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*CIA 101 Colby, William
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SPECIAL ADVANCED TICKET LUNCHEON

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7th, 12 NOON GRAND BALLROOM, SHERATON-PALACE HOTEL

WILLIAM E. COLBY

Director, C.I.A.

"FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE FOR AMERICA"



Some allege that secrecy and government do not mix. The tendrils of intelligence gathering extend and pervade all too many areas—both domestic and foreign. Yet, should we drop one of our first lines of defense? Could we maintain a safe and secure society without the advanced intelligence about potential domestic and foreign enemies? Or could we not better operate a free and open society with the existence of the FBI, CIA and Military Intelligence? Tickets \$7.00—Mail check to Club Office or call 362-4903 for reservations. Unpaid reservations will be cancelled 5 p.m., Monday, May 5th. No refunds thereafter.

THERE WILL BE NO STANDING ROOM.

NOTE: Names of guests required

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FRIDAY, MAY 9th, 12 NOON

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DR. JOHN L. McLUCAS

SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE

TFX—C-5A—the B-1 Bomber—ABM Defense Systems. The Air Force since World War II has pushed "weapon systems." A common characteristic appears to be massive, general nuclear war, approaches. And America is left unable to fight—at least from the air—"conventional" or "guerrilla" wars on the scale of Korea or Vietnam. Will we be better able to do so in the future? What programs does the Air Force have to cover all these contingencies? Or, should we simply disarm unilaterally as some would suggest?

Tickets \$5.50 at door

HOWARD G. VESPER, Quarterly Chairman

Coming! Friday, May 16, 12 Noon, Gold Ballroom, Sheraton-Palace Hotel—Dr. Wilson Riles, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Director of Education, State of California

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China-Russia-U.S. Are Interacting on Complex Horizon

FRIDAY FLASHES—APRIL 25th

From Address by

DR. ROBERT A. SCALAPINO

Political Science Professor,

University of California, Berkeley

"When the events of the 20th century are analyzed by future historians, the relations between China, Russia and the United States will certainly loom with great importance.

After W W II an alliance emerged between China and Russia that seemed destined to unite nearly a billion people across the Eurasian continent. And it appeared to pose the most serious problem to all the states on the boundaries of these two major countries. Then within a decade, the split began. Taking advantage of the break, the U.S. moved to try to equalize relations with both China and Russia. We now exist in a period of limited and somewhat uncertain detente. But, we are for the first time interacting on a very complex horizon.

Explore the Problems

To explore the problems, we need to go over some of the internal affairs of each country in the latter triangle.

China is reaching the end of a political era. Soon Mao and the first generation of revolutionary leaders will have passed from the scene. Mao will leave behind him some weak political institutions but some strong personalities. China will experi-

ence reoccurring political instability in the next decade, but certainly not a collapse. Instability will occur at the top, the critical question will be can the instability be contained at elitist levels or will it filter down and affect production and the broader ranges of political order.

In the economic sphere, China has made great accomplishments not the least of which that it has provided a platform under the lowest socio-economic classes so that the degradation of the past is gone.

Low Risk Foreign Policy

However, there has been a great deal of romanticism about Chinese economics. The margin between population and food is still very narrow. It will take decades of the very best conditions for the process of economic modernization. The Chinese society is one that started from deep poverty and is moving along at a not unexceptional pace.

The combination of internal political and economic problems argue for a low risk foreign policy. China can't move too far too fast. However, China is committed to being a major power in Asia at least. It will seek a buffer state system. And, we can look for China's increase in influence in this region.

With respect to foreign policy, we must see China's image of the world today. For China the world is divided into the Super Powers, the Second Intermediate Zone and the Third World.

(Continued on next page)

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Managing Editor: *Michael J. Brassington*
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U.S. Is Most Revolutionary Society in the Triangle

SCALAPINO (Continued from preceding page)

Chinese statements about the U.S. and Russia are frequently couched in Cold War terminology and are often shrill. However, the decibel rate is somewhat higher toward the Soviet Union. China and Russia are still in a period of deep hostility, but war is not likely. Both countries realize that no one could win that war and that it would destabilize the Eurasian area.

The Soviet Union will seek the familiar route of 'stick and carrot' foreign policy. It will maintain pressure on China and hope that after Mao, if now while he lives, China will look upon Russia in a new light.

War is unlikely, but I do not see a restoration of the 1950 alliance between Russia and China. There are still deep and non-resolvable problems. These two countries have common ideology, but different timings of revolution, different stages of development and different degrees of power. It seems more likely that there will be a limited detente between China and Russia at some future time.

Profound Fear of Russia

Let's look at Sino-American relations from the Chinese standpoint. Some of the critical initiative came from China because of its profound fear of the Soviet Union which peaked in 1968-69. The U.S. and China came into a limited detente not because of the convergence of our institutions, and ideology, but because China saw the advantages of leaving its isolation foreign policy and saw the U.S. as a key to that move as well as a counterweight to Russia. China saw the need for a balance of power.

Taiwan is only one of the issues that still divides the U.S. and China. China seems to have stepped up its insistence on 'progress' on the Taiwan issue. This impasse will not be quickly resolved. Thus, American and Chinese relations will go on in a somewhat zig-zag fashion. There will be no war, but no deep peace alliance.

China's Policy Hinges on Change

For China, a more equi-distance between the U.S. and Russia will be more advantageous. But that policy hinges upon changes in leadership in China and changes of perception in Russia.

The internal situation in Russia is more stable than that in China. Brezhnev is firmly in power and is respected. There has been a revolution in the Soviet Union approximating constitutionalism. That will be tested when and how Brezhnev goes. However, the institutions are strong and there is less likelihood of changes when Brezhnev leaves as in China when Mao goes.

Develop Soviet East

The Soviet society is increasingly porous. One in which the flow of ideas and the penetration of peoples has stepped up. This is posing some problems to a regime that still considers itself a one-party dictatorship. We are seeing an emergence of interest groups in the Soviet Union, many of which are coming from the bureaucratic and upper classes. To an extent, the Soviet Union is indeed committed to detente because it needs a time of peace to move forward in economic matters and in a sense to catch up. One must remember that the Soviet Union is one part Super Power and one part backward society.

Russia intends to be more of an Asian power and to develop the Soviet East. It is a central part of the Soviet economic and defense concepts. Russia will pay increased emphasis upon Central Asia and Siberia. This does not lessen the problems with China, it could increase them.

The Soviet Union will continue to negotiate from a position of strength. But, above all, she wants to avoid contemporary pressure from East and West, a two-front situation of hostility.

Growing Confusion in U.S.

In a curious sense, the United States is the most revolutionary society in the triangle. We are experiencing a massive cumulative change in values, institutions and life styles. One of the critical American problems is how to cope with our own revolution while maintaining international prominence and responsibility. Perhaps it was easier after W W II when we were confident and totally victorious after a war that seemed to brook no moral doubts and in a period when unilaterally we paid great attention to the salvation of the West. This period shaded into a balance of power era. But, it left a growing confusion

(Continued on next page)

Neither War nor Close Alliance in Foreseeable Future

SCALAPINO (Continued from preceding page) because as the Cold War receded because we began to wonder how we could embrace the Communists on one hand and fight them on the other. We were left with growing confusion. Nothing will be more difficult than to maintain some unity and purpose and acknowledge the increasing complexity of our commitment relationships and values. It is not easy to sort these out in an open society in which debate is asked for and dissidence is encouraged.

Regionalism vs. Internationalism

The U.S. has alternatives in respect to its relations within the triangle. One is to withdraw into enclaves and assume that our primary responsibility lies with Western Europe and Japan. We do have tremendous interests in the advanced world, but the enclave theory seems to ignore the importance of our interdependency with small and medium states.

There are also those who would withdraw more completely to embrace only the Western Hemisphere. This kind of regionalism reminds us that the world has been dominated by spheres of influence and to some extent regionalism does have a future. But if it is made exclusive, then the problems that the U.S., Russia and China share will be by the board as you cannot solve the issues of nuclear weapons, food, population, and resource balances through regionalism alone. We need to internationally communicate across ideological boundaries.

In the future of Sino-Soviet-U.S. relations I do not see either war or close alliance between any two of the countries. Rather I see an expression of national interests that reflect stages of development in each of the countries.

U.S. Must Learn How to Negotiate

We are entering an era in which negotiations at many levels will take place. But, the United States must learn how to stay with negotiations. It must learn how to deal with its own people and with the negotiating countries. Of great concern is the question, can a totally open society maintain negotiations with a closed or quasi-closed society?

There will be growth in regional spheres

of influence. China will loom up in Asia. Small states must be aware of this and maintain equi-distance or neutralism. They must move in such a direction as not to exhibit hostility.

Similarly in Europe, the problem is if the countries will move toward greater unity or if they are going to deal with the Soviet Union from separate entities with relative weakness. Nothing would be more short-sighted than for the U.S. to withdraw at this point, even though the final decision is indeed up to Western Europe.

This leads me to one of the most controversial issues at point. There is no doubt that the U.S. has lost credibility in Asia and in the world in the last year or two. It is most apparent that the American credibility as an ally is declining rapidly.

Chinese and Soviets More Credible

In truth, the Chinese and the Soviets appear to be more credible as allies for the moment. Thus, the issue of U.S. credibility is crucial not only to our allies but also to the Sino-Soviet-U.S. triangle. We must maintain our credibility in order to influence the internal decisions in both the Soviet Union and China. And to sustain an international equilibrium of power to protect the process of moderation including the decision making processes in Moscow and Peking.

In this difficulty it is necessary to understand that detente is the only logical alternative. But, it is a detente that must encompass reciprocity, relative understanding of all the factors, and a kind of capacity to deal with other major nations not from an enclave or regional position, but from a carefully balanced selective internationalist stance. To do this successfully we must solve our domestic economic problems because no country proceeds with will and resolve in the midst of recession.

We must also think very seriously about the problem of leadership—as we have not had and we do not have yet the kind of leadership that unites the American people. These are internal problems quite as serious in respects as those facing Russia and China.

But in the long run, the American commitment to some kind of international order, because we are still the only uni-

(Continued on next page)

SCALAPINO (Continued from preceding page)
 versal power, is going to be the critical
 variable to war or peace."

Answers to Written Questions from Floor:

Q: How do you rate U.S. State Department as compared to counterparts in China, Russia and England? **A:** Can't compare without data. Do defend our career foreign service people as they are well trained and dedicated with sense of realism and national interest. No hesitation—I trust them.

Q: Do you believe in 'Domino Theory'? **A:** Any theory applied simplistically is wrong. If refer to cause and effect relation in international affairs, then it's true. To deny domino theory is to deny cause and effect. Southeast Asia collapse will not affect China-Russia-U.S. relations. If trend of U.S. withdrawal and lack of credibility continues, could pose long range risk.

Q: Can we depend upon Russia to keep its word? **A:** Wise to have a number of safeguards. Reliance can never be total with any major power. There are some in Vietnam that don't feel we kept our word.

Q: What causes build-up of radicals, dropouts, and derelicts around our universities? **A:** Generations among younger people are very short. Major changes in newer student generations. This is not late '60s, but we are in revolution. Our momentum of change is tremendous and is bound to effect youth. There is remarkable seriousness in students now. Re-generation-quest for knowledge, deep dedication in search for values. Need not worry. Majority of youth want to avoid extremes.

Q: Effect of Israeli situation on U.S.-China-Russia equilibrium? **A:** China firmly committed to Arabs. Has sought to outbid Russia in verbal support. However, Arabs must depend on Russia for military hardware. Neither China nor Russia want Middle East to affect their U.S. relations. Negotiation between U.S. and Russia can continue.

Q: If there were a square instead of a triangle, which would be the 4th country? **A:** Japan. However, no evidence that Japan will have rounded policy commitments, i.e., political and military increments equal to economic power. Japan will continue as major world economic influence. (JMR)

IN MEMORIAM

DR. MANUEL FRANCISCO ALLENDE
 Joined the Club March 8, 1954
 Died March 26, 1975
 WILLIAM T. HOGAN
 Joined the Club May 3, 1968
 Died April 13, 1975
 CARL W. SCHEDLER
 Joined the Club June 18, 1940
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 ARTHUR W. KIRKLAND
 Joined the Club December 17, 1971
 Died April 18, 1975

IN THE CLUB LIBRARY

In the Commonwealth Club Library, located in the Club Office, are the following magazines and newspapers available to you for your reading interests.

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 Atlas World PRESS
 Business Week
 Belgian American Trade Review
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- STEPHENS, MRS. FULTON, rancher, F & F Stephens Ranch, Esparto, Ca., Davis, Ca. Proposed by Clark Davis.
- TEERINK, JOHN R., consulting engineer, Bookman-Edmonston Engineering Inc., Sacramento, Ca. Proposed by Charles McCullough.
- TEFERTILLER, CASEY O., student, University of California, Berkeley, Ca., Santa Cruz, Ca. Proposed by Robert E. White.
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- WHEATLEY, MARGARET BISSON, office manager/personnel consultant, James Holder Placement Agency, Inc., S.F. Proposed by Jean Marie Keddy.
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- WIEGLER, BARRY A., consulting executive, Gottfried Consultants, Inc., S.F. Proposed by Michael J. Brassington.
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- YOUNG, ROGER N., market researcher, California State Automobile Association, S.F. Proposed by David J. Vineyard.

April 28, 1975 MISS RENEE RUBIN, Secretary

NATIONAL DEFENSE SECTION CHAIRMAN

Anthony H. Loughran, Pacific Telephone Company, was appointed Chairman of the Section on National Defense.

A graduate from Yale in 1950, Loughran entered the United States Marine Corps. In 1952, he received his Wings and was designated Naval Aviator and commissioned 2nd Lieutenant, U.S.M.C. Reserve. Loughran was promoted to Colonel in 1974.



Anthony H. Loughran

As Staff Manager, Current Program, Pacific Telephone's Northern California Region, Loughran is responsible for analysis, recommendations and tracking of capital expenditures for all customer operations accounts.

Mr. Loughran was elected in 1972 by the citizens of Piedmont, California as city councilman. He was elected in 1974 as Mayor of Piedmont and is now serving a two year term. He is also on the Board of Directors, East Bay Division, League of California Cities. And, he is a member of the Governing Board, Alameda County Training and Employment.

A member of the Commonwealth Club since 1971, Loughran also served as Secretary of the Section on National Defense.

Loughran's study section is currently in pursuit of a new study topic. Working with Loughran is Vice Chairman, Col. John H. Roush, Jr.



PHONE CALL LUNCHEON WEDNESDAY, MAY 14TH

"Impact of the Middle East & the Oil Crisis on International Security & Stability"

by **SAMUEL LEWIS**

Department of State, Deputy Director, Policy Planning
Reservations to Club Office by Tuesday, May 13th — 362-4903
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S T U D Y S E C T I O N L U N C H E O N S

Club members and their guests may attend any of these luncheons by phoning their reservations to the Club Office (362-4903) by 9:30 a.m. of the day of the luncheon. All Section Meetings are off-the-record.

Tuesday, May 6th

"CONTINUED DISCUSSION ON PROPOSED REPORT: IS A NATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAM DESIRABLE? IF NOT, WHAT ALTERNATIVES?" Discussion by Report Drafting Committee Members. SECTION MEETING ROOM, CLUB OFFICE, 681 Market St., S.F. Section on Health.

BEGINNING FRENCH CLASS—Instructor Julian Wolfsohn. "Le Français Accélééré." SECTION MEETING ROOM, CLUB OFFICE, 681 Market St., S.F.

ADVANCE SPANISH CLASS—Instructor E. L. Bledsoe. "Gracias Por El Fuego." PG & E, RM. 304, 77 Beale St., S.F.

Wednesday, May 7th

"ARAB PLANS FOR DEVELOPMENT, INDUSTRIALIZATION AND PROSPERITY IN WAR OR PEACE" by Khalid I. Babao, Director, The League of Arab States, an Association of 20 Arab member States. SECTION MEETING ROOM, CLUB OFFICE, 681 Market St., S.F. Section on Africa.

INTERMEDIATE SPANISH CLASS—Instructor Raymond G. Bouret. "Spanish Second Year." PG & E, RM. 304, 77 Beale St., S.F.

Thursday, May 8th

BEGINNING FRENCH CLASS—Instructor Julian Wolfsohn. "Le Français Accélééré." SECTION MEETING ROOM, CLUB OFFICE, 681 Market St., S.F.

Monday, May 12th

"THE ROLE OF NATURAL GAS IN U.S. ENERGY POLICY," by James B. Atkin, Partner in the legal firm Pillsbury Madison & Sutro and head of the legal section of The Natural Gas Supply Committee, which represents natural gas producers on a nation-wide basis. SHERATON-PALACE HOTEL (Regency Room) 1st Floor. Section on Environment & Energy.

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