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FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOHAK 16//

TO ADAMS FOR THE SECRETARY

UNCLAS VIA BLACK PATCH WH51100

TOHAK 16

JUNE 29, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER
FROM: THE SITUATION ROOM
SUBJECT: SUNDAY NEWS SUMMARY (PART 2)

N.Y. TIMES AND BALTIMORE SUN

N.Y. TIMES

UNITED STATES ALLIES HAVE TURNED DOWN AN AMERICAN-RUSSIAN COMPROMISE ON A KEY ISSUE ABOUT ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY EXERCISES THAT WAS WORKED OUT ABOUT THREE WEEKS AGO IN HOPES OF MAKING A BREAKTHROUGH TO CONCLUDE THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE.

THE ALLIES TURNED DOWN THE COMPROMISE AS "UNREALISTIC." YOU REPORTEDLY REACHED AN AGREEMENT ON DETAILS OF WHAT THE SECURITY CONFERENCE CALLS "CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES" WITH THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON, ANATOLY F. DOBRYNIN.

THEIR COMPROMISE WAS CONDITIONAL, HOWEVER, ON ACCEPTANCE BY ALL THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE COUNTRIES, AND WHEN THAT WAS NOT FORTHCOMING THE UNITED STATES JOINED THE POSITION OF THE ALLIES

AN EDITORIAL THIS MORNING SAYS THE UNITED STATES IS POISED ON THE VERGE OF A QUESTIONABLE NEW ECONOMIC AND MILITARY COMMITMENT THOUSANDS OF MILES OVERSEAS, WITHOUT AS YET EVEN A SEMBLANCE OF SERIOUS CONGRESSIONAL CONSIDERATION.

BY EXECUTIVE BRANCH DECISION AND PLANNING, THE MARIANA ISLAND CHAIN OF THE WESTERN PACIFIC HAS BEEN OFFERED COMMON-WEALTH STATUS UNDER THE FORMAL SOVEREIGNTY OF THE UNITED STATES. IF CARRIED THROUGH, THIS WOULD BECOME THE FIRST TERRITORIAL ANNEXATION BY THIS COUNTRY SINCE 1925.

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EVEN IF SUCH A HISTORIC TRANSACTION WERE STRIGHT-FORWARD AND WITHOUT CONTROVERSY, IT WOULD HAVE SEEMED PROPER FOR THE CONGRESS TO BE CONSULTED AND INVOLVED FROM THE EARLY PLANNING STAGES. AS IT HAPPENS, THE PROPOSED ANNEXATION OF THE MARIANAS IS FAR FROM STRAIGHT-FORWARD AND IT IS SURROUNDED BY CONTROVERSY.

WHEN ALL THE RELEVANT DECISIONS ARE FINALLY SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS, AS PRESIDENT FORD SAID THEY WILL BE SOON, LEGISLATORS NEED FEEL NO OBLIGATION TO GIVE THE RUBBER-STAMP APPROVAL THAT IS APPARENTLY EXPECTED OF THEM. HERE IS ONE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE CONGRESS TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY A POSSIBLE NEW AMERICAN COMMITMENT IN ALL ITS IMPLICATIONS--POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY--BEFORE DISCOVERING A FAIT ACCOMPLI.

ACCORDING TO THE TIMES, BONNIS SIGNATURE OF AN AGREEMENT TO SELL BRAZIL A COMPLETE MULTIBILLION-DOLLAR NUCLEAR INDUSTRY, INCLUDING TECHNOLOGY THAT WOULD PERMIT PRODUCTION OF ATOMIC BOMBS AS WELL AS ELECTRICITY, IS A TRAGEDY FOR WEST GERMANY AS WELL AS MANKIND AS A WHOLE.

NOT THE LEAST TRAGIC ARE THE IMPLICATIONS FOR DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY OF THE BEHAVIOR OF THE BONN GOVERNMENT, WHICH CONCEALED THE DEAL FOR MONTHS, THEN, WHEN IT BECAME KNOWN, BELITTLED AMERICAN CONCERN, ATTRIBUTED IT TO COMMERCIAL JEALOUSY AND RUSHED AHEAD WITH THE PACT'S SIGNATURE WITHOUT PERMITTING THE THOROUGH DEBATE BY THE WEST GERMAN PARLIAMENT AND THE PUBLIC THAT THE TRUE FACTS DESERVED.

THE UNITED STATES HAS PROPOSED THAT THESE DANGEROUS FACILITIES BE KEPT OUT OF THE HANDS OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND CONFINED TO REGIONAL, MULTINATIONAL CENTERS. THERE WAS WIDE SUPPORT FOR THIS IDEA AT THE RECENT 69-NATION CONFERENCE IN GENEVA TO REVIEW THE OPERATION OF THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY.

"WE NEED A LITTLE MORE TIME" TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL, DR. FRED C. IKLE, THE DIRECTOR OF THE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY PLEADED, AS WELL AS FOR A RESEARCH PROJECT TO MAKE THE PLUTONIUM AND ENRICHED URANIUM FROM SUCH FACILITIES CHEMICALLY UNSUITABLE FOR WEAPONS USE. THIS IS THE PLEA THAT THE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT REJECTED.

A COMPANION EDITORIAL SAYS THE WEST GERMAN MANUFACTURE OF URANIUM-ENRICHMENT AND PLUTONIUM-SEPARATION PLANTS AND A COMPLETE NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE WILL MEAN THE EXISTENCE OF A NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY IN WEST GERMANY AS WELL AS BRAZIL, SUSPICION ABOUT THIS CAPABILITY ALREADY IS BEING VOICED BY RUSSIANS AND OTHER EUROPEANS AND IT IS UNLIKELY TO BE TOTALLY ALLAYED BY THE INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION WEST GERMANY'S ADHERENCE TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY INVOLVES.

SIGNATURE OF THE BRAZILIAN ACCORD DOES NOT NECESSARILY MAKE THE GERMAN SALE IRREVERSIBLE IN ALL ITS ASPECTS. THE

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INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY'S TINY BUDGET AND SMALL STAFF OF INSPECTORS, LACKING SATELLITE RECONNAISSANCE AND OTHER ADVANCED MEANS OF DETECTION CANNOT HOPE TO POLICE SUCH FACILITIES.

WHAT IS NEEDED IS A MORATORIUM ON SUCH TRANSFERS AND AN ACCELERATED DRIVE TO ESTABLISH SAFE, REGIONAL MULTINATIONAL CENTERS AS AN ALTERNATIVE BEFORE THE GERMAN-BRAZILIAN DEAL PASSES THE POINT OF NO RETURN.

HUGHES BUNDY WRITES THAT IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE EXTRAORDINARILY SUDDEN DISINTEGRATION OF RESISTANCE TO COMMUNISM IN INDOCHINA THE LEADERS OF OUR GOVERNMENT HAVE REPEATEDLY CALLED UPON US ALL TO AVOID RECRIMINATION AND TO WORK FOR A NATIONAL RECONCILIATION. THIS APPEAL IS RIGHT, AND THERE HAS BEEN ENCOURAGING EVIDENCE IN RECENT DAYS THAT IN SOME MEASURE IT IS BEING HEARD.

PART OF THE IMPORTANCE OF UNDERSTANDING IS SIMPLY THAT LARGE AND PAINFUL EVENTS UNLESS THEY ARE CLOSELY STUDIED, HAVE A HABIT OF TEACHING US THE WRONG LESSONS.

NOW AT THE RISK OF STATING A CONCLUSION WITHOUT ITS FULL HISTORICAL ARGUMENT, LET ME SUGGEST TO YOU THAT THERE IS AT LEAST ONE GREAT LESSON ABOUT VIETNAM WHICH DESERVES TO BE LEARNED AND UNDERSTOOD BY ALL OF US JUST AS SOON AS POSSIBLE: IT IS THAT THE CASE OF VIETNAM IS UNIQUE. IT DOES NOT MAKE SENSE TO SET AS A CENTRAL OBJECTIVE THE REDESIGN OF OUR FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY SO AS TO AVOID "ANOTHER VIETNAM." THE WORLD IS SO SHAPED, GEOGRAPHICALLY, POLITICALLY AND HISTORICALLY, THAT THE PARTICULAR SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO THE AMERICAN ROLE IN VIETNAM IS MOST UNLIKELY TO BE REPEATED.

A SECOND GREAT LESSON OF VIETNAM--A FAMILIAR ONE ALREADY-- IS THE IMMENSE COST OF A BREAKDOWN IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS.

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THERE IS NOW A SEVERE IMBALANCE BETWEEN THE EXPECTATIONS THAT OTHERS HAVE OF OUR OBLIGATIONS TO DO THINGS THAT ARE IN THEIR INTEREST AND OUR OWN VIEW OF THE SAME MATTERS. THERE MAY BE A REAL CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE, FOR EXAMPLE, IN KOREA, WHERE OUR HISTORIC OBLIGATION IS OPEN, EXPLICIT, AND UNDERLINED BY THE PRESENCE OF TROOPS, AND WHERE THE ENERGY AND DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLE ON THE SPOT ARE SO DIFFERENT FROM WHAT WE EVER FOUND IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

THE MORAL HERE IS NOT A NEW ONE, BUT ITS URGENCY IS NOW GREATER THAN EVER BEFORE. SINCE OUR VERY SIZE AND STRENGTH MUST LEAD OTHERS TO TEND TO RELY ON US FOR WHAT THEY WANT, IT BECOMES CRITICALLY IMPORTANT FOR US TO DETERMINE, AND FOR THEM TO UNDERSTAND, JUST HOW MUCH OF THAT RELIANCE IS JUSTIFIED.

JAMES RESTON SAYS IT IS HARD TO TRAVEL IN EUROPE THESE DAYS, OR EVEN TO LIVE IN WASHINGTON, WITHOUT RECOGNIZING THAT LIBERAL DEMOCRACY IS NOW IN SERIOUS TROUBLE IN THE WORLD.

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WE ARE LIVING IN A TIME OF WIDESPREAD DOUBT ABOUT THE CAPACITY OF FREE SOCIETIES TO DEAL WITH THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS OF THE AGE.

WHEREVER YOU LOOK, THE LEADERS OF THE FREE WORLD SEEM TO BE OVERWHELMED BY THE COMPLEXITIES OF MODERN LIFE, BAFFLED BY THE DEMANDS OF SPECIAL- INTEREST GROUPS, AND INCLINED TOWARD AUTOCRATIC METHODS IN HANDLING THEIR DILEMMAS.

SO THERE IS A KIND OF COUNTERREVOLUTION AGAINST LIBERAL DEMOCRACY NOW GOING ON IN THE WORLD. WE MAY NOT LIKE THIS TREND, OR EVEN ADMIT IT, BUT THE LIBERAL DEMOCRACIES ARE OBVIOUSLY IN TROUBLE WITH THE VOTERS. EVEN PRESIDENT FORD IS NOW GOVERNING WITH A COMBINATION OF VETUES AND GOOD INTENTIONS. THE EUROPEANS LIKE HIM, BECAUSE HE IS SO PLAIN AND CANDID, COMPARED TO JOHNSON AND NIXON, BUT THE QUESTION THEY HAVE BEEN ASKING IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS IS WHAT WILL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DO IN THE 1976 ELECTION? EUROPE IS CLEARLY HOPING FOR A NEW BEGINNING.

YOU FASCINATE AND BAFFLE THE POLITICAL LEADERS OF EUROPE. YOU TALK ABOUT THE "DEFENSE OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION," FOR A NEW ALLIANCE IN DEFENSE OF WESTERN IDEALS, AND REBUKE THE EUROPEANS FOR TRIFLING WITH AMERICA'S FIDELITY TO NATO.

THEY SHOULD NOT THINK, YOU SAID IN ATLANTA THE OTHER DAY, THAT THEY ARE "DOING US A FAVOR BY REMAINING IN ALLIANCE WITH US." THEY SHOULD LISTEN TO YOUR WORDS, FOR THEY WERE CHOSEN VERY CAREFULLY.

SO, OBVIOUSLY, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE CONFUSION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE, AND NOT ONLY WITHIN THE ALLIANCE, BUT WITHIN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT ITSELF, AND BETWEEN THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE CONGRESS.

THIS CONFUSION IN THE DEMOCRATIC WORLD SEEMS TO BE GENERAL.

IT IS INTERESTING, AMID ALL THE TURMOIL IN THE WESTERN WORLD, HOW MUCH OFFICIALS IN EUROPE STILL LOOK TO AMERICA FOR ANSWERS TO THIS CRISIS OF DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM. THEY ARE PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND MONETARY CHAOS IN THE WEST, BUT THEY STILL KEEP ASKING WHAT WASHINGTON IS GOING TO DO ABOUT THIS, AND PARTICULARLY IN THE NEXT ELECTION.

WILL THERE BE A NEW START NEXT YEAR, IN THE UNITED STATES, THEY ASK? IS THERE ANOTHER CREATIVE AMERICAN POLITICAL MIND LIKE THAT OF THE TWO ROOSEVELTS OR WOODROW WILSON OR IS THERE A YOUNG MAN LIKE KENNEDY IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1960 WHO HAS SOME VISION OF THE WORLD OF THE EIGHTIES?

BALTIMORE SUN

BROOKINGS RECOMMENDS A 5-YEAR DEFENSE BOOST

WASHINGTON REPORTS THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION ISSUED A REPORT YESTERDAY HOLDING THAT DEFENSE SPENDING MUST INCREASE ANNUALLY FOR AT LEAST FIVE YEARS, UNLESS THE UNITED STATES IS WILLING TO

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MAKE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN ITS WORLD ROLE.

THE REPORT ADDED UP, BROADLY AND SOMEWHAT SURPRISINGLY, TO AN APPROVAL OF CURRENT TRENDS IN POLITICAL-MILITARY POLICY.

EVEN THE MOST DRASTIC ALTERNATIVE BUDGET DESCRIBED YESTERDAY WOULD SHAVE BUT \$1.9 BILLION FROM THE NEW DEFENSE BUDGET, AND WOULD NOT IGNORE THE NEED FOR ANNUAL REAL GROWTH IN MILITARY EXPENDITURE. THE LOWEST ALTERNATIVE IN THE REPORT CALLS FOR A 2.6 PER CENT ANNUAL INCREASE, THE HIGHEST, 6.6 PER CENT.

"BY CURBING ITS MILITARY EXPENDITURES," THE STUDY SAID, "THE UNITED STATES MIGHT BE SENDING THE WRONG SIGNALS TO SOVIET LEADERS."

IN ANY EVENT, THE REPORT URGED THAT ANY SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE DEFENSE PROGRAM BE UNDERTAKEN GRADUALLY, TO AVOID DOMESTIC ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, DISRUPTION IN MILITARY CAPABILITY, HARDSHIP FOR MILITARY PERSONNEL AND UNFAVORABLE REACTION ABROAD. (A-1)

POST-MAO STRUGGLE HELD NEAR BY WORRIED SOVIET

MICHAEL PARKS NOTES THAT THE SOVIET UNION EXPECTS CHINA'S CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG TO "QUIT THE POLITICAL SCENE IN THE NEAR FUTURE," BUT WHAT WILL HAPPEN THEN BOTH PUZZLES AND WORRIES MOSCOW.

MOST SOVIET SPECIALISTS ON CHINA BELIEVE THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNIST RIVALS CANNOT WORSEN AND THAT AFTER CHAIRMAN MAO IS GONE THERE MIGHT BE A GRADUAL IMPROVEMENT LEADING OVER A DECADE TO NORMAL RELATIONS.

OTHER SOVIET ANALYSTS ARE ARGUING THAT IF MORE RADICAL FACTIONS TAKE OVER IN PEKING THE SINO-SOVIET FEUD COULD GROW EVEN MORE BITTER.

"WE ALSO CANNOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF A MILITARY CONFRONTATION OF SOME SORT IF A NEW, MORE RADICAL PEKING LEADERSHIP EMBARKS ON SUCH AN ADVENTUROUS COURSE," ONE SOVIET ANALYST SAID. (A-1)

DEAN MILLS, IN AN ARTICLE ENTITLED "KISSINGER TAKES A LIKING TO NON-EGGHEAD CIRCUIT," WRITES THAT YOU HAVE DISCOVERED THE AMERICAN HINTERLAND, AND YOU LIKE IT.

THE GOAL IS, IN FACT, NOT UNLIKE THAT OF A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. YOU, DEEPLY TROUBLED BY THE UNITED STATES STANDING ABROAD FOLLOWING ITS INDOCHINA SETBACKS, ARE DETERMINED TO BUILD A SOLID CONSTITUENCY FOR ADMINISTRATION FOREIGN POLICY AT HOME.

BUT THERE ARE SIDE BENEFITS AS WELL.

YOUR ASSOCIATES SAY YOU GET AN EMOTIONAL CHARGE OUT OF THE TRIPS, AN INFUSION OF OPTIMISM FROM AREAS LESS INFECTED BY THE INTELLECTUAL BROODING OF WASHINGTON, AND YOUR APPEARANCES HELP REVIVE THE LOCAL FOREIGN AFFAIRS COUNCILS, WHOSE EFFECTIVENESS THE ADMINISTRATION REGARDS AS IMPORTANT IN FIGHTING THE ISOLATIONIST TREND IT SEES IN THE COUNTRY.

BUT IF YOUR STUMPING CONTINUES AS THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

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YEAR DRAWS CLOSER, YOU UNDOUBTEDLY CAN EXPECT THIS COMPLAINT: THAT YOUR CAMPAIGN FOR THE FORD FOREIGN POLICY IS BEGINNING TO LOOK LIKE A CAMPAIGN FOR MR. FORD. (A-1)

HENRY L. TREWHITT PHILOSOPHIZES ABOUT THE U.S. PERSPECTIVE OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS AND MAKES THIS REMINDER: APPEARANCE AND REALITY SELDOM COINCIDE NEATLY IN THE INTERPLAY OF NATIONS.

THAT IS TRUE, OF COURSE, AND APPLICABLE TO POLITICS AT EVERY LEVEL. IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS THE LEADERS OF NATIONS, ESPECIALLY THOSE AT A DISADVANTAGE, FREQUENTLY LABOR MIGHTILY TO CREATE APPEARANCE AT THE EXPENSE OF REALITY. BUT THE TRUISM IS NOT ONE TOO OBVIOUS TO DESERVE MENTION. IT MAY BE, INDEED, THE MOST USEFUL THOUGHT FOR ANXIOUS CITIZENS TO KEEP IN MIND TWO MONTHS INTO THE POST-VIETNAM PERIOD.

AMERICA'S ALLIES AROUND THE WORLD WERE RESTLESS; FEARFUL, DESPITE THEIR PUBLIC DENIALS, THAT THE U.S. WAS BECOMING IN RICHARD M. NIXON'S PHRASE, A "PITIFUL HELPLESS GIANT." ALL IMPORTANT TRENDS, IT SEEMED, COULD ONLY BE ENCOURAGING TO THE SOVIET UNION. THERE WAS EVEN SPECULATION THAT RUSSIA'S LEADERS MIGHT ENVISION THE LONG-AWAITED COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM.

BUT NOW THE POPULAR PERCEPTION HAS CHANGED. SOMEHOW NONE OF THE SPECIFIC ISSUES OF TWO MONTHS AGO SEEMS QUITE AS DISHEARTENING. THE EXPLANATION LIES NOT IN ANY SINGLE DEVELOPMENT, BUT IN THE ACCUMULATION OF EVENTS, ORCHESTRATED IN PART WITH BOTH SUBTLE AND HEAVY-HANDED DIPLOMACY.

AMONG OTHER REASONS, MR. FORD'S PERFORMANCE ON HIS EUROPEAN TRIP GAVE SUBSTANCE TO AN ARGUMENT MEMBERS OF HIS STAFF HAD BEEN MAKING FOR SOME TIME. THE PRESIDENT, THEY SUGGESTED, WAS BEGINNING TO EMERGE AS HIS OWN MAN IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. HE WAS DOING HIS HOMEWORK AND HE WAS MAKING HIS OWN DECISIONS, CALMLY AND DELIBERATELY, AT THE EXPENSE OF YOUR ONCE CZAR-LIKE ROLE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT MR. FORD'S CALM WAS HAVING AN EFFECT ON THE NATIONAL PERCEPTION OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THOSE WHO MAKE A CAREER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WILL AGREE THAT HOW THE PUBLIC PERCEIVES REALITY HELPS TO CREATE REALITY.

PROBABLY THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THIS PERCEPTION IS RELIEF THAT THE WORST HAS NOT HAPPENED. WHAT MR. FORD ACHIEVED WAS THE CALMING OF THE IMMEDIATE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE.

HOW HE USES THE TIME AND THE CONFIDENCE HE HAS WON NOW BECOMES CRITICAL. FOR THE UNDERLYING REALITY IS THAT NONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES HAS BEEN DISPOSED OF. (K-1)

LOUIS HALASZ REVIEWS RECENT ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT PRESAGE EXPULSION OF ISRAEL FROM THE U.N., BUT HE CONCLUDES THERE IS NO SIGN THAT THE ARABS WOULD BE CONTEMPLATING SERIOUSLY THE EXCLUSION MOVE AT THIS TIME, NOR DO THE ISRAELIS EXPECT IT. THIS IS BECAUSE THE MACHINERY OF DIPLOMATIC SOUNDINGS AND NEGOTIATIONS IS

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AN ARAB REVENGE ON ISRAEL AT THE COST OF THE UNITED NATIONS IS QUITE POSSIBLE. IT WOULD BE THE THIRD-WORLD GOVERNMENTS CUTTING OFF THEIR NOSES TO SPITE THEIR FACES, BUT IT WOULD NOT BE THE FIRST TIME THAT NATIONS FIND REFUGE IN FOLLY. (K-2)
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