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# Kissinger: His Future Is a Puzzle

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN  
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, June 26—On Henry A. Kissinger's Air Force plane the other day, the discussion turned to politics and in particular to Jimmy Carter's views on foreign policy. The Secretary of State does not usually take easily to criticism, but after Mr. Carter's world affairs speech in New York on Wednesday, reporters were told that Mr. Kissinger could easily live with Mr. Carter's policies.

Mr. Kissinger has promised to keep his head down during the campaign. But he has said that if a candidate does violence to American foreign policy he will speak out, if only to reassure other countries.

Reporters were told that after reading Mr. Carter's speech, drafted in part by Mr. Kissinger's old Harvard colleague, Zbigniew Brzezinski, the Secretary saw no need for coming "out of the trenches."

On most points—closer ties with allies, flexible but tough dealings with the Russians, and a better lot for the disadvantaged — Mr. Kissinger believes he and Mr. Carter agree more than they differ.

## The 'Lone Ranger'

Mr. Carter, however, obviously referring to Mr. Kissinger, has promised that if elected President, he'd do away with the "Lone Ranger" carrying on a "one-man policy of international adventure." He also has said there would be more openness and fewer secrets. At 33,000 feet, the "Lone Ranger" looked to his faithful companion and top aide Helmut Sonnenfeldt, and said, "Everyone is for more openness and an end to secrecy." He paused, and added: "Until they're elected."

Mr. Kissinger remains loyal

to President Ford. Even though he says nothing ill of Mr. Carter, he clearly would prefer to see Mr. Ford elected. He seems confident that Mr. Ford will finally turn back Ronald Reagan, whose election he feels would be disastrous for the United States.

Reporters and some staff aides have speculated on what Mr. Kissinger would do if Mr. Reagan won the Republican nomination in August. That would mean that both Mr. Kissinger and Mr. Ford would be lamducks and their leverage on foreign Governments, which already is diminishing, would slip away overnight.

Mr. Kissinger's own answer is that in case of a Reagan victory in Kansas City, he would stick it out and do his best to keep relations with other countries on an even keel. What he does not add, but which most of his aides believe, is that Mr. Kissinger would then be privately rooting for a Carter victory in November.

## Future In Doubt

Last month Mr. Kissinger said that even if Mr. Ford were elected, he would prefer to leave office. He did leave open the possibility that in case of some unforeseen circumstance, he might allow himself to be persuaded by Mr. Ford to remain.

Most State Department officials and reporters interpreted that as a strong sign that Mr. Kissinger was preparing the way for his departure next January. The caveat he left himself was regarded as politeness to Mr. Ford.

But now, most Kissinger watchers are not so sure that Mr. Kissinger really wants to leave. Accompanying him on this week-long trip to Paris, Bavaria and London has not resolved the question one way or the other.

At times, Mr. Kissinger seems like a man with only six months left to go. Before leaving Paris, he paid a farewell call on the American Embassy staff, the first time he had ever done so, thanking them for the courtesies extended to him, dating to the days of the secret Vietnam negotiations with Le Duc Tho. His wife, Nancy, was along, and they lunched at Maxim's, and took his personal staff out to dinner at the Taillevent, both three-star restaurants.

## Farewell to Europe

His speech in London on Friday night was worked on for weeks by Mr. Kissinger, Mr. Sonnenfeldt and Winston Lord, director of policy planning at the State Department, and it had all the sound of a farewell-to-Europe oration by a Secretary of State who knew that his days are numbered and who wants his record to be complete and positive.

But Mr. Kissinger also acts like a man with no retirement date. During the two-day stopover in Grafenau in Bavaria, Mr. Kissinger seemed to relish returning to his favorite pastime, highly-publicized, highly-confidential negotiations—this time with John Vorster of South Africa.

There once was a time when Secretaries of State traveled with small staffs, attracted modest attention, and went on their business.

## VORSTER IS HOME, SILENT ON PARLEY

Offers No Hint on Substance  
of Talk with Kissinger

By MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN  
Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, June 26—Prime Minister John Vorster returned today from his talks with Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger in West Germany and offered no clues to the details of those discussions.

At a short picture-taking session at Jan-Smuts Airport, the Prime Minister said only that "everything went well, in spite of factors that could have had an adverse effect." By this he was believed to mean the recent wave of riots that left a reported 176 persons dead. Mr. Vorster said he was glad he had not canceled his trip because of the disorders.

When reporters pressed him on what points had actually been discussed, Mr. Vorster ended the conference abruptly by saying, "Now we must go, you are becoming too inquisitive."

The reluctance that Mr. Vorster and the usually garrulous Mr. Kissinger have shown in discussing their talk is taken as a sign that the United States feels obliged to gauge black African reaction before making any public announcement.

### Black Africans a Factor

It is felt that in the wake of the South African riots, any concessions that Mr. Vorster may have made on Rhodesia or the question of Southwest Africa would draw an almost obligatory skeptical response from black African leaders were they to be made public while the black Africans are expressing their rage at the police actions in South Africa.

Similarly, it is believed, had Mr. Kissinger offered any inducements to Mr. Vorster encouraging him to speed the advent of majority rule in Rhodesia, these gestures, too, could be regarded by black Africans as a closing of relations between South Africa and the United States made under the guise of a less than sincere effort to topple the Government of Ian D. Smith in Rhodesia.

The riots in South Africa are viewed as having muddled the distinction that Mr. Kissinger had sought to draw between Rhodesia and South-West Africa, on the one hand, and South Africa on the other. During his African trip last April Mr. Kissinger, while expressing opposition to institutionalized separation of the races repeatedly pointed out that while Rhodesia and South-West Africa were illegal regimes, South Africa was a recognized nation acknowledged as such by black Africans.

### New Initiatives Failed

Public disclosure of the talk at this time may have been also made more complicated by the apparent failure so far of two of Mr. Kissinger's new initiatives in regard to Africa.

He had, as part of his policy of building bridges to black Africa, sought Congressional funds to aid those countries, notably Mozambique, which had suffered economically by cutting rail ties to Rhodesia. Congress has rejected this move.

He also asked for the repeal of the legislation that permits the importation of chrome from Rhodesia in circumvention of international sanctions. Congress has yet to act on this.

Mr. Kissinger has sought to induce Mr. Vorster to withdraw support from Rhodesia by holding out the possibility of the two things South Africa wants most—a greater degree of acceptance by the West and some acknowledgment of its legitimacy by black Africa.

It seems likely that before there is any public disclosure of what the two men discussed the United States feels it must determine from black African leaders whether they think there is anything to talk about.

# Irony at the Summit

By Tom Wicker

Seven nations responsible for two-thirds of the world's production are meeting in Puerto Rico at the invitation of the United States. Aside from the crass suspicion that President Ford wished to appear "at the summit" during his life-and-death struggle with Ronald Reagan, much irony attends this economic conference.

The heads of state will be discussing, for one example, how to sustain the worldwide economic recovery that appears to be under way. Economic recovery in the host territory, Puerto Rico, is under way too—but from such low levels as to make the troubles of most of the visiting nations seem minuscule.

Unemployment was down to "only" 17.4 percent in April, and while tourism, manufacturing and agriculture are showing signs of improving, the island's vital construction industry re-

## IN THE NATION

mains stagnant, and holds down the rest of the economy.

Yet, the so-called Compact of Permanent Union between Puerto Rico and the United States remains mired in Congress, owing to dead silence from Mr. Ford, the host of the economic conference. Completion of the compact, a long-range document, could have immediate impact on the Puerto Rican economy by increasing the confidence of investors.

The summit conferees will be devoting themselves heavily to "interdependence"—the idea of international economic cooperation, not just to relieve crises but to coordinate policies so as to avoid them. Yet, Mr. Ford has had nothing to say since last October on the compact, the very symbol of the "interdependence" of the United States and Puerto Rico (of which, the latter is by far the most "interdependent").

The summit also will discuss trade—and again, the compact being ignored by Mr. Ford, if in effect, would provide much greater flexibility and some trade advantages for Puerto Rico in its vital commerce with the mainland. That, too, could ease the immediate economic plight of the island by strengthening investor confidence.

The conference will concern itself, also, with the economic problems of Italy, in the hopes that further Communist inroads there can be avoided. That's fine, but Mr. Ford, at least, shows little realization that continuing Puerto Rican economic disadvantage is

bound to fuel radical independentista sentiment nearer home. The independence movement on the island itself never has been strong—but terrorist radicals have at times caused much damage and fright in the United States, and could do so again.

The story of the compact is curious but not inexplicable. Heavily backed by Gov. Rafael Hernandez Colon, whose party is both the strongest supporter of Commonwealth status and the rough equivalent in island politics of the American Democratic Party, the compact was drafted by both Americans and Puerto Ricans and is intended to give the island Commonwealth more self-government, the better to cope with its difficult economic problems.

Drafting was completed last October and the document was delivered to the White House. Hearings began in a House Interior subcommittee last February. Two of the most controversial provisions—granting Puerto Rico greater jurisdiction over environmental regulations on the island and over the effect of the U.S. minimum wage on Puerto Rican workers—have been eliminated.

But there has been no reaction to the compact from the White House. Without such a lead, House Republicans are unwilling to act. The Democrats are reluctant to move such a measure on a straight partisan basis, even if they could. Chairman Phil Burton of the subcommittee and Henry Jackson, chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, have appealed to the White House for some movement on the compact, without effect.

Sources knowledgeable about island politics are not puzzled by Mr. Ford's silence. Governor Hernandez Colon's strongest opponent in the election this year will be San Juan Mayor Carlos Romero Barcelo of the New Progressive Party—which used to be known as the Republican Statehood Party.

Passage of the compact, making Puerto Rico's relations with Washington more flexible and probably strengthening the economy, would tend to strengthen the Commonwealth, too, and the party that supports it. It might weaken candidates of the party identified in island politics with statehood sentiment.

So the New Progressive Party has pledged its eight delegates to the Republican National Convention to Gerald Ford. And for those eight delegates, Mr. Ford has agreed to let the Compact of Permanent Union lie dormant in Congress. Governor Hernandez Colon will give him a manful welcome to the island, but not for much.

# Watchdog for Democracy

By C. L. Sulzberger

BREMEN, West Germany — Portugal's presidential elections this weekend are, in a certain sense, more significant for the tormented country's future than the April legislative elections which confirmed that the Portuguese people, after almost a half-century of dictatorship, basically favored a middle-of-the-road and democratic solution of their problems.

It became a virtual certainty that General António Ramalho Eanes, army chief of staff, would win when he has been backed by the Socialists of Mário Soares, number one in position among the argumentative parties vying for power, and even more so when his principal rival, Admiral José Pinheiro de Azevedo, suffered a crippling heart attack.

Neither Maj. Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho, the nondogmatic left-revolutionist, nor Octavio Pato, the orthodox Communist Party candidate, were ever truly in the running. The only open question is if Prime Minister Pinheiro de Azevedo dies will results be voided. Two months ago, the legislative balloting—because it was the first free parliamentary vote in 50 years—seemed more important. This was not won by any party, but the Socialists emerged the strongest.

When the new parliament was chosen most observers calculated that Admiral Pinheiro de Azevedo, a resolute, assertive man, would win presidential backing from the Socialists and would therefore become president. Whatever diminished chance he had was lost to illness.

Gen. Eanes, who argued that the army should be a "military watchdog of the democratic process" but not—as some rivals suggested—"the motor of the revolution," originally seemed determined to stick to the military profession and confine himself to whipping the badly disorganized armed forces into shape.

This idea evaporated when Gen. Eanes chose to seek the top executive job. The president assumes rank as Commander in Chief, a title meaning more in uneasy Portugal, when it is awarded to an energetic young (41) professional officer, than in the United States or France.

Portugal's Western allies have assumed for some months, after a situation bordering on chaos, that stability and democracy were compatible in a small nation whose system, newly emerged from authoritarianism, was still fragile. The constitution, hastily drafted, may already be out of tune with today's mood.

But this is hard to judge until a really workable government—which will now depend on the president's

choice of a prime minister—can seriously face the massive problems. And executive decisions are vital. Prime Minister Pinheiro de Azevedo once told me.

"The Portuguese people know what they don't want but they find it hard to indicate what they do want. That makes it difficult to make politics work here since the people never seem to know precisely what they hope for."

Portugal's remaining uneasiness—after the first whiff of political freedom, a spasm of economic problems and the influx of returning settlers from lost African colonies—makes it clear a firm hand will be required at the controls, but not a dictatorial hand. That is what the first presidential elections of free Portugal are about.

Although the Communist Party, under the belligerent Alvaro Cunhal, represents a small minority, it is exceedingly well-disciplined and its adherents have penetrated key trade union, press and educational positions. At the same time, there are many rightwing hangovers, shaded from conservative progenitors of Gen. António de Spínola who originally overthrew the dictatorship to underground adherents of the dictatorship itself.

Consequently the first president of the new republic must bear responsibility for getting things done in a country still confused by its new-found liberty, still beset by unsolved

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

economic problems, and still at least to some degree, menaced by undemocratic threats from both left and right. The chief of state is in a fulcrum position amid a still-fragile complex of intra-political relationships.

This is a tough and delicate role. Iberian nations have much genius but the art of popular self-government is not notable among them. Political opinion has a habit of swinging like a very rapid pendulum from right to left, rarely stopping at the center.

Gen. Eanes, almost certain winner of Sunday's vote, is a tough, clean man but also more ambitious than he originally seemed to be this spring when he was assuring diplomats that his only desire was to get back to his troops and resume the rank he held last year, colonel instead of four star general.

Nevertheless, cleanness and toughness may be the two qualities most needed today by Portugal as it faces the long job of reestablishing normal government while at the same time accepting the responsibilities of free democracy, NATO alliance, and stable United Nations membership.

## Warsaw Surrender

The unprecedented speed with which the Polish Government abandoned its price increase program testifies eloquently to the terror that worker protests create among the Warsaw rulers. Edward Gierek, today's top Polish Communist, came to power five and a half years ago because of massive worker revolt against price increases instituted by his predecessor, Wladyslaw Gomulka. Mr. Gierek clearly has no intention of following Mr. Gomulka in walking the economic gangplank to oblivion. The real mystery, in fact, is why Mr. Gierek tried last week's gamble that ended so ingloriously and so quickly.

By a curious and totally unplanned coincidence, Secretary of State Kissinger was speaking in London last Friday. On that same day a wave of major strikes and sabotage by Polish workers was forcing the Warsaw regime to abandon its price increase plans little more than 24 hours after they had been announced. Mr. Kissinger said of East-West economic competition in his address that, "if there is an economic competition, we won it long ago." The events in Poland underlined his point. They exposed more openly than any earlier happening in recent years how tenuous is the surface tranquility of Eastern Europe. This vivid demonstration by the Polish workers of their veto power over Warsaw government decisions must inevitably give ideas to the people of the Soviet Union and of other Soviet satellites.

The immediate Warsaw surrender on the price issue does not mean the end of the problem. Ever since Gomulka's overthrow, the Polish Government has been massively subsidizing food prices at a cost of about \$5 billion annually, a heavy load for the Polish economy. Now Polish farmers are demanding higher prices for their produce, and sharp increases in the prices paid those farmers were announced as part of the total package Warsaw made public on Thursday and withdrew on Friday. While the workers may be happy that the price raises have been withdrawn, Poland's farmers are undoubtedly infuriated. Since most Polish farm production is accounted for by individual peasants, Polish farmers have the option of withholding grain and other food deliveries to show their dissatisfaction.

Poland simply does not have the resources to be able to increase still further the already great food subsidies by raising farmers' prices while leaving retail quotations unchanged. As the Polish Communists' central organ, Trybuna Ludu, declared, "in the long term, it is impossible to buy at high prices and sell at low ones."

In effect Poland's rulers are caught in a "scissors crisis" characteristic of totally controlled economies. They are suspended in the void between the two blades created by farmers' demands for higher prices and the workers' demands for retaining the retail prices that have been unchanged for years. It would be surprising if Warsaw has not already approached Moscow to ask again for massive economic aid to prevent the crisis from turning into revolution.