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WHITE HOUSE  
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# Clouds Over Kissinger

His conduct of foreign policy is being sniped at from all sides. His aura in the White House has faded. He has been cited for contempt by one Congressional committee and a second one has raised embarrassing questions about his role in U.S. covert operations in Chile. In public, Henry Kissinger suffers these slings and arrows with modest stoicism. "I received perhaps excessive praise at one stage—I may receive excessive criticism now," he remarked last week. But in private, Kissinger is brooding gloomily on the future. "Every time

storms by pulling some diplomatic rabbit out of the hat. This time, his adversaries sense that Kissinger is more vulnerable than ever before.

Since giving up his second job as head of the National Security Council, Kissinger has moved out of the White House and no longer rates a private, hour-long meeting with the President each day. Ford himself is acting more like his own man on foreign policy. "The President still respects Kissinger," says a White House aide, "but he doesn't lionize him any more." Kissinger's relations with the

Presidential staff, never serene, have taken a new turn for the worse. According to one White House source, the Secretary ordered the NSC last week to withhold copies of the briefing books for Ford's China tour from one of his adversaries, press secretary Ron Nessen. After waiting several days for his books, Nessen complained angrily to Ford's chief of staff, Richard Cheney, who instructed the NSC to hand them over. Cheney added curtly that if such a thing happened again, Nessen was authorized to point out that "Henry Kissinger no longer runs the NSC."

**Rivalries:** The Secretary of State plainly is in the bad graces of Ford's political mentors, including a former Secretary of Defense and the present one. "Melvin Laird and Donald Rumsfeld are the two most influential advisers to Ford right now," says one source. "Both would be a lot more comfortable if Henry were out of the picture."

At times, Kissinger seems almost obsessed with his diminished personal standing. During a recent visit with a European dignitary, he cracked, "What are you reporting about my de-

mise?" Then, ignoring Europe's problems, he spent the entire meeting talking about his difficulties with Congress. Deeply wounded by the contempt citation, Kissinger sent an aide out to button-hole reporters with the argument that he was being treated unfairly. He seemed to take criticism of his own performance as an attack on the nation; the contempt citation, he told reporters, raised "serious questions all over the world [about] what this country is doing to itself and what the necessity is to torment ourselves like this month after month." Assessing his own role, he sometimes finds himself close to

interrupted conversations by staring off into space and asking: "Is there anybody around who can do this better than I'm doing?"

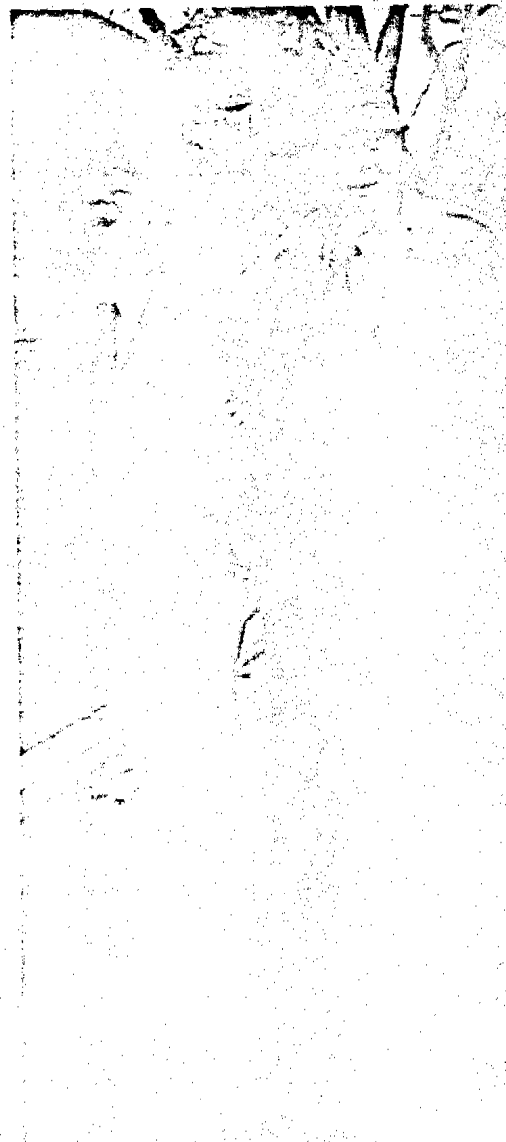
On one key front, the Secretary is doing poorly with his critics. The respected, hard-line magazine *Aviation Week* charged last week that Russia had



Kissinger dons Alaskan mukluks en route to China

Henry and I talk," confides one of his friends, "he asks me whether he should resign."

Such talk on Kissinger's part is nothing new. He has used the threat of resignation as an effective shock tactic in the past, most notably at a news conference in Salzburg last year. When the subject came up again at Gerald Ford's news conference last week, the President replied that Kissinger enjoyed his "full and complete support." Nevertheless, so many things have gone sour for Kissinger that Washington is asking once again how much longer Henry will last. In the past, Kissinger has ridden



Moynihan (right) leaves White House

violated the first strategic arms limitation agreement, that Kissinger had covered up the cheating and that SALT had allowed the Russians to gain on the U.S. militarily. Kissinger denied that the Russians had been cheating—U.S. intelligence agencies backed him up—and he contended that Russia's gains were due to heavy spending, not SALT.

Even his admirers concede that Kissinger lost additional face last week

"complete confidence" in Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the controversial U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Moynihan's flamboyant rhetoric and confrontation tactics had raised hackles at the U.N. and the State Department. Kissinger himself chewed Moynihan out and would have been willing to fire the ambassador. Complaining that he was being undercut by his own people, Moynihan had threatened to resign, only to be dissuaded at the last moment by the White House.

Moynihan flew down to Washington early last week for a friendly, 40-minute chat with the President, and Kissinger was included only for the last ten minutes. The result was an assurance that Ford wanted Moynihan to stay on. Kissinger had to eat crow by issuing his own statement in support of Moynihan.

Another major concern for Kissinger is the House and Senate investigations of U.S. intelligence activities. The committee headed by Sen. Frank Church has already implicated Kissinger in attempts to undercut the late President Salvador Allende of Chile and has raised questions about Kissinger's testimony on his role in that affair. Further embarrassing evidence may be forthcoming from the Church committee, which is negotiating for testimony from former President Richard Nixon.

**Contempt:** The House committee, chaired by New York Rep. Otis Pike, has cited Kissinger for contempt for refusing to hand over subpoenaed State Department documents. There was certainly an element of unseemly grandstanding in the citation: Ford had ordered Kissinger to withhold the papers, and the contempt motion was not expected to pass the full House. As one congressman insisted: "We don't want Kissinger to go, we just want to keep him honest."

In the past, Kissinger's fortunes rose or fell in direct relation to his own diplomatic achievements, and doubtless some new stroke would help restore his standing. Ford's China trip might produce some favorable window-dressing. And Kissinger is planning a visit to Moscow this month to search for a partial "breakthrough" on SALT that would enable him to salvage a summit meeting between Ford and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.

The Secretary's hectic travel schedule also calls for a trip late this month to the Middle East, where his campaign for a peace settlement is stalled. The outlook is not rosy. Last week, efforts by other diplomats to arrange a renewal of the U.N. peace-keeping force's mandate on the Golan Heights hit a last-minute snag. Syria agreed to the renewal but demanded in return that the Security Council discuss the over-all Mideast situation next month, allowing the Palestine Liberation Organization to take part. Israel

opposed any dealings with the PLO, and at the weekend the U.S. was trying to work out a compromise that would permit renewal of the mandate.

Even if none of these foreign areas yields a new Kissinger triumph, it would be foolhardy to count him out of office. Ford seems to have no intention of easing him out, and he retains his popularity with the public. But Congress, the White House and the press are questioning him as never before, and there is no one in Washington more sensitive to his status than the Secretary of State. Henry Kissinger's superhuman image is clearly showing signs of wear, and when image crumbles in Washington, power tends to crumble with it.

—ANGUS DEMING with BRUCE van VOORST and THOMAS M. DeFRANK in Washington and bureau reports

the of the altar, Vicente Cardinal Enrique y Tarancón celebrated a thanksgiving mass to inaugurate the 37-year-old monarch's new reign.

Juan Carlos had actually been sworn in as King a week earlier before the Spanish Cortes (Parliament), but the ceremony at San Jerónimo was meant to dramatize the fact that the 36-year-long dictatorship of the late Francisco Franco was finally over. Yet for all the talk of a new era, Juan Carlos may not have been fully prepared for Cardinal Tarancón's sermon. The 65-year-old cleric, a leader of the anti-Franco forces in the Roman Catholic Church, startled his audience by demanding that the new government "protect and promote the exercise of adequate freedom for all" and warning that



Gilles Peress—Magnum

Juan Carlos reviews his troops: Treading a cautious path between left and right

**SPAIN:**

**Changing the Guard**

Spain had a thanksgiving day of its own last week. To honor Juan Carlos I, Spain's first King in 44 years, the streets of Madrid were festooned with flags, and the church of San Jerónimo was ablaze with candles and klieg lights. Among the 1,000 worshipers in uniforms, cutaways and brightly colored dresses were the representatives of 68 countries, including President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France, President Walter Scheel of West Germany, Prince Philip of Great Britain and Vice President Nelson Rockefeller of the United States. The strains of Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus" reverberated through the cathedral. Then, as Juan Carlos, Queen Sophia and

"the Church will preach and will shout if necessary" to obtain the desired reforms.

Juan Carlos took a cautious step in that direction last week by announcing a limited pardon for most of Spain's 15,000 prisoners. But in deference to Franco's friends on the right, he excluded many political prisoners. That led to a stormy protest by 2,000 leftists outside Madrid's Carabanchel Prison; the demonstration was organized in part by the Communist Party in its most effective show of strength since the end of the civil war in 1939. More pressure was applied by Socialist leader Felipe González and by the King's own father, Don Juan, both of whom urged him to work for the consolidation of a true pluralist democracy.

Juan Carlos was trying to thread his way through the maze of Spanish politics without fatally alienating the left or the