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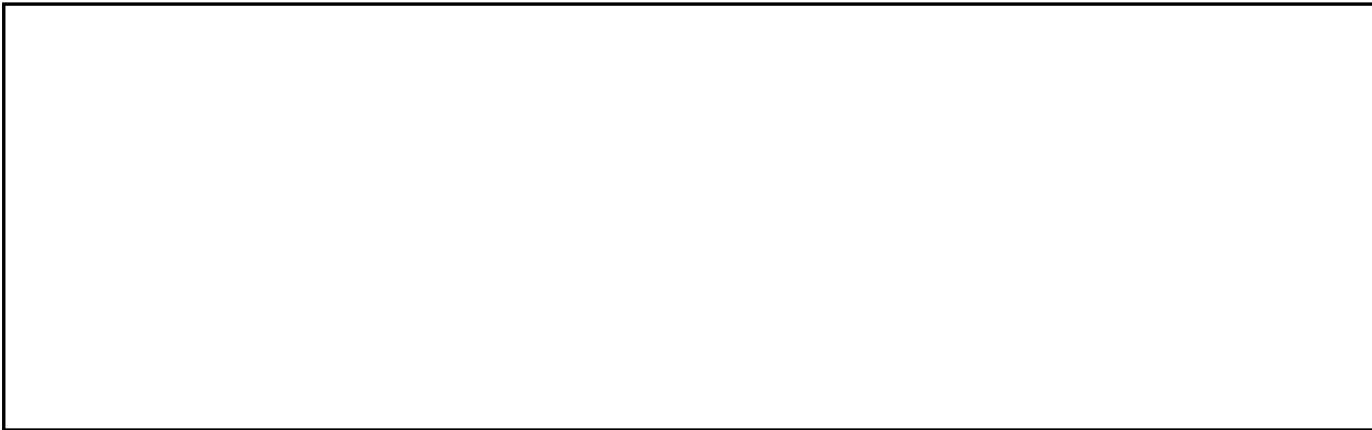
BRIEF

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ARGENTINA: PRESIDENT MARIA ESTELA PERON HAS, THROUGH SEVERAL CONCILIATORY GESTURES, TEMPORARILY REDUCED THE PRESSURE FOR HER OUSTER.4

THE PRESIDENT MET WITH HER CABINET LAST WEEK IN AN AIR OF CONCILIATION AND ANNOUNCED PLANS TO MOVE THE GENERAL ELECTION SCHEDULED FOR MARCH 1977 TO OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER 1976. AT THE SAME TIME, SHE EXPRESSED FULL CONFIDENCE IN HER MINISTERS AND SINGLED OUT INTERIOR MINISTER ROBLEDO FOR SPECIAL PRAISE.4

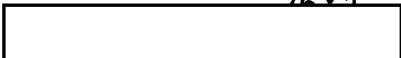
THE MEETING FOLLOWED A PERIOD OF WITHDRAWAL DURING WHICH PERON REFUSED TO SEE THE CABINET AND APPEARED TO BE ACCEPTING ONLY THE COUNSEL OF HER PRIVATE SECRETARY AND LOPEZ REGA PROTEGE, JULIO GONZALEZ. GONZALEZ HAD BEEN SEEKING TO ENHANCE HIS POWER BY HAVING ROBLEDO FIRED, A MOVE THAT WOULD HAVE EXHAUSTED THE PATIENCE OF MILITARY AND CIVILIAN GROUPS IN OPPOSITION TO PERON. ROBLEDO IS THE ONE MAN IN WHICH ALL FACTIONS STILL HAVE SOME CONFIDENCE. BY ACKNOWLEDGING ROBLEDO, PERON HAS INDICATED HER WILLINGNESS TO RELY ON THE MORE ACCEPTABLE GROUPS IN HER LATE HUSBAND'S POLITICAL MOVEMENT.

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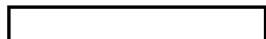
SHE HAS SO FAR RESISTED DEMANDS TO FIRE GONZALEZ, HOWEVER, SUGGESTING THAT HER SHIFT TO ROBLEDO MAY BE TACTICAL AND SUBJECT TO FUTURE POLITICAL MACHINATIONS. Y

FOR HIS PART, THE INTERIOR MINISTER HAS PUBLICLY ASSURED PERON'S CRITICS THAT HER HEALTH IS SOUND AND THAT A MEDICAL EXAMINATION IS NOT REQUIRED TO DETERMINE HER FITNESS TO REMAIN IN OFFICE. PRIVATELY, ROBLEDO HAS PROMISED TO CONTROL PERON AND CREATE AN HONEST AND EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT, BUT HIS ABILITY TO DELIVER ON SUCH A PROMISE IS DOUBTFUL. INDEED, THE PRESIDENT HAS ALREADY TAKEN STEPS TO BLOCK A CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION OF HIGH-LEVEL CORRUPTION THAT COULD WELL INCRIMINATE HER. Y

ALTHOUGH PERON'S MOVES HAVE PRODUCED A NEW SENSE OF HARMONY, THIS WILL PROBABLY BE TRANSITORY. UNLESS REAL POWER IS GRADUALLY SHIFTED TO ROBLEDO AND OTHER RESPECTABLE PERONISTS, THE VACUUM THAT HAS EXISTED IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH SINCE JULY WILL CONTINUE. THE MILITARY, MEANWHILE, CONTINUES TO WATCH DEVELOPMENTS, AND ITS ASHORENCE OF PERON IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY EVIDENT. 

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1.//JAPAN: PRIME MINISTER MIKI RETURNED FROM LAST WEEKEND'S ECONOMIC SUMMIT CONFERENCE AFFIRMING THAT HE WILL NOT CALL A GENERAL ELECTION "FOR THE TIME BEING," A MOVE THAT SIGNALS A CONTINUED TRUCE--HOWEVER SHAKY--BETWEEN MIKI AND HIS CONSERVATIVE PARTY RIVALS.//4

//MIKI HOPED THE PUBLICITY SURROUNDING HIS INTERNATIONAL ROLE WOULD BOOST HIS SAGGING DOMESTIC POPULARITY AND PERHAPS ENABLE HIM TO CALL AN ELECTION THIS YEAR. MIKI ASSUMED THE PRIME MINISTRY AS A COMPROMISE CHOICE AFTER A DEADLOCK LAST DECEMBER BETWEEN MORE POWERFUL CONTENDERS NEARLY SPLIT THE RULING LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY; HE NEEDS AN ELECTION TO GIVE HIM A POPULAR MANDATE AND IMPROVE HIS POWER POSITION IN THE PARTY.//4

//THE CRITICAL DECISION ON THE TIMING OF AN ELECTION RESTS WITH THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY LEADERS, HOWEVER, AND THEY REMAIN OPPOSED TO AN EARLY ELECTION THAT COULD EXTEND MIKI'S STAY IN OFFICE FOR SOME TIME. THE PRIME MINISTER NEEDS THEIR SUPPORT IN THE CURRENT DIET SESSION AND MAY WELL HAVE AGREED TO SIDETRACK

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HIS ELECTION AMBITIONS TO GET IT. MIKI MUST GAIN PASSAGE OF THREE CRUCIAL REVENUE BILLS BEFORE THE SESSION CLOSES NEXT MONTH. HE ALSO FACES A LABOR UNION - GOVERNMENT CONFRONTATION OVER THE CONTENTIOUS ISSUE OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES' RIGHT TO STRIKE.//4

//NEITHER DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA NOR FINANCE MINISTER OHIRA--MIKI'S TWO LEADING CHALLENGERS--IS NOW SURE OF HIS ABILITY TO PREVAIL IN A HEAD-ON CONFRONTATION, AND BOTH ARE CONCERNED THAT A SHOWDOWN COULD BRING THE PARTY CLOSE TO AN OPEN BREAK.//4

//DESPITE THE TRUCE, A NUMBER OF PARTY LEADERS ARE EXPLORING THE POSSIBILITY OF SELECTING ANOTHER INTERIM PRIME MINISTER, PENDING PARTY ELECTIONS TO CHOOSE A MORE PERMANENT LEADER--A MOVE THAT COULD GAIN MOMENTUM IF MIKI FALTERS IN THE NEXT DIET SESSION THAT BEGINS IN JANUARY. FOR HIS PART, MIKI MAY CALCULATE NOW THAT THE PROSPECTS FOR REVIVING HIS OWN ELECTION AMBITIONS WILL BE BETTER IN THE SPRING. 25X1

2. MALAYSIA: THE POLITICAL CONFRONTATION BETWEEN PRIME MINISTER RAZAK AND SELANGOR CHIEF MINISTER HARUN IS REACHING A CRITICAL STAGE. HARUN HAS REFUSED TO ACCEPT POLITICAL EXILE

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AS MALAYSIA'S PERMANENT UN REPRESENTATIVE, AND HE COULD USE HIS CONTACTS WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT TO CHALLENGE RAZAK'S OWN POSITION.4

ALTHOUGH A RESORT TO FORCE BY HARUN AND HIS SUPPORTERS CANNOT BE RULED OUT, IT SEEMS MORE LIKELY THAT THE PRESENT CONFRONTATION WILL BE RESOLVED POLITICALLY WITHIN THE COUNCILS OF THE RULING UNITED MALAYS NATIONAL ORGANIZATION. HARUN, THANKS TO THE WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FROM THE PARTY'S RANK AND FILE AND HIS LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY'S INFLUENTIAL YOUTH ORGANIZATION, IS IN A STRONG POSITION. RAZAK, IN FACT, MAY HAVE TO ABANDON HIS EFFORTS TO SEND HARUN INTO POLITICAL EXILE IF HE IS TO MAINTAIN HIS OWN GRIP ON POWER.

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1. LEBANON: LEBANON'S THREE-WEEK-OLD CEASE-FIRE COLLAPSED OVER THE WEEKEND. THE LARGE CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM MILITIAS AGAIN BECAME INVOLVED IN THE FIGHTING, AND SUSTAINED CLASHES TOOK PLACE IN THE BEIRUT SUBURBS AND THE CITY CENTER. FIGHTING WAS ALSO REPORTED IN THE NORTHERN PART OF TRIPOLI AND IN THE EASTERN TOWN OF BALABAKK.4

THE RESUMPTION OF HEAVY FIGHTING HAS DEMORALIZED THE COUNTRY'S POLITICIANS, WHO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THEY HAVE RUN OUT OF IDEAS FOR NEGOTIATING PEACE. PRIME MINISTER KARAMI--WHO HAS A REPUTATION FOR REMAINING CALM AND OPTIMISTIC AT ALL TIMES--STATED ON FRIDAY THAT "LEBANON IS ON THE VERGE OF COLLAPSE." THIS STATEMENT APPARENTLY WAS DESIGNED TO SHOCK THE COUNTRY'S WARRING FACTIONS INTO STOPPING THE FIGHTING. LIKE KARAMI'S CALL FOR A TRUCE ON SATURDAY, HOWEVER, IT HAD LITTLE EFFECT.4

PRESIDENT FRANJIYAH HAD SCHEDULED A MAJOR ADDRESS FOR LEBANON'S NATIONAL DAY ON SATURDAY, BUT CANCELED IT AT THE LAST MINUTE. THIS ONLY UNDERScoreD THE PRESIDENT'S LOSS

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OF POLITICAL INITIATIVE AND HIS INABILITY TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH THE COUNTRY'S OVERWHELMING PROBLEMS. FRANJIYAH'S TALKS WITH KARAMI, TO REACH SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS, HAVE NOT YET BEGUN. THE INCREASED FIGHTING MAKES IT UNLIKELY THAT THE TWO WILL FIND COMMON GROUND ON ANY IMPORTANT ISSUE. 4

THE NATIONAL DIALOGUE COMMITTEE, WHICH IS EVENLY DIVIDED BETWEEN CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS AND INCLUDES ALMOST ALL OF THE COUNTRY'S LEADING POLITICIANS, APPARENTLY WILL MEET ON MONDAY DESPITE THE INCREASE IN FIGHTING. ALTHOUGH UNLIKELY TO ACCOMPLISH ANYTHING, THE SESSION WILL BE IMPORTANT AS AN INDICATOR OF WHETHER THE COUNTRY'S PRINCIPAL POLITICAL GROUPS REMAIN INTERESTED IN NEGOTIATING A SETTLEMENT. SOME OF THE LEFTISTS AND RIGHT-WING CHRISTIANS ON THE COMMITTEE ARE CONVINCED THAT COMPROMISE IS IMPOSSIBLE, AND HAVE TALKED OF WITHDRAWING FROM THE GROUP. SEVERAL HAVE BOYCOTTED PAST MEETINGS. 4

A STATEMENT ON SATURDAY IN THE NEWSPAPER OF THE RIGHT-WING PHALANGES PARTY REVEALED THE DEPTH OF CHRISTIAN PESSIMISM AND

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INDIRECTLY THREATENED THAT THE PARTY MIGHT MOVE TOWARD PARTITION AS A SOLUTION TO LEBANON'S PROBLEMS. THE STATEMENT ANNOUNCED THAT THE PHALANGISTS ARE FORMING COMMITTEES OF PARTY MEMBERS TO ASSUME ALL CIVIL FUNCTIONS, IF NECESSARY, TO ELIMINATE THE SOCIAL CHAOS AND GOVERNMENT IMPOTENCE THAT HAVE RESULTED FROM THE LEFT'S "WAR OF ATTRITION."

THE PRINCIPAL PHALANGIST LEADERS STILL DO NOT SEEK PARTITION, HOWEVER. THEY NEVERTHELESS RECOGNIZE THAT ANY HINT OF MOVEMENT IN THAT DIRECTION WOULD ALARM LEBANESE MUSLIMS AND LEFTISTS, AND THE SYRIANS. THIS HEIGHTENED CONCERN, THE PHALANGISTS CALCULATE, MAY INDUCE THESE OPPONENTS TO MAKE CONCESSIONS IN NEGOTIATIONS.



2. SYRIA-ISRAEL: TEL AVIV IS LIKELY TO INTERPRET THE FEDAYEEN ATTACK ON AN ISRAELI SETTLEMENT THURSDAY AS PART OF AN EFFORT BY SYRIA TO INCREASE TENSION AS THE EXPIRATION DATE-NOVEMBER 30-OF THE UN FORCES' MANDATE APPROACHES. THE ATTACKERS, WHO SAID THEY WERE FROM A SYRIAN-BASED UNIT OF YASIR ARAFAT'S FATAH, GOT BACK TO SYRIA AFTER KILLING THREE ISRAELIS AND WOUNDING ANOTHER.4

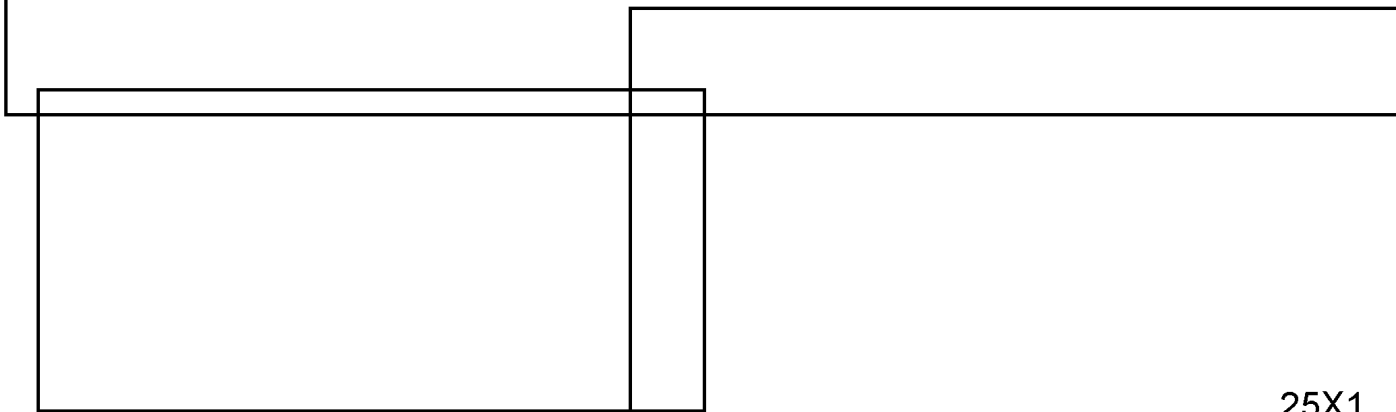
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THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT WILL BE UNDER STRONG DOMESTIC PRESSURE

TO STRIKE BACK

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THE ISRAELIS NEVERTHELESS WILL TIGHTEN SECURITY MEASURES ON T
 GOLAN AND INITIATE MORE AGRESSIVE PATROLLING OF THE DISENGAGEMENT
 LINE. SUCH ACTIVITIES INCREASE THE RISK OF CLASHES WITH SYRIAN TRO
 ALONG THE NARROW UN BUFFER ZONE.4

OFFICIAL ISRAELI REACTION TO THE TERRORIST INCIDENT HAS FOCUS

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ON FEDAYEEN, RATHER THAN SYRIAN, INVOLVEMENT. A FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN EMPHAZIED THAT THE ATTACK AGAIN DEMONSTRATED THAT THE FEDAYEEN, INCLUDING ARAFAT'S FOLLOWERS, ARE TERRORISTS WHO HAVE NO PLACE IN THE FRAMEWORK OF CIVILIZED NATIONS. 25X1

3. SPANISH SAHARA: MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA HAVE APPOINTED ASSISTANT GOVERNORS TO WORK UNDER THE SPANISH GOVERNOR GENERAL IN SPANISH SAHARA, AS PROVIDED FOR BY THE RECENT TRILATERAL AGREEMENT.4

ON SATURDAY, KING HASSAN NAMED HIS ROYAL CABINET DIRECTOR, AHMED BENSOUDA, TO BE MOROCCO'S REPRESENTATIVE IN THE PROVISIONAL ADMINISTRATION THAT WILL GOVERN THE TERRITORY UNTIL SPAIN WITHDRAWS NEXT FEBRUARY. BENSOUDA IS ONE OF HASSAN'S MOST TRUSTED ADVISERS; HIS APPOINTMENT UNDERSCORES THE IMPORTANCE THE KING ATTACHES TO MOROCCO'S ROLE IN THE NEW JOINT ADMINISTRATION.4

BENSOUDA, WHO WILL ARRIVE IN THE TERRITORIAL CAPITAL OF EL AAIUN ON MONDAY WILL PROBABLY ASSUME MORE RESPONSIBILITY THAN HIS MAURITANIAN COUNTERPART, ABDALLAHI OULD CHEIKH, WHOSE MOST RECENT POSITION WAS MINISTER OF PUBLIC SERVICE AND LABOR. MAURITANIA WILL PRESUMABLY CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THE MOROCCAN LEAD ON THE

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4. ANGOLA: SOVIET PRESS COVERAGE OF THE CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA REMAINS EXTREMELY HEAVY. PRAVDA, IZVESTIA, AND THE SOVIET NEWS AGENCY TASS ARE HAMMERING AWAY AT ALLEGED INTERVENTION BY SUCH OUTSIDE FORCES AS CHINESE, SOUTH AFRICANS, ZAIRIANS, PORTUGUESE "FASCISTS," AND "AMERICAN MERCENARIES" ON BEHALF OF THE POPULAR MOVEMENT'S RIVALS.

MOSCOW HAS RESERVED SOME OF ITS HEAVIEST BRICKBATS FOR THE CHINESE. THE SOVIET PRESS RECENTLY BLASTED PEKING FOR ITS CRITICISM OF MOSCOW'S "EXPANSION" AND "INTERFERENCE" IN ANGOLA. REFLECTING SOVIET SENSITIVITY TO THESE CHARGES, THE COMMENTARIES RAILED AGAINST PEKING'S OWN MILITARY, FINANCIAL, AND TRAINING SUPPORT FOR ANTI-MOVEMENT FORCES, AS WELL AS ITS COLLUSION WITH "PORTUGUESE FASCISTS, SOUTH AFRICAN RACISTS, AND INTERNATIONAL MONOPOLIES."

ANTI-SOVIET VITRIOL HAS FOR SOME TIME BEEN A STANDARD FEATURE OF CHINESE COMMENTARY ON THE ANGOLAN CONFLICT. PEKING'S EFFORT TO EMBARRASS MOSCOW FOR ITS INVOLVEMENT WITH THE POPULAR

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MOVEMENT HAS GAINED MOMENTUM, HOWEVER, SINCE THE CHINESE LOWERED THE VISIBILITY OF THEIR INVOLVEMENT BY WITHDRAWING CHINESE ADVISERS FROM ZAIRIAN TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR THE NATIONAL FRONT LATE LAST MONTH. SINCE THEN, PEOPLE'S DAILY HAS CARRIED TWO ARTICLES LAMBASTING SOVIET MEDDLING IN ANGOLA. AND THE TRADITIONAL INDEPENDENCE DAY EDITORIAL GAVE HEAVY PLAY TO THE SAME THEME.4

THE NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY HAS ALSO CARRIED SEVERAL LENGTHY REPORTS FOCUSING ON THE SOVIET ROLE IN ANGOLA. ITS DAILY TRANSMISSIONS HAVE BEEN SATURATED WITH REPLAYS OF ANTI-SOVIET ARTICLES AND STATEMENTS FROM A NUMBER OF AFRICAN CAPITALS. CHINESE PROPAGANDISTS HAVE HAD A FIELD DAY REHASHING THE GENERALLY NEGATIVE AFRICAN REACTION TO MOSCOW'S RECOGNITION OF THE POPULAR MOVEMENT IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY'S CALL FOR NEUTRALITY IN THE ANGOLAN DISPUTE. PEKING HAS PROMINENTLY IDENTIFIED ITSELF AS A STRONG SUPPORTER OF THE ORGANIZATION'S POLICIES. A RECENT PEOPLE'S DAILY EDITORIAL SAID THE ORGANIZATION'S CALL FOR EXTENSION OF RECOGNITION

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TO ALL THREE ANGOLAN LIBERATION GROUPS AND FOR THE RIVAL FACTIONS
TO UNITE WAS BOTH "EXPLICIT AND CORRECT."

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1. PORTUGAL: THE LEADER OF PORTUGAL'S ANTI-COMMUNIST RULING FACTION, MAJOR MELO ANTUNES, HAS WARNED THAT IF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF PRIME MINISTER PINHEIRO DE AZEVEDO FALLS, THE COUNTRY WILL BE PLUNGED INTO CIVIL WAR.4

ANTUNES, INTERVIEWED BY A FRENCH NEWS MAGAZINE, SAID THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS PREPARING TO SEIZE POWER IF THE GOVERNMENT FALLS AND THAT THE RESULT OF THE ENSUING STRUGGLE WOULD BE A RETURN TO FASCISM. ANTUNES SAID THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE ENGAGED IN A CAMPAIGN TO SUBVERT THE ARMED FORCES AND PARALYZE THE STATE, AND WILL WAIT UNTIL THE COUNTRY BECOMES UNGOVERNABLE TO MAKE THEIR MOVE. GOVERNMENT PARALYSIS, HE SAID, HAS NOW REACHED AN ADVANCED STAGE. ■■4

SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER MARIO SOARES SECONDED ANTUNES' ATTACK ON THE COMMUNISTS ON SUNDAY AT A SOCIALIST RALLY IN LISBON. HE CALLED ON THE COMMUNISTS TO LEAVE THE GOVERNMENT AND SAID THAT THE NON-COMMUNIST MINISTERS HAD NO INTENTION OF RESIGNING. SOARES VOWED THAT THE SOCIALISTS WOULD TAKE UP ARMS, IF NECESSARY, TO

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DEFEND DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS. LIKE ANTUNES, SOARES BLAMED THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IMPASSE ON COMMUNIST SUBVERSION OF THE MILITARY, BUT THE SOCIALIST LEADER ALSO SEVERELY CRITICIZED PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES FOR ALLOWING HIS ACTIONS TO BE TOO EASILY INFLUENCED BY PRO-COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATIONS.4

SO FAR, THE GOVERNMENT'S DEMAND THAT COSTA GOMES RESTORE AUTHORITY IN THE MILITARY HAS HAD NO RESULT. WHEN THE GOVERNMENT'S DEMAND WAS PUT BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL LAST WEEK, THE COUNCIL NOT ONLY CRITICIZED THE GOVERNMENT, BUT ALSO REVIVED A SCHEME TO ESTABLISH DIRECT TIES BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND THE PEOPLE, AN IDEA THAT IS ANATHEMA TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. THE ONLY APPARENT CONCESSION MADE TO THE GOVERNMENT--THE REPLACEMENT OF EXTREME LEFTIST GENERAL OTELO DE CARVALHO AS COMMANDER OF THE LISBON MILITARY REGION--WAS FRUSTRATED ON SATURDAY WHEN CARVALHO'S SUCCESSOR WITHDREW HIS NAME FROM CONSIDERATION. THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL WILL TAKE UP THE MATTER AGAIN WHEN IT MEETS LATER ON MONDAY.4

THE GOVERNMENT MAY BE SERIOUSLY HANDICAPPED IN THE PRESENT STRUGGLE BY A LACK OF UNITY IN ITS OWN RANKS. FURTHER EVIDENCE OF

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SUCH A PROBLEM SURFACED IN THE ANTUNES INTERVIEW, IN WHICH HE CALLED ON THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO RID ITSELF OF RIGHT-WING ELEMENTS. HE SAID THAT IN RECENT MONTHS THE COUNTRY HAD BEEN SLIDING TO THE RIGHT, EVIDENTLY IMPLYING THAT HIS SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT PARTNERS HAD BEEN RESPONSIBLE.4

TO ADD TO ITS PROBLEMS, THE GOVERNMENT WILL FACE TODAY A TWO-HOUR WORK STOPPAGE, DURING WHICH COMMUNIST-LED WORKERS WILL AGAIN CALL FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S RESIGNATION AND REPLACEMENT BY A REGIME OF THE MORE EXTREME LEFT.

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2. CEMA: INFORMED SOURCES IN MOSCOW AND BUCHAREST ARE UNCERTAIN WHEN THE CEMA SUMMIT WILL BE HELD, ALTHOUGH MOST ARE GUESSING IT WILL BE SOME TIME AFTER MID-DECEMBER.4

LEADERS OF THE CEMA COUNTRIES ARE FACING A CROWDED SCHEDULE OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. BULGARIAN LEADER ZHIVKOV IS SLATED TO VISIT WEST GERMANY NOVEMBER 24-28. CEAUSESCU IS TRAVELING IN THE MIDDLE EAST NOVEMBER 24-DECEMBER 3. CZECHOSLOVAK PARTY

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CHIEF HUSAK WILL GO TO MOSCOW BEFORE THE END OF NOVEMBER. THE SOVIETS HAVE SCHEDULED IMPORTANT CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND SUPREME SOVIET MEETINGS FOR DECEMBER 1 AND 2, RESPECTIVELY. IN RECENT YEARS THE SUPREME SOVIET SESSION HAS LASTED 3 DAYS. THAT LEAVES OPEN ONLY THE WEEKEND OF DECEMBER 5-7 BEFORE THE POLISH PARTY CONGRESS (OPENING DECEMBER 8) OR SOME TIME LATER IN DECEMBER, BEFORE OR AFTER THE CUBAN PARTY CONGRESS. 4

IF THE CEMA SUMMIT IS TO BE NOTHING MORE THAN A SYMBOLIC GATHERING, THE TIMING IS NOT ALL THAT IMPORTANT, BUT MOSCOW APPARENTLY DOES WANT THE SUMMIT TO MAKE SOME IMPORTANT DECISIONS. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] "PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT" DECISIONS ON COOPERATION IN RAW MATERIAL EXPLOITATION AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION. THE MORE COMPREHENSIVE THESE PROPOSALS ARE, THE MORE TROUBLE THE SOVIETS WILL HAVE IN BALANCING NATIONAL ECONOMIC

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INTERESTS. THE SUMMIT WILL ALSO DISCUSS THE TROUBLE-
SOME ISSUES OF CEMA-EC RELATIONS AND POSSIBLE INSTI-
TUTIONAL CHANGES WITHIN CEMA.4

THE ROMANIANS, WHO HAVE PUBLICLY DISSENTED ON
THE CEMA-EC ISSUE AND ARE WARY OF INSTITUTIONAL
CHANGES, HAVE ENGAGED IN PROCEDURAL AND OTHER DELAY-
ING TACTICS. BUCHAREST PROBABLY WANTS TO CLEAR UP
BILATERAL ECONOMIC ISSUES WITH THE SOVIETS BEFORE ANY
CEMA SUMMIT. THE ROMANIANS MAY ALSO CALCULATE THAT
A DELAYED SUMMIT WILL GIVE ANY OTHER EAST EUROPEANS
WHO MAY OBJECT TO ELEMENTS OF SOVIET ECONOMIC CO-
OPERATION PROPOSALS TIME TO FIRM UP THEIR OWN NA-
TIONAL ECONOMIC PLANS AND NEGOTIATING POSITION BEFORE
THE SUMMIT.

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3. EUROPEAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE: THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES
HAVE POSTPONED UNTIL JANUARY SETTING A DATE FOR THE ALREADY MUCH-
DELAYED EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE.4

THE SENIOR DELEGATES, WHO MET AGAIN IN EAST

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BERLIN THIS WEEK, HAD BEEN EXPECTED TO COMPLETE WORK ON THE CONTROVERSIAL DOCUMENT TO BE ISSUED AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE. CONTINUING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MOSCOW AND THE INDEPENDENT-MINDED YUGOSLAV, ITALIAN, ROMANIAN, AND SPANISH PARTIES APPARENTLY PREVENTED THIS AND LED, IN TURN, TO THE FAILURE TO SET A DATE.Y

IN THE WAKE OF THYPOSTPONEMENT, CONFERENCE PREPARATIONS IN EAST BERLIN WILL REVERT TO LOWER-LEVEL EDITORIAL EFFORTS TO HARMONIZE THE VARIOUS PARTIES' POSITIONS.Y

WEDNESDAY'S POSTPONEMENT VIRTUALLY EXCLUDES THE POSSIBILITY OF HOLDING A EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE BEFORE THE SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS IN FEBRUARY. THE SOVIETS HAD MADE A NUMBER OF CONCESSIONS IN AN APPARENT EFFORT TO HOLD THE CONFERENCE BEFORE THEIR CONGRESS.Y

THE SETBACK WILL BE EVEN MORE EMBARRASSING TO

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MOSCO!! BECAUSE THE SOVIETS ALSO FAILED AT THE LAST
MINUTE TO HAVE A CEMA SUMMIT MEETING HELD THIS WEEK.
THE TWO EVENTS ARE NOT DIRECTLY RELATED, BUT THE
CONSECUTIVE POSTPONEMENTS CONVEY AN IMPRESSION OF
DISARRAY IN THE COMMUNIST CAMP.

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4. USSR-CZECHOSLOVAKIA: NO REASON HAS BEEN GIVEN FOR THE VISIT TO
MOSCOW BY CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT AND PARTY CHIEF HUSAK
LATER THIS MONTH, BUT THE SIGNING IN OCTOBER OF A
NEW EAST GERMAN - SOVIET FRIENDSHIP TREATY DURING
PARTY LEADER HONECKER'S VISIT HAS LED TO SPECULATION
THAT HUSAK MIGHT SIGN A NEW CZECHOSLOVAK-SOVIET
TREATY.Y

UNLIKE THE CASE OF EAST GERMANY, WHERE THE
PREVIOUS FRIENDSHIP TREATY HAD CLEARLY BECOME OUT-
DATED, THERE APPEARS TO BE NO COMPELLING REASON FOR
A REVISION OF THE 1970 TREATY BETWEEN PRAGUE AND
MOSCOW. THE LATEST EAST GERMAN DOCUMENT INCORPOR-
RATES THE "BREZHNEV DOCTRINE," EXPANDS THE PROVISION

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OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BEYOND EUROPE, AND ABANDONS SUPPORT FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY. THE CZECHOSLOVAK TREATY ALREADY CONTAINS THE FIRST TWO ELEMENTS AND THE LAST DOES NOT APPLY.4

INDEED, THE TWO DOCUMENTS ARE VERY SIMILAR; THE CZECHOSLOVAK TREATY MAY EVEN HAVE BEEN USED AS A MODEL FOR THE EAST GERMAN - SOVIET ACCORD. NEW ELEMENTS IN THE EAST GERMAN TREATY INCLUDE SPECIFIC REFERENCES TO CLOSER COOPERATION AND COORDINATION IN THE POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC, AND IDEOLOGICAL FIELDS, BUT THESE THEMES, ALREADY FAMILIAR IN THE SPEECHES OF CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERS ARE NOT SUFFICIENT IN THEMSELVES TO WARRANT REWRITING THE 1970 TREATY TO INCLUDE THEM.4

4 STATEMENTS ON FURTHER COOPERATION AND PLEDGES
2 TO DEFEND DETENTE AND THE RESULTS OF THE CSCE
3 COULD EASILY BE CONTAINED IN A JOINT PROTOCOL,
2 SHOULD BREZHNEV FEEL THE NEED FOR AN EASY FOREIGN

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POLICY SUCCESS BEFORE THE COMING SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS. THIS WOULD ACCOMPLISH MOSCOW'S AIM WITHOUT THE EMBARRASSMENT OF HUSAK THAT A REVISION OF THE FRIENDSHIP TREATY WOULD ENTAIL. THE CZECHOSLOVAK LEADER WOULD PROBABLY NOT WANT TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON THE 1970 DOCUMENT, WHICH IS THE FIRST EMBODIMENT OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. 4

ON THE SURFACE, THERE ARE NO PRESSING BILATERAL PROBLEMS THAT REQUIRE RESOLUTION AT THE SUMMIT, BUT HUSAK MAY SEEK TO WORK OUT UNRESOLVED DETAILS OF TRADE ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES BEFORE THEIR RESPECTIVE FIVE YEAR PLANS ARE ANNOUNCED AT THE END OF THE YEAR. HE MAY ALSO REPORT ON THE STATUS OF HIS PARTY AS PREPARATIONS BEGIN FOR ITS APRIL PARTY CONGRESS, AND TRY TO GET A READING FROM BREZHNEV ON HOW THINGS STAND IN THE SOVIET PARTY. 4

WHATEVER THE AGENDA, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT

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THE HUSAK VISIT WILL PROVIDE AN OCCASION TO CELEBRATE THE UNITY AND COHESION OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP, A QUALITY MUCH IN NEED OF ADVERTISING IN THE WAKE OF THE ABRUPT POSTPONEMENTS AND DELAYS IN MOVING TOWARD A CEMA SUMMIT AND CONVENING THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE. THE EXAMPLE SO OSTENTATIOUSLY SET BY THE EAST GERMANS AND CZECHOSLOVAKS MAY ALSO BE USED BY MOSCOW TO PERSUADE OTHERS IN THE CAMP TO FALL INTO LINE.

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5. YUGOSLAVIA: DUSAN ALIMPIC, PARTY BOSS OF THE SERBIAN PROVINCE OF VOJVODINA, IS EVIDENTLY IN HOT WATER, AND THE FIRST PERSONNEL SHAKE-UP FOR THE TITO REGIME IN YEARS COULD RESULT.

ALIMPIC, A FORMER SECRET POLICE OFFICIAL AND A HARD-LINE ORTHODOX COMMUNIST, CAME TO POWER DURING A PURGE OF LIBERALS IN DECEMBER 1972. HE NOW APPEARS TO BE IN TROUBLE FOR THE VERY TRAITS THAT FIRST BROUGHT HIM TO PARTY PROMINENCE. ALIMPIC'S

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REPUTATION AS A DOGMATIC DISCIPLINARIAN AND HIS RECORD OF SUPPRESSIVE TACTICS STRONGLY SUGGEST THAT HE SYMPATHIZES WITH THE "FIRM HAND" PROGRAM ADVOCATED BY THE YUGOSLAV NEO-STALINISTS. THERE ARE, IN FACT, RUMORS THAT HE IS A COMINFORMIST.4

ALTHOUGH THE RUMORS ARE PROBABLY UNFOUNDED, ALIMPIC'S STEWARDSHIP IN VOJVODINA IS DEFINITELY BEING CRITICIZED. FOR AT LEAST THE PAST YEAR, STANE DOLANC--TITO'S NUMBER-TWO IN THE PARTY--HAS MADE AN UNUSUAL NUMBER OF VISITS TO THE OUTLYING TOWNS OF THE PROVINCE IN AN APPARENT EFFORT TO SURVEY THE PEOPLE'S MOOD. TITO HIMSELF GRILLED PROVINCIAL LEADERS--MINUS ALIMPIC--ON THE LOCAL STATE OF AFFAIRS IN EARLY NOVEMBER. HE WAS CLEARLY NOT SATISFIED.4

FOR THE PAST SIX WEEKS ALIMPIC HAS BEEN OUT OF THE LIMELIGHT, AND IT IS HIS SUBORDINATES WHO HAVE BEEN MAKING THE MANDATORY NOISES AGAINST COM-

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INFORMISTS. DURING A BRIEF TITO VISIT TO THE VOJVODINA LAST WEEK, ALIMPIC'S NAME WAS PROMINENTLY ABSENT FROM THE LIST OF LOCAL OFFICIALS WHO WELCOMED HIM. 4

ON TUESDAY, ONE OF ALIMPIC'S SUBORDINATES--THE CHIEF OF THE NOVI SAD PARTY ORGANIZATION--MADE THE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT THAT NINE COMINFORMISTS ARE UNDER ARREST. THE NINE, WHO ALLEGEDLY "WERE INSPIRED AND ENCOURAGED FROM ABROAD," COULD, WHEN TRIED, PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ALIMPIC'S POLITICAL ENEMIES TO CRITICIZE HIM OPENLY FOR HIS LAXITY IN CHECKING HARD-LINERS.

6. USSR: THE AWARD OF A NOBEL PEACE PRIZE TO ANDREY SAKHAROV APPEARS TO BE GENERATING A DEGREE OF COHESIVE ACTIVISM AMONG MEMBERS OF THE SOVIET DISSIDENT COMMUNITY THAT MAY GIVE THE REGIME PAUSE, AT LEAST OVER THE SHORT TERM. IN THE LONGER TERM, HOWEVER, THE DISSIDENTS' PROSPECTS REMAIN GRIM. 4

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SUPPORT FOR SAKHAROV AMONG THE DISSIDENTS GAINED MOMENTUM WITH THE RELEASE TO THE WESTERN PRESS ON NOVEMBER 19 OF A STATEMENT REPORTEDLY SIGNED BY 77 JEWISH ACTIVISTS PRAISING SAKHAROV'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE. THE DOCUMENT IS THE THIRD PUBLIC DECLARATION OF SUPPORT FOR SAKHAROV AND HIS PRINCIPLES THAT HAS APPEARED IN AS MANY WEEKS. THE FIRST, SIGNED ONLY BY A HANDFUL OF THE MOST PROMINENT NAMES, WAS MADE PUBLIC ON OCTOBER 30, EVIDENTLY IN RESPONSE MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES CONDEMNING SAKHAROV AND THE NOBEL COMMITTEE. 4

LAST WEEK, 37 DISSIDENTS OF DIFFERING PHILOSOPHICAL STRIPES JOINED IN ISSUING A STATEMENT CONDEMNING THE REGIME'S REFUSAL TO PERMIT SAKHAROV TO TRAVEL TO OSLO NEXT MONTH FOR THE AWARD CEREMONY. THE DISSIDENTS PLEDGED SUPPORT FOR SAKHAROV AND CHARGED THAT THE REGIME'S ACTION IS PROOF OF ITS "FEAR IN THE FACE OF THE UNWAVERING MOVEMENT OF CIVIL THOUGHT AND

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MORALITY" IN THE USSR.4

THE FIRST TWO DECLARATIONS, BOTH OF WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN DRAFTED AND ORGANIZED BY WRITER ANDREY AMALRIK, BROUGHT TOGETHER SUCH FIGURES AS REFORMIST, MARXIST HISTORIAN ROY MEDVEDEV, SCULPTOR ERNST NEIZVESTNY, FORMER GENERAL PETR GRIGORENKO, POET ALEKSANDR GINZBURG, MEMBERS OF THE OFFICIAL WRITERS UNION VLADIMIR KORNILOV AND OSIP CHERNY, AND LARISA BOGORAZ, WIFE OF WRITER ANATOLY MARCHENKO. ALSO AMONG THE SIGNATORIES WERE JEWISH ACTIVIST VITALY RUBIN AND MATHEMATICIAN VLADIMIR ALBRECHT. THE LATTER IS THE SECRETARY OF THE MOSCOW BRANCH OF THE LONDON-BASED HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL--A POST FORMERLY HELD BY SAKHAROV'S ASSOCIATE ANDREY TVERDOKHLEBOV, WHO WAS ARRESTED IN APRIL AND REPORTEDLY IS SCHEDULED TO FACE TRIAL SOON.4

ALTHOUGH THE DISSIDENTS' CLAIM TO A COHESIVE

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"MOVEMENT" IS AN OVERSTATEMENT, SAKHAROV'S AWARD HAS BECOME A FOCAL POINT FOR SOME PERSONS IN AND OUT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT WHO UNTIL NOW HAVE NOT BEEN PREPARED TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD. FOR BOTH THE BIG NAMES AND THE LESSER LIGHTS, THE REGIME'S HANDLING OF THE DILEMMA PRESENTED BY SAKHAROV IS LESS IMPORTANT THAN THE FACT OF THE NOBEL AWARD ITSELF. THEY SEE IN THE PRIZE PROOF THAT SAKHAROV'S EFFORTS, AND BY EXTENSION THOSE OF THE DISSIDENT COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE, HAVE BEEN RECOGNIZED BY THE WEST IN THE MOST DRAMATIC WAY POSSIBLE. THEY CLEARLY HOPE BY THEIR ACTIONS TO SUSTAIN AND BROADEN THE WEST'S ATTENTION TO THEIR CAUSE.4

THE DISSIDENTS' ACTIONS ARE A PRODUCT OF SAKHAROV'S CONFRONTATION WITH THE REGIME OVER BASIC PRINCIPLES--FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND MOVEMENT--WHICH ALL CAN SUPPORT. THEIR NEW-FOUND COURAGE AND SEEMING UNITY, HOWEVER, DO NOT STEM FROM A COMMON ASSESS-

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MENT OF THE SITUATION AND ARE, THEREFORE, PROBABLY FRAGILE AND TEMPORARY.4

SOME OF THE DISSIDENTS HOPE THAT A UNITED FRONT ON THE ISSUE OF SAKHAROV WILL INCREASE OFFICIAL CONCERN OVER THE SOVIET IMAGE ABROAD, ESPECIALLY NOW IN THE POST-HELSINKI AND PRE-CPSU CONGRESS PERIOD, AND RESULT IN AN IMPROVED DOMESTIC CLIMATE. OTHERS, MORE NUMEROUS, BELIEVE THEIR LONG-TERM PROSPECTS AND THOSE FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN THE USSR ARE SO DISMAL THAT NOTHING WILL BE LOST BY GRASPING THE OPPORTUNITY PROVIDED BY SAKHAROV'S PRIZE TO RAKE THE REGIME OVER THE COALS. JEWISH ACTIVISTS--WHILE PLEASED WITH SAKHAROV'S AWARD AND WILLING TO STAND UP FOR HIM--APPEAR CONVINCED THAT NEITHER SUPPORT NOR LACK OF IT FOR SAKHAROV'S CAUSE WILL HAVE ANY MEASURABLE EFFECT ON THEIR SPECIFIC INTERESTS, MAINLY EASED EMIGRATION.

THE MORE PESSIMISTIC MAJORITY SEE THE KREMLIN AS WILLING TO USE SAKHAROV'S CASE TO MAKE EVEN CLEARER

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THAN BEFORE THAT THE CSCE AGREEMENTS CANNOT BE CITED
 BY THE WEST TO PRESS FOR CHANGE IN SOVIET DOMESTIC
 POLICY. THEY ALSO POINT TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP'S
 RECENT RETRENCHMENT ON DOCTRINAL ISSUES AS AN INDI-
 CATION NOT ONLY OF PRE-CONGRESS CLOSING OF RANKS,
 BUT ALSO A REACTION TO PERCEIVED EXPLOITATION OF HU-
 MAN RIGHTS BY SOME IN THE WEST TO SABOTAGE DETENTE.
 IN THIS ATMOSPHERE, THE DISSIDENTS SEE THEIR FUTURE
 AS DARK.



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