

TOSLO #191

THE WHITE HOUSE
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Note For General Scowcroft

From: The Situation Room

Attached are the significant articles from
today's Post and Star. Articles from the
Sun and Times will be sent later.

Weather Underground Links to Cuba Alleged

Report Could Balk FBI Break-In Probe

By Bruce Howard
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Chicago office of the FBI is nearing completion of a 500-page report showing that the radical Weather Underground, a target of break-ins by FBI agents, received financial support from Cuba, according to sources close to the agents. The report, if confirmed, could hinder a Justice Department investigation of the FBI-directed burglaries.

Top FBI officials authorized the report last month in an effort to stop the Justice Department's criminal investigation of more than 30 current and former FBI agents connected with a number of burglaries of the homes and offices of persons with ties to the Weather Underground in New York, the sources said.

The agents who are the targets of the Justice probe are eagerly awaiting

completion of the report, which they feel will force the department to abandon the cases against them.

Recent court cases have indicated that it may be legal for government agents, acting with the authorization of the President or the Attorney General, to conduct warrantless searches and wiretaps if the target is a threat to national security and has connections with a foreign government. It is not known whether the break-ins being investigated fall under this category.

In the past six months the Justice Department has dropped two criminal investigations of government officials involved with warrantless break-ins because the targets had foreign connections.

A high Justice Department source confirmed that there is growing concern in the department that evidence of foreign support for the Weather

Underground has complicated, and perhaps weakened, their case against the agents.

However, the source said that prosecutors are intent on continuing the investigation at this point because they feel they should obtain more information about the break-ins before deciding their strategy.

Last week Justice officials impaneled a grand jury in New York to begin hearing evidence in the break-ins.

The Justice source said that the prosecutors are beginning to refocus their investigation on former top FBI officials, including Edward S. Miller, former bureau intelligence chief, and W. Mark Felt, former associate director of the bureau.

Both Felt and Miller announced publicly last week that they approved break-ins in New York under a policy

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Report Could Balk FBI Break-Ins Probe

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established by former director L. Patrick Gray III.

Felt and Miller had not been interviewed by Justice investigators before their disclosures in the press last week. Both were subpoenaed the day after their disclosures to appear before the grand jury in New York.

In addition to the court decisions on break-ins involving foreign intelligence activities, prosecutors are worried that two previous decisions by the department not to prosecute top intelligence officials for authorizing break-ins in matters involving foreign intelligence and national security may preclude their bringing a case against FBI officials for the New York break-ins, according to sources.

In February the Justice Department decided to drop possible criminal charges against former CIA Director Richard Helms, other CIA officials and Fairfax City police involved in a break-in at a Fairfax City photography studio.

It is also known that the department decided not to prosecute Gray for authorizing an FBI burglary in Dallas in the fall of 1972.

Both cases were dropped because the burglaries involved foreign governments and national security matters, according to sources in the department.

Jack B. Solerwitz, a lawyer representing approximately 20 of the FBI agents in New York under investigation, also reported that he has learned that the Weather Underground was receiving financial support from hostile foreign governments. However, Solerwitz said he learned of the connection from his own investigations, and not from classified documents prepared by the FBI.

Another attorney representing some FBI agents under investigation has called for the Justice Department to abandon its criminal investigation in light of the Chicago report and the disclosures by Felt and Miller that the break-ins were authorized under bureau policy.

The attorney, Edward Morgan, said, "Now that the legal premise for this prosecution has croded, it is certainly in the best interest of preserving the FBI and of sparing these fine young men who have been put through enormous emotional strain, to candidly

conclude the entire matter at this time."

A Justice Department official had no comment.

However, a high Justice source said that prosecutors still feel there will be at least one or two indictments of top bureau officials, though there is growing concern that recent developments and the current law "will make convictions difficult, if not impossible."

Miller and Felt said publicly last week that they felt the break-ins were legal and justified because they were part of a bureau attempt to neutralize a terrorist group. The Weather Underground has claimed responsibility for numerous bombings, including the 1971 bombing of the Capitol and the 1972 bombing at the Pentagon.

Felt said that he was proud of his role in authorizing the break-ins, and that he felt he "had an obligation."

Defense attorneys involved in the case, but not representing Miller and Felt, said that the threats involved in the Helms and Gray decisions were not as serious or immediate as in the Weather Underground case.

Slain Mobster Claimed Cuban Link to JFK Death

By Ronald Kessler and Laurence Stern
Washington Post Staff Writers

Long before his recent murder, John Rosselli, the CIA's underworld recruit in attempts to kill Fidel Castro, had been privately claiming that agents of the Cuban premier, in retaliation, were involved in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Rosselli's belief in a Cuban connection to the Kennedy assassination was expressed through his attorney, Edward P. Morgan, to the FBI as long ago as March, 1967, and also in private conversations with a longtime associate of Rosselli who participated in meetings between Rosselli and the CIA.

An FBI "blind memorandum" on an interview with Morgan dated March 21, 1967, was included, without

identification of the interviewee, in last June's Senate Intelligence Committee's report on the role of the intelligence community in the Kennedy assassination investigation.

Morgan told the FBI that Rosselli and another Morgan client had informed him that Castro became aware of CIA assassination conspiracies against him and "thereafter employed teams of individuals who were dispatched to the United States for the purpose of assassinating Mr. Kennedy."

Because neither Morgan nor Rosselli were identified in the Senate report, the significance of that portion of the 106-page document was discounted at the time it was published in June, before Rosselli's disappearance and the subsequent discovery of his body in an oil drum in Florida waters. The Washington Post, however, has confirmed that Morgan and Rosselli were the sources of the testimony that suggested a Cuban role in the Kennedy murder.

Morgan's account, according to a summary of the FBI interview, was that Rosselli had reached his conclusion about a Cuban connection to the Kennedy assassination from "feedback" furnished by sources close to Castro who were involved in the CIA plots to assassinate the Cuban leader.

"His (Morgan's) clients were aware of the identity of some of the individuals who came to the United States for this purpose and he understood that two such individuals were now in the state of New Jersey," the FBI interview summary stated.

A longtime associate of Rosselli who was interviewed separately by The Washington Post, said there was no question in the slain mobster's mind that President Kennedy was killed on Castro's behalf in reprisal for the CIA schemes against the Cuban leader.

"He was positive; he was sure," said the associate, who knew Rosselli well and was in contact with him before Rosselli disappeared from his Florida home on July 28. The associate, who does not want to be identified publicly, is scheduled to be interviewed this week by Dade County, Fla., homicide detectives. He was a party to Rosselli's contacts in the early 1960's with CIA case officers overseeing the attempts to assassinate Castro.

Despite occasional speculation, the collective conclusion of all official U.S. government investigations into the Kennedy assassination—including the Warren Commission, the FBI and the CIA—has been that there was no evidence that implicated the Castro government or any of its agents.

However, the CIA's involvement in the schemes to assassinate Castro were not divulged to the Warren Commission, and knowledge of them was confined until 1967 to a small, elite circle of the U.S. intelligence community. President Johnson apparently first learned about the schemes only after a March 7, 1967, column by the late Drew Pearson, which prompted Johnson to order a CIA investigation of the highly sensitive episode.

Full details of the CIA-underworld collusion in the plots to kill Castro did not surface publicly until the publication last year of the Senate Intelligence Committee's assassination report and the ensuing report last June on the possible role of the intelligence agencies in the Kennedy assassination and investigation.

The body of Rosselli, who lived flamboyantly in a world of mobsters, politicians and playgirls, was found two weeks ago in an inverted oil drum weighted with chains but buoyed by gases from decomposition on the ocean's surface off the coast of Miami. The specific cause of death was determined by an autopsy to be asphyxiation.

Last year, an underworld colleague of Rosselli, Sam (Momo) Giancana, who also had been recruited by the CIA in the effort to kill Castro, was found shot to death in his Chicago home in what police described as a highly professional job by assailants who penetrated the mobster's personal security screen. Giancana was due to testify before the Senate Intelligence Committee shortly after his demise.

Neither murder has been solved. The possibility that Rosselli's murder might have been related to his Senate testimony on the CIA schemes to kill Castro has brought the FBI

into the investigation at the request of Attorney General Edward H. Levi.

The involvement of Rosselli, Giancana and other underworld figures—principally Santos Trafficante of Tampa, Fla., whose one-time Havana gambling enterprises fell hostage in 1959 to the Cuban revolution—in plots against Castro had been a closely held secret within the top echelons of the CIA and FBI until recently.

The tangled chronology of suppression and eventual disclosure, although detailed in the June report, has received little public attention. Rosselli's murder adds significance to those events.

Here is the sequence, pieced together from the testimony given to Senate intelligence investigators:

Columnist Drew Pearson went to the late Chief Justice of the United States Earl Warren late in January, 1967, and told him that a Washington lawyer had confided to him that one of his clients said the United States "had attempted to assassinate Fidel Castro in the early 1960s and Castro had decided to retaliate."

Warren declined Pearson's suggestion that he see the lawyer, who was Edward Morgan. Warren referred the matter to then Secret Service Director James J. Rowley, who on Feb. 13, 1967, wrote FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, informing him of the allegations.

Hoover sent the Rowley letter to six senior bureau officials on an "eyes-only" basis. There is no record of FBI meetings or discussions of those allegations. At that point the sensitive letter bounced back and forth in the higher reaches of the FBI bureaucracy.

The job of responding to Rowley's letter was assigned to the supervisor of the FBI's General Investigative Division who was given responsibility for the overall assassination investigation in March 1964.

This official's job was complicated by the fact that he had never been informed of what Hoover and his closest circle of confidants in the FBI learned early in 1962—that the CIA was deeply involved in assassination attempts against Castro, and prominent American underworld figures, including Rosselli and Giancana, had been recruited for the attempts.

So on Feb. 15, 1967, the FBI official prepared a draft reply to the Rowley letter for his superiors saying "our investigation uncovered no evidence indicating Fidel Castro officials of the Cuban Government were involved with Lee Harvey Oswald in the assassination of President Kennedy. This bureau is not conducting any investigation regarding this matter." The FBI official added in later testimony that "everyone in the higher echelons read this ..."

Drew Pearson went ahead and published a column on March 7, 1967, referring to reports that CIA schemes against Castro's life in 1963 "may have resulted in a counterplot by Castro to assassinate President Kennedy."

Ten days later, Marvin Watson, one of Lyndon Johnson's chief deputies, called FBI assistant director Cartha DeLoach with the message that "the President had instructed that the FBI interview (Morgan) concerning any knowledge he might have regarding the assassination of President Kennedy."

DeLoach told Watson that it appeared Morgan "did not want to be interviewed, and even if he was interviewed he would probably not divulge the identity of his sources ..." Watson persisted, however.

"Under the circumstances," DeLoach concluded in a memo for the files, "it appears that we have no alternative but to interview (Morgan) and then furnish the results to Watson in blind memorandum form."

The interview was assigned to two agents from the FBI's General Investigative Division, which the Senate committee concluded was "puzzling" because it was the Domestic Intelligence Division which had been assigned responsibility for investigating possible foreign involvement in the assassination.

Neither agent was privy to the knowledge, confined to Hoover and his top aides, of the CIA's assassination plots against Castro. Both agents testified eight years later that they were "surprised" when Morgan alluded during the interview to U.S. attempts to assassinate Castro.

"These agents stated that they could not evaluate the lawyer's (Morgan's) allegations or question him in detail on them, since they had not been briefed on the CIA assassination efforts," the Senate committee observed.

On March 21, 1967, the FBI's Washington Field Office sent headquarters ten copies of a blind memorandum summarizing the interview with Morgan.

In a Senate Intelligence Committee summary of the FBI interview, Morgan was reported to have acknowledged that his clients were "on the fringe of the underworld" and that they faced "possible prosecution in a crime not related to the assassination ..."

"Morgan also told the FBI, according to the summary, that Castro had employed 'teams of individuals who were dispatched to the United States for the purpose of assassinating President Kennedy.'"

It was not clear then—nor is it today—why Morgan came forward at that time to bring Rosselli's story to the ears of the nation's highest law enforcement authorities.

It may be relevant that Rosselli had serious legal problems at the time.

In May, 1966, the FBI threatened to deport him for living in the United States under an assumed name unless he cooperated in an investigation of the Mafia (his true name was Filippo Saco). At the time, he reached a CIA contact from the anti-Castro conspiracy days, CIA security director Col. Sheffield Edwards, who informed the FBI that Rosselli wanted to "keep square with the bureau" but was afraid that the mob might kill him for talking.

In 1967, after he was arrested for gambling fraud at the Friars Club in Beverly Hills, Rosselli approached his former CIA case officer, William Harvey, who sought unsuccessfully to intercede in the prosecution.

It was against this background that Morgan went, first to Dew Pearson, and then the FBI, with Rosselli's sensational allegations of CIA plotting against Castro and the Cuban counter-espionage directed against President Kennedy.

Last April Rosselli told the Senate

Intelligence Committee he had no recollection of either receiving information that Castro retaliated against President Kennedy or of having discussed it with Morgan. This meant either that Rosselli suffered a dramatic memory loss or that Morgan's statement to FBI agents nine years earlier was a pure invention, a serious risk for an established Washington lawyer.

No committee source could explain the discrepancy, and Morgan declined to confirm that Rosselli was the client in question or to discuss either his allegations against the Cuban government or his recent testimony.

The internal FBI memo on the 1967 interview with Morgan was sent to headquarters with a transmittal slip saying: "No further investigation is being conducted by the Washington field office unless it is advised to the contrary by the Bureau."

The Senate Intelligence Committee, in commenting on this position, said that "had the interviewing agents known of the CIA-underworld plots against Castro, they would have been aware that the lawyer had clients who had been active in the assassination plots."

On March 21, FBI headquarters forwarded the Washington field office memo to the White House, the attorney general and the Secret Service. It did not recommend any further investigation of Morgan's allegations.

On the evening of the following day, President Johnson called CIA Director Richard M. Helms to the White House. The next morning, March 23, Helms ordered the CIA inspector general to prepare a report on the CIA involvement in the assassination plots—Operation Mongoose—of which Helms had full knowledge at the time they were executed.

By May 22, Helms briefed President Johnson on the results. There is, however, no evidence that Helms briefed the President on the November, 1963, plot—one of eight major schemes on Castro's life from 1960 to 1965—to assassinate the Cuban leader through the employment of an agent with the cryptonym AMLASH. His identity was revealed as Rolando Cubela, a 1961 CIA "recruit" with close access to Castro.

CIA operatives turned over assassin equipment to Cubela during a Paris meeting on November 22, 1963—the day President Kennedy was killed in Dallas. There has been subsequent speculation that the mercurial and talkative Cubela was either a double agent or being monitored by Cuban intelligence.

During the later days of his presidency, Mr. Johnson spoke cryptically of a "Caribbean Murder Incorporated" targeted against Fidel Castro. The inspiration for that statement undoubtedly was the CIA inspector general's report he ordered Helms to have prepared.

Within the past year, Rosselli and two of his co-conspirators in the Castro assassination schemes have died, Giancana at the hands of a professional hit man and Harvey as the result of a "massive heart attack" last June.

Mrs. William Harvey, the widow of the deceased CIA official, said she suspected no foul play in her husband's death. She did, however, tell The Washington Post that she "received a call after Rosselli's disappearance in late July warning her that Cu-

bans appeared to be attempting to wipe out all those who participated in the anti-Castro plots.

The call, she said, came from an old friend who was acquainted with Rosselli's sister, whose name is Edith Daigle. Mrs. Harvey said that Mrs. Daigle told the mutual acquaintance that the Rosselli family had received a telephone threat from unidentified Cubans prior to Rosselli's disappearance. She also said that Rosselli had gone to meet the Cubans in an effort to protect his family.

Mrs. Daigle could not be reached by The Washington Post. But another sister of Rosselli said she had heard of no such threats or warnings.

Harvey, who died at age 60 and whose exploits as a clandestine operator are both legendary and controversial within the agency, testified to the Senate Intelligence Committee. He had become Rosselli's case officer in Operation Mongoose and supplied the mobster with poison pills, explosives, detonators, rifles, handguns, radios and boat radar for transmission to anti-Castro Cuban agents. Harvey and Rosselli, a CIA superior testified to the Senate committee, "developed a close friendship."

Another CIA official who worked with Rosselli, James P. O'Connell, was asked if he knew whether the agency transmitted information to the mobster on possible Cuban involvement in the Kennedy assassination. He replied that he was out of the country at the time Kennedy was killed, and had no further comment.

Two months before the Kennedy assassination, Lee Harvey Oswald, who was identified by the Warren Commission as Kennedy's murderer, had traveled to Mexico City in an attempt to

gain entry to Cuba. According to the Warren Commission, Oswald represented himself as the head of the New Orleans branch of the Fair Play for Cuba organization and a friend of the Cuban Revolution.

Some three months before Kennedy was killed, Castro told Associated Press reporter Daniel Harker that U.S. leaders aiding terrorist plans to eliminate Cuban leaders would themselves not be safe.

A U.S. government committee coordinating policy toward Cuba at the time agreed there is a strong likelihood that Castro would retaliate in some fashion. However, it concluded Castro would not risk a major confrontation with the U.S. by attacking U.S. leaders.

On the same day Kennedy was assassinated, a CIA officer met with a high-ranking Cuban official, who had said he would kill Castro, to tell him the U.S. would provide him with explosives and a poison pen device.

While the Senate Intelligence Committee said it found no evidence sufficient to justify a conclusion that the Kennedy assassination was part of a conspiracy, it also said U.S. agencies did not properly investigate the assassination or tell the Warren Commission about the CIA plots on Castro's life.

"There is no indication that the FBI or the CIA directed the interviewing of Cuban sources or sources within the Cuban exile community," the Senate committee said.

According to a former FBI official in charge of key aspects of the FBI's probe of the Kennedy murder, the FBI never satisfactorily determined what Oswald planned to do in Cuba or what he had done in Russia.

Ford's Staff to Outline Strategy This Week for Fall Campaign

By Edward Walsh

Washington Post Staff Writer

VAIL, Colo., Aug. 21 — A few weeks ago, a political aide to President Ford was asked about strategy for the fall campaign. There were two options.....

One called for Mr. Ford to be "presidential," sticking close to the White House, traveling only to give major speeches on his vision for America. The other was the so-called "Truman option," calling for the kind of whirlwind, whistlestop campaign that rescued Harry Truman's presidency in 1948.

"Well," the aide replied, "like everything else in this campaign, it will be decided by a committee. That means he'll probably end up giving a series of lofty presidential speeches from the back of a train in Kansas."

The committee meetings to plan the details of the fall campaign begin here early next week. The President is reliably reported to have accepted the advice of those who have urged him to restrict his campaign travel, at least through September. He also has made his first speech in Kansas.

Mr. Ford's decision to stop in Russell, Kan., the home of his vice presidential running mate, Sen. Bob Dole, en route here Friday illustrated a central fact of his character that no amount of planning will change. The President loves to campaign. Keeping him close to the White House in an election year may not be easy.

What is likely to emerge from next week's strategy sessions here is a combination of the two general options. It would leave the brunt of the early campaigning to Dole, while Mr. Ford concentrated on preparing for the debate or series of debates he has proposed with democratic nominee Jimmy Carter. Late in the campaign, there would be intensive, personal campaigning by the President.

In a briefing for reporter this morning, White House press secretary Ron Nessen said Dole will arrive here Tuesday or Wednesday to participate in the strategy sessions. Dole may address an American Legion convention in Seattle Tuesday, substituting for the President, who has been considering making the trip, Nessen said.

He also said Ford campaign aides have not yet contracted Carter's aides to begin negotiations over ground rules for the debates. He said the President's staff would meet late today to begin considering what conditions and agreements they want from the Carter campaign on debate format.

Mr. Ford challenged Carter to debate in his acceptance speech Thursday night. The decision to issue the challenge appeared to be based on what the experience of the primary campaigning showed to be the President's strengths and his weaknesses.

Despite the success of the acceptance speech, for example, Mr. Ford is not a consistently inspiring public speaker. But he has shown that he can handle tough questioning with aplomb. He impressed reporters in January with a detailed briefing on his budget proposals to Congress. The next month, coolly answering questions during a campaign appearance at the University of New Hampshire, he defused a segment of the crowd that was openly hostile.

Moreover, with more than 25 years' experience in the federal government, the President easily cites the kind of facts and figures that appeared so impressive when John F. Kennedy debated Richard M. Nixon in 1960.

Carter has no federal experience and is fighting to overcome the charge he is deliberately vague on specific issues. He is thus likely to spend long hours preparing to debate Mr. Ford, limiting the time he can devote to personal campaigning.

Some of those who will take part

in next week's strategy sessions accompanied Mr. Ford here Friday from Kansas City, site of the Republican National Convention. They included White House chief of staff Richard B. Cheney, chief speech writer Robert T. Hartmann and Ford campaign chairman Rogers C. B. Morton.

Others are due here later. Stuart K. Spencer, political director of the campaign committee, and Robert the committee's pollster, will arrive Teeter, the committee's pollster, will arrive Sunday night after participating in a meeting in a Washington earlier that day with state and regional campaign coordinators.

The immediate order of business here, however, was not political strategy but golf. Soon after arriving at his vacation home Friday, the President was out on one of the local courses for a quick round of nine holes.

He got up at 8 this morning, and two hours later was back on the golf course.

While Mr. Ford appeared to be relaxing from the rigors of his long primary battle with Ronald Reagan and the excitement of the GOP national convention, First Lady Betty Ford was reported to be in considerable pain because of a chronic pinched nerve in her neck.

"She's really hurting," said Dr. William Lukash, the President's physician. "She's been suffering some very real discomfort."

Lukash said Mrs. Ford's chronic condition was aggravated by the strain of activities at the convention. The most serious, he said, was when she joined the President on the convention platform after his acceptance

speech Thursday night and lifted both her arms over her head to acknowledge the crowd's ovation.

Lukash said hot packs were being applied to Mrs. Ford's neck. He said he expected the pain to subside, with no serious aftereffects, once Mrs. Ford is fully rested.

The buoyancy and good humor of the President's staff following the GOP convention was perhaps best illustrated by Nessen. He wandered over to a reporter this morning to suggest a facetious schedule for the First Family that satirized the publicity the Carter family has received in Plains, Ga., since the Democratic convention last month.

"We're going to drain the pond tomorrow at 10," Nessen said. "At 4, we'll have the ball game—we play hardball here. On Tuesday, there'll be a photo opportunity at the opening of Susan's lemonade stand. And Jack is practicing climbing a tree."

Israel, Syria Seen 'Opening Gates' In Golan Heights

By H.D.S. Greenway

Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, Aug. 21—On the windswept heights of the Israeli-occupied Golan, tensions between Syria and Israel have relaxed to such a degree that Israel may soon be able to "open up the gates a little bit" to allow families separated by the ceasefire line to visit, according to Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres.

Israel has had open bridges with Jordan since the 1967 war. In recent weeks, the fences along the northern border with Lebanon have been opened to allow a limited number of Lebanese to enter Israel to receive medical attention, shop and even to find jobs.

Now, for the first time, Israel has received "indications" that Syria may allow a limited open-fence policy on the Golan to reunite families, Peres revealed in an interview. He said that U.N. officials involved with the separation of forces were exploring the matter with the Syrians and that Israel was awaiting an announcement from them.

If an agreement is reached, "we shall have a very strange phenomenon," Peres said, "a sea of hostility with open frontiers." It is not expected, however, that the Syrians would agree to anything more than a very limited exchange or to anything like the open-fence policy on the Lebanese border.

In recent months the Syrian Army, once so heavily concentrated along the confrontation line with Israel, has been withdrawing troops from the Golan to fight in Lebanon and to guard the eastern frontier with Iraq. Peres said that Israel had nothing in the way of a tacit understanding with Syria but that "by now even the Syrians should have learned that Israel is not as expansionist as the Syrians have claimed."

If a limited open-fence policy with Syria can be arranged on the Golan, it will mean a great deal to the families, mostly belonging to the Druze sect, that have been separated since the 1967 war. In the past, the Syrians have allowed a very small number of people, such as students who want to study in Damascus, to pass through the checkpoint at the bombed and ruined town of Kuneitra.

"There have been pathetic scenes of women on one side of the uncontrolled buffer zone holding up babies to show to relatives on the other side and of families trying to talk to each other with bull horns."

Syria, according to Peres, was faced with a combination of "military strength and political weakness" in Lebanon. "They cannot overstep their own red lines because they are afraid of Arab reaction and puzzled about possible Israeli reaction," he said. Peres said he did not expect a quick solution to the Lebanese civil war. It appeared, he said, as if Lebanon were moving toward a de facto partition similar to that in Cyprus with two separate administrations and a foreign army, in this case the Syrian, on watch.

As for Israel's other confrontation line with Egypt, Peres said that "by and large, after a very long period of time, both parties are enjoying a relatively relaxed situation and a state of de-escalation." He said there were still important and unresolved problems concerning the interim agreement with Egypt in the Sinai. But considering the whole picture, Peres said that he could not complain that the Egyptians are breaking the agreement.

The interim agreement, which provided for a Partial withdrawal of Israeli forces in the Sinai and a U.N.

controlled buffer zone, was signed Sept. 1, 1975.

Peres met Thursday with the chief coordinator of the U.N. peace-keeping mission, Gen. Easio Siilasvuo, who had recently met with Peres' Egyptian counterpart, Gen. Mohammed Abdel Gamassi. Following the meeting, Peres announced that, except for the number of Egyptian troops stationed east of the canal, the Egyptians had given satisfactory answers to Israel's complaints.

The agreement allows for eight Egyptian battalions to be stationed in the Sinai. According to Israeli estimates, there are from 16 to 18 Egyptian battalions in the Sinai, but the United Nations puts the figure at 11.

The Egyptians claim that the increase is on paper and follows a technical reorganization of their forces rather than an increase in men. The Israelis say that the terms of the agreement must be strictly adhered to.

Israel is also upset over the continuing propaganda campaign that Egypt is waging, which Israel feels is a violation of the agreement's spirit. Peres said that President Anwar Sadat's speech at the conference of non-aligned Nations in Sri Lanka "used very harsh language which we wouldn't expect from a responsible leader even without an agreement."

Besides the still-unresolved issue of the number of Egyptian troops in the Sinai, other Israeli complaints involve helicopter overflights, alleged missile sites and the administration of Bedouins living in the buffer zone.

A Defense Ministry spokesman said the Egyptians have explained their helicopter overflights in terms of navigational errors and have promised to do everything necessary to prevent them. Peres admitted that there have been Israeli helicopter overflights as well, although not as serious as the Egyptian overflights, and that the Israelis have put white-painted barrels on the ground to prevent further errors.

The Israeli view of the some 7,000 Bedouins living in the buffer zone is that they should be under U.N. control rather than Egyptian administrative control. After the Thursday meeting, the Israelis are hopeful that the United Nations can reach a solution with Egypt to this problem.

The missile violations are potentially more serious. The Israelis had complained that the Egyptians had built three missile sites in the 10-kilometer zone of limited forces west of the canal. The Egyptians admitted to two and dismantled them. It was announced Thursday that the United Nations agreed with Israel that there was a third missile site and the United Nations promised to bring it up with the Egyptians.

Peres said that although a solution is expected to the missile sites problem west of the canal, there were "indications" that the Egyptians may be building missile sites east of the canal in the Sinai, which would also be in violation of the agreement. It was too early to tell if the construction sites were for missiles, Peres said. The Egyptians had denied it, but the United Nations was investigating it, the Israeli defense minister said.

Despite these violations, Peres said he considered the agreement to be a success because "The major aim of the agreement was to change the situation from a state of tension, belligerency and escalation to a state of relaxation, de-escalation and preparedness for the continuing search for a peaceful solution." All things considered, he said that the general state of Sinai affairs "justified the agreement."

Mod. Mentality Of War Spreads Through Rhodesia

By Robin Wright

Special to The Washington Post

SALISBURY—The strict dress code at the swank bar of Salisbury's McKies Hotel used to be coat and tie. Now another dress is common place: the dull green of army fatigues.

The morning music on Rhodesian radio used to feature breezy show tunes or jazz. Now programs are broken up with the ominous beat of martial music.

Umtali's Cecil Hotel used to be the high spot for holiday-makers taking a break in the lush eastern mountains bordering Mozambique. Now the only clients there are journalists covering Rhodesia's rapidly escalating guerrilla war or Umtali residents who have been evacuated from homes within firing range of guerrillas on the other side of the border.

The sights reflect a dramatic change in Rhodesia: The four-year-old guerrilla war has finally become visible, conspicuously affecting every aspect of life in the southern African territory.

Although insurgents have been active since 1972, until recently the war was limited to small areas along the border, far from the urban areas. A stranger in Salisbury in January would not have been aware of the war. Rhodesia tended to shrug it off then as a bothersome skirmish in distant corners.

But it cannot be avoided anymore.

The opening of new fronts in the southeast, northwest and on the western Botswana border, plus the penetration of Mozambique-based guerrillas deep inside Rhodesia since February, has dramatically escalated the war.

Rhodesia's military commander, Gen. Peter Walls, admitted recently that confrontations with insurgents are no longer limited to a few "sharp ends" and that the "operational zone" now encompasses the entire country.

The proof is increasingly evident. Army trucks and soldiers roam the streets of Salisbury, Rhodesia's otherwise sleepy little capital. Gun-toting civilians are so commonplace that hotels and public buildings provide gun-checking facilities in the same spirit as hatch-berks in American restaurants.

The Rhodesia Herald has a new classified advertising column headed "Killed in Action," and another filled with condolences for security force troops who have died recently. The small "filler" items, once anecdotes or good-news stories from around the world, have been replaced by items on army convoy escorts available in war zones, gun storage facilities, or new shipments of materials for security fences.

The hottest topic of conversation here is how to "mine-proof" cars to protect against landmines planted by guerrillas, now in paved streets as well as dirt roads.

"The government has not yet declared a state of war," a Salisbury restaurateur explained, "but the only thing we're lacking is an official statement. The proof of our situation is more visible every day."

Perhaps more important than the signs of a military buildup are the economic indicators of Rhodesia's troubles.

Tourism, a vital source of ever-short foreign exchange, has dropped by more than 30 per cent since the new year, even though the government has drawn up a subsidy scheme of as much as 50 per cent for tourists.

The killing of three South African tourists on Easter Sunday and two Spanish tourists last week is expected to further discourage potential visitors, despite army convoys that escort drivers on several main roads.

Industrial production and manufacturing have declined by almost 10 per cent because of material and manpower shortages, according to South Africa's Financial Mail. So many businesses are running on skeleton staffs because of extended callups of army reservists that a new organization has been formed to mobilize skilled women or retired persons to replace men sent to the operational zones.

The defense budget has soared from \$23 million in 1972, when hostilities began, to \$96 million this year, forcing increases in sales tax and customs duties.

Foreign exchange in sanctioned Rhodesia has all but dried up as funds are diverted for purchase of war materials. Shop owners and food store managers who used to brag about being able to provide any item by "foul means or fair" despite imposed sanctions complain of major shortages.

Among the vanishing goods: whiskey, china-ware, batteries, razor blades, cheese, vacuum cleaners, hostelry, hair driers, jewelry, fish, light bulbs, frozen foods and facial tissues.

The manager of a large department store in Salisbury predicts a severe toy shortage for Christmas. The waiting list for a new Peugeot automobile is at least two years. And all wines except Rhodesia's own variety—called rotgut by the locals—has vanished.

Even foreign-exchange holiday allowances have been slashed. In July, the government cut allocations from \$350 to \$220 a person a year.

The impact of these new signs indicating increasing military and economic troubles has made a heavy mark on Rhodesia's 270,000 whites, outnumbered more than 20 to one by Africans.

Emigration of whites is rising rapidly, with monthly figures since April surpassing all records since Prime Minister Smith declared unilateral independence in November 1965.

In July the government also cut allocations to families leaving Rhodesia from \$4,340 to \$890 to discourage further emigration. But the gesture only forced up the black-market rates. Normally the Rhodesian dollar pays about \$1.60. Now the "unofficial" rate is one for one.

House sales have become increasingly difficult. A newly arrived foreign correspondent rented a completely furnished, six-bedroom house with pool and tennis court on Salisbury's most exclusive Orange Grove Drive for \$320 a month because the owner could not sell it.

In Lockheed Case

By Andrew Horvat
Special to The Washington Post

TOKYO, Aug. 21—Former Transport Minister Tomisaburo Hashimoto today became the third high figure of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party to be arrested for bribery charges stemming from Japan's Lockheed scandal.

Hashimoto, 75, is suspected to have received a \$16,666 bribe from a \$100,000 check passed by an officer of the Lockheed Aircraft Corp. to its local agents for distribution as payoffs to Japanese politicians, the prosecutor's office said.

Like Takayuki Sato, the deputy minister of transport who was arrested on charges of bribery yesterday, Hashimoto is suspected of having helped Lockheed's sales of TriStar jetliners by forcing the Transport Ministry to postpone permission on the introduction of airbuses until the U.S. aircraft company's own wide-bodied jets were ready for marketing.

Hashimoto is a chief lieutenant of former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, whose faction is still the largest and most powerful in the ruling Liberal Democratic Party despite Tanaka's indictment on Aug. 16 for bribery.

Hashimoto's arrest is expected to renew charges from conservatives within the party that Prime Minister Takeo Miki is destroying the party by what one elder has termed "an overly enthusiastic pursuit of the Lockheed probe."

Miki's position as head of the badly divided party was made more difficult today by an article in Japan's largest national daily alleging the involvement of his righthand man, Yasuhiro Nakasone, in the sales of Lockheed TriStars.

The Asahi Shimbun newspaper printed a three-page interview with Lockheed's former vice chairman and president, A. Carl Kotchian, who engineered the sales of 21 TriStar jets by using an \$8.3 million fund. He is quoted as saying, "I was told we were having difficulties so we will have to get Nakasone to clear things up."

Nakasone, the party secretary general and the leader of the faction supporting Miki's continued rule, was minister of international trade and industry in Tanaka's Cabinet. Kotchian told the newspaper that on Oct. 5, 1972, his company's secret agent, powerbroker Yoshio Kodama, phoned Nakasone at his ministry office and asked him to defuse a conspiracy inside the Cabinet that, Kotchian was told, had formed to prevent Lockheed from successfully completing its sales.

Kotchian said Kodama told him that Nakasone would fix everything by the next day. The former Lockheed executive is quoted as saying "When I met Prime Minister Tanaka's secretary the day after the phone call, everything was all right."

Nakasone's office today said the account of Nakasone's role in the Lockheed scandal was "pure fabrication."

"On Oct. 5, 1972, Nakasone was in northern Japan and not in his office at the ministry, and the next morning he was back in Tokyo attending a meeting of his faction which started at 7:30 a.m.," a spokesman for Nakasone said.

It is generally believed that a resignation by Nakasone would force Miki to step down, and that such a step would probably mean an end to the Lockheed probe.

Kotchian told the newspaper that the Marubeni Corp., Lockheed's Japanese agent newspaper had said that payoffs were the rule in Japan when making requests for special consideration from government officials.

The money that Hashimoto is accused of having received on Oct. 31, 1972, went from Lockheed's Tokyo office to the Marubeni Corp. with the understanding that one of its executives would use it to make payoffs in the name of All-Nippon Airways, Kotchian said. Starting in October 1972, All-Nippon Airways purchased 21 Lockheed TriStar jets for a total of \$430 million.

The Asahi Shimbun said it is possible that Marubeni Corp. and All-Nippon Airways disposed of the money they extracted from Lockheed in ways that differed from their explanations to Kotchian. Kotchian said he was told that Sato would receive \$12,000, but yesterday Sato was arrested on charges of receiving a \$6,000 bribe.

Kotchian denied any connection between former President Nixon's administration and Lockheed's sales to Japan.

Announcement of the \$430 million dollar purchase came in the wake of the Nixon-Tanaka summit held in Hawaii in late August 1972. "I don't blame people for thinking we had Nixon's backing because we tried very hard to give that impression," Kotchian is quoted as saying.

Washington Star

Saudis Become Chief Exporters Of Oil to U.S.

By Roberta Hornig

Washington Star Staff Writer

Saudi Arabia this year became the chief oil supplier to the United States, accounting for about 23 percent of this nation's imports.

Government statistics show that the Middle East kingdom — which imposed an oil embargo on the United States in the wake of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war — has replaced, for the first time, Nigeria, Indonesia and Canada.

During the embargo, Saudi Arabia accounted for between 6 and 12 percent of the country's imports.

A SPOKESMAN for the Arabian-American Oil Co. (Aramco) said the Saudis' oil importance "began early this year and has remained consistently this way through the months."

According to government statistics for the first six months of 1976 — compiled by the federal Bureau of Mines and the Federal Energy Administration — the United States imported an average of 4.7 million barrels a day from January to June. More than 1 million barrels a day came from Saudi Arabia.

The Spirit of Kansas City

RONALD REAGAN was a brave challenger and a gallant loser. President Ford was both magnificent and uncommonly forceful in victory. The party platform was laboriously assembled, with a bare minimum of rancor and in an atmosphere of civility; the only challenge on the convention floor was largely, and subliminally, directed at Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, and while it was pregnant in its symbolism, it was so lacking in substance that the Ford forces had no great difficulty double-talking themselves into accepting it. In short, the Republicans managed to do a lot more than simply survive his most bruising battle for their presidential nomination since Dwight D. Eisenhower and Robert Taft fought each other down to the wire in 1952. They have actually emerged in far better condition to take up the campaign against the Democrats than most people would have expected even a few short weeks ago.

At that time it was entirely possible to project either of two alternatives: (1) a narrow win for Ronald Reagan that would have repudiated the record of an incumbent Republican occupant of the White House and carried the party off even further to the right, or (2) a shootout so violent and destructive of party unity that the nomination would have been of scant value to whoever won it. Instead, you can actually accept the possibility that the party's re-elected chairman, Mary Louise Smith, may be right in her post-convention proclamation that "the spirit of Kansas City can spread all across America—we can win in November."

You can accept that possibility, that is, if you are both prudent about the making of any political predictions and also willing to accept the credo of the party's theologians—a credo that locates the political center of gravity in America somewhere in between, let us say, the defeated Ronald Reagan and the triumphant Gerald Ford. There are those who hold fiercely to this view, who believe that the only thing wrong with conservative doctrine is that it has too often been diluted by compromise, and that this is enough to explain why it is that a comfortable majority of the people, according to the polls, identify themselves as conservatives, while only about one fifth of the people are willing to identify themselves as card-carrying Republicans. Sen. Jesse Helms is perhaps the leading Republican exponent of this view and his presentation of it to the platform committee at Kansas City is excerpted on the opposite page today. We recommend its careful inspection, for it seems to us to be both eloquent in its argument and exceedingly wrongheaded in its conclusion: that the discrepancy between those large numbers of people who call themselves conservatives and that happy few who are willing to call themselves Republicans represents nothing more than a failure of the party to put forward some Ivory soap pure version of "conservatism," something, shall we say, by Ayn Rand as told to John Foster Dulles.

Well, we just find that hard to believe, and we will tell you why. When it has been tried, on the national level (and never mind that pure conservatives do get elected from time to time to Congress and to local office) it has not worked very well. The effort of Barry Goldwater comes quickly to mind. And when the Republicans have actually succeeded in winning the presidency, and holding onto it for a while, they have done so by accommodating conservative doctrine to moderating influences from, at the very least, the middle of the road. They have, in other words, looked for their center of gravity somewhere between the Fords and the Reagans, on the one hand, and the Clifford Cases, Edward Brooke, Charles Mathias and Mark Hatfields, to cite but a few contemporary figures of the party's left in the U.S. Senate. Similar lists could be drawn from the party's governors and members of the House.

It is of course true that a number of genuinely conservative Republicans have been elected to Congress in recent years. But it is important to observe in this connection that they have not been elected in numbers sufficient to provide Republican control of Congress. Forty out of the last 44 years—as Rep. Jack Kemp of New York reminded the convention—have seen the Democrats in control of Congress. From this we think the Republicans might well draw certain conclusions, though not those that so many of them seem to be drawing. Chief among these is the proposition that right-wing Republican dogma in fact does not address itself to the conservative yearnings of so many people in the country. And to the extent that such dogma finds expression in worn-out, reflexive clichés—bomb-wagging, negativism, without a cause—and such succumbings to frustration as inveighing against federal aid to education, and the rest—we expect that the Republicans will find Jimmy Carter stealing some of their best prospective support.

Let's state it as a simple fact: The Republican Party in the past two years has made an astonishing recovery from the decimation of the Nixon-Agnew years, from an array of political disasters that almost defied imagination. The question now is whether it can also risk bold moves to enlarge its constituency and become "national" in outlook and identification in a way that Mr. Ford has yet to manage. Or is its recovery still so shaky that its leaders cannot risk moving beyond the narrow, restrictive confines of party positions that can be expected to please a small inner core? The Democrats paid for their Vietnam errors with the McGovern candidacy. They have now emerged with that behind them, as well as with a reconciliation of North and South on racial issues. But for a time they too succumbed to their extremists and to every mindless cliché in their dogma book. In our view, the Republicans narrowly missed the same fate in Kansas City. It remains to be seen, however, whether in missing it, they made commitments and concessions that amount to some partial return to the

Washington Star

Nomination Due Next Week

GOP Lawyer May Be Envoy

By Jeremiah O'Leary

Washington Star Staff Writer

Ralph E. Becker, prominent Washington attorney and veteran Republican political campaigner, will be nominated this week by President Ford for the ambassadorship to Honduras.

Becker, 68, who lives in the 2900 block of 32nd Street NW, has been most widely known in recent years for his long service as general counsel to the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. But he is also a gourmet chef and the dinner parties given by he and his wife, Ann, are cordon bleu quality.

Although Becker is widely known as an international lawyer, his nomination by President Ford is political.

Becker is an expert on American politics. In 1960, he donated to the Smithsonian Institution his collection of early presidential campaign memorabilia, 30,000 items of political Americana dating back to George Washington's day.

A PRACTICING lawyer for more than 46 years in New York and Washington, Becker is a partner in Becker, Feldman and Becker. He has specialized in corporate, insurance and atomic energy law.

Becker is also a collector of international decorations. He is, among other things, a chevalier of the Legion of Honor of France and of the Southern Cross of Brazil and holds the Danish Royal Order of Dannebrog, the Iranian Order of Homayoun and

the Great Cross of Meritorious Service of Austria.

During his World War II service in Europe with the 30th (Old Hickory) Infantry Division, Becker won the Bronze Star, the Belgian Fourragere and the Croix de Guerre of France.

In local affairs, Becker has been a member of the board of directors of the Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade, president of the New York State Society of Washington and director on several boards such as the Friends of the National Zoo.

AFTER WORLD WAR II, he was national chairman of the Young Republicans and a member of the executive committee of the Republican National Committee. Since then he has assisted the RNC, the National Republican Finance Committee and congressional and senatorial campaign committees.

He was field director for the Southwest and Rocky Mountain area on behalf of Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1952 presidential campaign. He wrote a book, "How to Win a Political Campaign," and is co-author of the "Republican Campaign Manual."

Becker may be the only person in Washington with a mountain in Antarctica named after him. The Norwegian explorer Finn Ronne named a 4,000-foot-high peak Mount Becker in gratitude for Becker's help in getting private financing for an Antarctic expedition.

The nomination must be approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Star editorial

An expert on terrorism

One of the highlights of the fifth summit conference of non-aligned nations, just concluded in Sri Lanka, was a discourse on terrorism by Muammar Kadafi, the Libyan leader. Even though Colonel Kadafi held back much of what he knows about international violence, the occasion in Colombo was noteworthy because he felt it appropriate to defend in general terms his own role as a sponsor of terrorist activity.

The Kadafi defense, predictably, was that he supported good causes (like national independence and racial justice) against evil forces. The latter, he argued, are more deserving of the terrorist label than such victims of injustice as the Palestinians. The plea by the 34-year-old Libyan fanatic must have drawn cynical chuckles from representatives of at least some of the governments that have been objects of his revolutionary zeal.

Colonel Kadafi's targets by now span the globe, and include neighboring Arab nations with which he is technically allied as well as more distant enemies. With ample oil revenues and supplies of Soviet arms, the colonel supports Palestinian extremists in outrages against Israel, and Moslem guerrillas in the Philippines, Thailand and Ethiopia. But these are among the more understandable Kadafi causes, given his Islamic ardor. He also is believed seeking to destroy fellow Arab and/or Islamic leaders, in

Egypt, the Sudan, Tunisia, Iran, Jordan and Morocco. And when the IRA in Northern Ireland is found to have Soviet weapons containing desert sand, fingers reasonably point to Colonel Kadafi. Libya is believed to be the training center for a diverse group of international terrorists — the meeting ground of such as the Japanese Red Army and the Baader-Meinhof Gang.

Explanations for Colonel Kadafi's extremist hyper-activity vary. The shah of Iran was reported as calling him "that crazy fellow" and President Sadat of Egypt has pronounced him "100 per cent sick and possessed of a demon." In other views, he is intelligent and dedicated to his version of Arab unity and all-embracing Islam, allowing of no peace with Israel. What is not in dispute is that the causes he promotes threaten stability and innocent lives in many parts of the world.

The mystery of his performance in Colombo is why he dared to show up at all, exposing himself to the possible vengeance of several of those he has sought to overthrow. Colonel Kadafi showed some awareness that he might not be universally popular. His arrival in Sri Lanka was preceded by that of 73 Libyan policemen (a score of them without proper passports), and he brought dozens more guards with him. A young leader of Third World opinion cannot be too careful these days.