
 AN INTERVIEW AT THE END OF THE VISIT THAT TITO HAD  
 PROMISED TO VISIT PRAGUE "IN THE NEAR FUTURE." THE  
 YUGOSLAV VERSION OF THE INTERVIEW OMITTED THIS POINT. {CONFIDENTIAL}Y

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CONF: INFO: FILE

- INDEX DISSEM BY:
- NO INDEX
- RETURN TO PER
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5. YUGOSLAVIA: THE ANNUAL ROUND OF GRUMBLING ABOUT BELGRADE'S FEDERAL BUDGET PROPOSALS SEEMS LOUDER THAN USUAL THIS YEAR, AND EVEN PREVIOUSLY PRIVILEGED SECTORS--LIKE THE MILITARY--APPEAR TO BE FEELING THE PINCH.4

BELGRADE'S ECONOMIC PLANS FOR 1976 FORECAST A 19.3 PERCENT INCREASE IN FEDERAL SPENDING--WELL BEHIND THE CURRENT ANNUAL INFLATION RATE OF ABOUT 25 PERCENT. ALL THE NUMBERS ARE NOT YET KNOWN, BUT THE FACT THAT THE MAJOR INTEREST GROUPS ARE COMPLAINING SUGGESTS THAT THE SLOWER RATE OF INCREASED SPENDING IS BEING APPLIED EQUITABLY.4

THE WELL-DEVELOPED NORTHERN REPUBLICS, CROATIA AND SLOVENIA, CUSTOMARILY GROUSE ABOUT BEING OVERTAXED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE LESS-DEVELOPED SOUTHERN AREAS. AGAIN THIS YEAR, THESE TWO "HAVE" REPUBLICS ARE SHARPLY CRITICAL OF THE FEDERAL REGIME'S DICTATION OF ECONOMIC POLICY TO THE REPUBLICS, PARTICULARLY IN SETTING INVESTMENT LIMITS FOR THE LOCAL ECONOMIES.4

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2		5		8	
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10

CLASSIFICATION

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MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

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CONF: INFO: FILE

- INDEX DISSEM BY:
- NO INDEX
- RETURN TO PER
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THE LESS-DEVELOPED REGIONS NORMALLY RECEIVE SUPPLEMENTAL FEDERAL FUNDS, IN THEORY TO HELP THEM CATCH UP WITH THE NORTH. THESE DEVELOPMENTAL FUNDS HAVE USUALLY ASSURED A MEASURE OF PROTECTION FOR THE POORER AREAS FROM BUDGET SQUEEZES. THIS YEAR, HOWEVER, THE PICTURE HAS CHANGED. A PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATE FROM KOSOVO--THE POOREST AREA OF YUGOSLAVIA--RECENTLY COMPLAINED THAT THE PROVINCE FACES NEARLY 300 PERCENT HIGHER PAYMENTS INTO THE FEDERAL BUDGET THIS YEAR. HE ALSO SAID KOSOVO'S TAKE FROM SPECIAL DEVELOPMENT FUNDS IN 1976 WILL FALL SHORT OF THE AMOUNT FORECAST IN THE LONG-RANGE DEVELOPMENT PLAN.

THE YUGOSLAV DEFENSE MINISTRY, WHICH OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS HAS HAD SIZABLE INCREASES IN INVESTMENT FOR ITS MODERNIZATION PROGRAM, ALSO APPEARS TO BE TIGHTENING ITS BELT. A DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER TOLD THE PARLIAMENT LAST FRIDAY THAT THE MINISTRY'S ALLOTTED FUNDS FOR 1976 WOULD "ENSURE THE PRESENT,

DATE:  
ORIG:  
UNIT:  
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OUTGOING MESSAGE

1		4	7
2		5	8
3		6	9
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Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010093-7

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11

CLASSIFICATION  
SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR DATE-TIME GROUP CITE MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF: INFO: FILE

- INDEX DISSEM BY:
- NO INDEX
- RETURN TO PER
- IP FILES #

BUT NOT THE DESIRED LEVEL OF EQUIPMENT AND MODERNIZATION."

EVEN THE TRADE UNIONS--WHICH IN RECENT YEARS HAVE MADE FEW WAVES--ARE WARNING ABOUT THE IMPACT ON EMPLOYMENT OF SLOWER INVESTMENT RATES BY THE GOVERNMENT."

PREMIER BIJEDIC'S HANDLING OF ECONOMIC POLICY, WHICH HAS BEEN CRITICIZED HEAVILY OVER THE PAST YEAR, MAY ONCE AGAIN COME TO THE FORE. IN POINT OF FACT, THE DECISION FOR A TOUGHER ANTI-INFLATIONARY BUDGET IN 1976 APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN THOROUGHLY DISCUSSED AT TOP PARTY LEVELS. THE REGIME'S ATTEMPT TO TRIM YUGOSLAV EXPECTATIONS MAY REQUIRE SCAPEGOATS, HOWEVER, PARTICULARLY WHILE THE POSSIBILITY OF DEMAGOGIC APPEAL BY PRO-SOVIET FACTIONS IS OF SERIOUS CONCERN IN BELGRADE. {CONFIDENTIAL}

6. YUGOSLAVIA: THE COMMUNIQUE ON THE FOUR-DAY VISIT OF FOREIGN MINISTER MINIC TO THE SOVIET UNION SUGGESTS THAT BOTH

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MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR      DATE-TIME GROUP      CITE      MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:      INFO:      FILE

INDEX      DISSEM BY:  
 NO INDEX  
 RETURN TO      PER  
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SIDES ARE TRYING TO SQUELCH SPECULATION ABOUT A WIDENING BREACH IN THEIR RELATIONS.4

MINIC'S OFFICIAL TALKS IN MOSCOW TOOK PLACE. THE COMMUNIQUE SAYS IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF "FRIENDSHIP, MUTUAL TRUST, AND FRANKNESS." ALTHOUGH THE COMMUNIQUE IS SPRINKLED WITH PRAISE FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS AND PROMISES TO CONTINUE THE "CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT," IT FOCUSES PRIMARILY ON INCREASED ECONOMIC TIES AND AREAS OF GENERAL AGREEMENT IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS.4

THE ISSUES OF SOVIET SUPPORT FOR STALINIST SUBVERSIVES IN YUGOSLAVIA--THE CENTRAL PROBLEM BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES--AND THE DEADLOCK OVER THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE WERE NOT MENTIONED DIRECTLY.4

THE YUGOSLAVS, HOWEVER, ARE CLEARLY IRRITATED BY MOSCOW'S STANCE ON BOTH PROBLEMS AND ARE VENTING THEIR ANGER IN VARIOUS WAYS. ON WEDNESDAY, FOR EXAMPLE, RADIO ZAGREB'S CHIEF FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMENTATOR BROKE A LONG-STANDING TABOO BY CRITICIZING

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2		5		8	
				9	

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PAGE OF PAGES

OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

13

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF: INFO: FILE

- INDEX DISSEM BY:
- NO INDEX
- RETURN TO PER
- IP FILES #

BREZHNEV BY NAME. HE SAID THAT BREZHNEV'S SPEECH TO THE POLISH PARTY CONGRESS WAS A REVERSION TO THE KREMLIN'S HABIT OF SETTING IDEOLOGICAL STANDARDS FOR THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND DICTATING DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY TO THE "SOCIALIST COMMUNITY." THE COMMENTATOR ALSO ACCUSED THE SOVIETS OF VIOLATING UNDERSTANDINGS ON PREPARATIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN PARTY CONFERENCE.4

THE PARTY PRESIDIUM MET IN BELGRADE ON THURSDAY AND, AMONG OTHER THINGS, GAVE ITS FULL BLESSING TO THE REFUSAL OF THE YUGOSLAV DELEGATION TO ACCEPT SOVIET INITIATIVES AT LAST MONTH'S PREPARATORY TALKS FOR THE EUROPEAN PARTY CONFERENCE. {CONFIDENTIAL NOFORN}4

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1	4	7
2	5	8
3	6	9

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2

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

- INDEX DISSEM BY:
- NO INDEX
- RETURN TO PER
- IP FILES #

EAST ASIA BRIEF 191-75.4

1. CHINA: THE LEFT WING OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY, WHICH HAS WATCHED THE EXCESSIVE POLICIES OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION BEING OVERTURNED IN THE PAST YEAR, HAS LAUNCHED A STRIDENT PROPAGANDA COUNTERATTACK. THIS ASSAULT FOCUSES MAINLY ON THE NEW EDUCATIONAL POLICIES ANNOUNCED THIS FALL BUT INCLUDES A BROADER DEFENSE OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN GENERAL AND OF THE "NEW THINGS," A CODEWORD FOR POLICIES ADOPTED DURING THAT TURBULENT PERIOD.4

//AN ARTICLE CARRIED IN THE PARTY'S TWO MAJOR PUBLICATIONS. ATTACKS POINT BY POINT THE SHIFTS IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY ANNOUNCED IN A SPEECH BY THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND REPORTEDLY ENDORSED BY CHAIRMAN MAO. IT DISMISSES AS RIDICULOUS THE CHARGE MADE BY THE EDUCATION MINISTER THAT THE UNIVERSITIES HAVE FAILED TO PROVIDE QUALITY EDUCATION. IT SPECIFICALLY CRITICIZES THE NOTION THAT THE UNIVERSITIES MUST EMPHASIZE BASIC TECHNICAL COURSES, A DIRECT REBUTTAL TO THE REPORTED STATEMENTS OF MAO AND THE EDUCATION MINISTER ON THE NEED TO INCREASE THE STUDY OF BASIC SCIENTIFIC THEORY. IT ATTACKS THE POLICY OF SENDING STUDENTS DIRECTLY TO THE UNIVERSITIES WITHOUT

DATE:  
ORIG:  
UNIT:  
EXT:

RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010093-7

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MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF: INFO: FILE

- INDEX DISSEM BY:
- NO INDEX
- RETURN TO PER
- IP FILES #

THEIR HAVING SPENT A FEW YEARS IN THE RURAL AREAS FIRST.//4

//THE ARTICLE ALSO REITERATES THE FAVORITE LEFTIST POSITION THAT POLITICAL TRAINING IS THE MOST IMPORTANT FUNCTION OF THE UNIVERSITIES, DESPITE THE REPORTED STATEMENT BY MAO THAT UNIVERSITY STUDENTS NEED NOT STUDY POLITICS IN COLLEGE BUT CAN DO SO AT THEIR PLACES OF EMPLOYMENT.//4

//THE ARTICLE HAS PROMPTED ONE COMMUNIST OFFICIAL TO EXPRESS HIS CONCERN OVER A POSSIBLE RESURGENCE OF ULTRA-LEFTIST ACTIVITY. AFTER A STEADY EROSION OF LEFTIST POLITICAL INFLUENCE, PARTICULARLY IN THE CULTURAL ARENA, THE RECENT CHANGES IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY FORCED THE LEFTISTS WITH THE CHOICE OF STRIKING BACK OR ABANDONING THEIR LAST REMAINING AREA OF INFLUENCE TO THE MODERATE COALITION HEADED BY VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING.//4

THE EDUCATIONAL DEBATE HAS APPARENTLY CAUSED SOME DISRUPTION IN TWO OF CHINA'S MOST PRESTIGIOUS UNIVERSITIES, THOSE IN PEKING AND TSINGHUA, WHERE STUDENTS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ISSUE HAVE PUT UP WALL POSTERS. SOME POSTERS COMPLAIN THAT EDUCATIONAL POLICIES ARE DEPRIVING STUDENTS OF A GOOD EDUCATION, WHILE OTHERS

DATE:  
ORIG:  
UNIT:  
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COORDINATING OFFICERS

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

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PAGE 4 OF 4 PAGES

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR DATE-TIME GROUP CITE MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF: INFO: FILE

- INDEX DISSEM BY:
- NO INDEX
- RETURN TO PER
- IF FILES #

ATTACK WHAT THEY SEE AS A RETURN TO THE "ELITIST" POLICIES IN VOGUE BEFORE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. THE LATTER POSTERS INCLUDE SPECIFIC ATTACKS ON THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION, WHOM THEY BLAME FOR REINSTITUTING HIGHER EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS.4

LEFTIST ASSAULTS ON THE NEW EDUCATIONAL POLICY WILL PROBABLY STAVE OFF, TEMPORARILY AT LEAST, ANY MAJOR CHANGES IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM. EFFORTS TO REGAIN SOME LOST GROUND AND TO EXPAND THIS ATTACK INTO A DEFENSE OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION ARE LIKELY TO MEET WITH LESS SUCCESS. THE BROADER ATTACK IS CONTAINED IN AN ARTICLE BY LIANG HSIAO, A PSEUDONYM FOR AN UNIDENTIFIED BUT INFLUENTIAL PERSON OR GROUP IN THE PART LEADERSHIP. THIS ARTICLE ATTACKS THOSE WHO HAVE "NEGATED" THE POLICIES OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION BY ENDLESS CRITICISM. THE ONLY SPECIFIC POLICY MENTIONED IS THAT OF EDUCATION, BUT THE DEFENSE OF THE "NEW THINGS" THAT EMERGED DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IS CLEARLY MEANT TO INCLUDE A WIDE RANGE OF POLICY ISSUES.4

THIS BROAD ATTACK IS A RESPONSE NOT ONLY TO THE CHANGES MADE RECENTLY IN CULTURAL REVOLUTION POLICIES AND TO MAO'S APPARENT

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PAGE 5 OF 5

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO. FILE

INDEX . DISSEM BY:

NO INDEX

RETURN TO PER

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ABANDONMENT OF THE LEFT, BUT ALSO UNDOUBTEDLY TO THE GROWING POWER AND PRESTIGE OF TENG HSIAO-PING. TENG IS A PARTICULAR IRRITANT TO THE PARTY'S LEFT WING BECAUSE, AS A VICTIM OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, HE PERSONIFIES ALL OF THE "EVILS" THAT THE LEFTISTS WANTED TO ERADICATE DURING THAT PERIOD.

IT IS PRECISELY TENG'S POWER, GREATER NOW THAN BEFORE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, THAT IS LIKELY TO CONFINE LEFTISTS' ATTACKS TO PROPAGANDA BROADSIDES, WHILE LIMITING THEIR ACTUAL INFLUENCE OVER POLICY. NEVERTHELESS, THESE RECENT ARTICLES CLEARLY DEMONSTRATE THAT THE LEFT RETAINS ACCESS TO THE MEDIA AND IS

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